THE LATE ARTHUR M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I.C.S.

We have to record with the deepest regret the murder of Mr. Arthur M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., Collector of Nasik, at Nasik, on the 21st December last, as he entered the theatre to attend a *pan supari* party given in his honour prior to his leaving the district to take up the Collectorship of Bombay.

Mr. Jackson recently accepted the joint editorship of this journal—a labour of love for which he was specially qualified owing to his thorough knowledge of Sanskrit, Marathi and the principal vernacular languages and the keen interest he always took in the Antiquities of India.

By Mr. Jackson's death the editor acutely feels that he has lost a most valued colleague—one whose able and kindly assistance promised much for the future of this journal.

Articles contributed by Mr. Jackson, just before his death, on the "Method in the Study of Indian Antiquities" and an "Account of a Collection of Copperplates belonging to the Palitana State" will appear in later issues of this journal.

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LEGENDS FROM THE PANJAB.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE AND H. A. ROSE.

No. IV.

THE WEDDING OF RÂI MORNÎ OR PRINCESS PEAHEN.

A Panjâbî Extravaganza.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVIII, p. 321.)

WHEN Rûp Chand saw that the Pûrbiâs had gone, he went quickly through the six courtyards and called out: — "The Râjâ will rule, and the people prosper. The pigeon will coo, and who-so desires knowledge of what is hidden should apply to me."

Râi Mornî told her maid to see who it was, as no one could get into the palace and it must be some one come down from heaven, and a great god. So one maid began: — "Brâhman tell me who is to marry me." And another said: — "Tell me first." Râi Mornî said she must question him first and said: — "Brâhman, do you know anything?" He replied: "I can tell of the past twelve years and foretell the next twelve." And when she told him to tell her, he said: — "I have never told a lie. What is to be I will declare quite truly.

Bait.	**Verse.**
Oh sâhâ terâ wâchnâ, jerhiâ likhâ sî Parwardigâr.	I can read thy wedding-day which is written by the Preserver.
Pahloṅ mâriâ Târaḍhîṛâ, magaroṅ mâriâ Chalmal Râi.	First died Târaḍhîṛâ, next died Chalmal Râi.
Ikkîâṅ pûtrîâṅ nâl mâriâ, magaroṅ mâriâ Râi Majhâr.	Then died twenty-one daughters, and next died Râi Majhâr.
Qismat terî, Rânî, kitte wal suniâ Haṅsâ Râi."	Thy fate, Râni, is Haṅsâ Râi I have heard of somewhere."

Râi Mornî got in a great rage and began to beat the Brâhman, who, after a severe thrashing, fell into a swoon and tumbled down, and one of her attendants said that the Brâhman was dead. The Brâhman held his breath, and when Mornî asked if he were dead, they said he was. Râi Mornî said that each one of her sixty attendants must bring a piece or two of wood from her home; and that she herself would provide the shroud. They must place half the wood underneath and half on top (of the corpse) and light the fire. Then all standing round must beat (their breasts) and lament over "the doll." No one would think it was a Brâhman burning: they would fancy it was a doll being burnt. So they all brought wood, and when they had put it beside the Brâhman's head, he reflected that he had escaped (with his life) from the beating, but how was he to escape from the fire? So he opened his eyes and when one of the girls saw this, she said: — "The Brâhman is alive! He had only fainted."

Then the attendants brought water for him to drink, but he would not drink it at their hands, so one said Mornî had better give him a drink, as he might take it from her. Râi Mornî brought some sherbet and told him to drink it. He got up and went down the stairs, and opened his hands to receive the water, so that he might both see Râi Mornî's face as well as get a drink. When he had had enough, he made a gap[83] between his hands and drew them away. He took his fill both of the sherbet and of his view of Mornî. With his nails he removed the lac from his face and washed it with water, revealing the handsome form of a youth. Râi Mornî was surprised and said: — "What's all this? He was an old Brâhman, but now he had turned out to be a young man." And she told the Brâhman to tell the truth and say if he was Râi Has's Brâhman or not.

He said: — "Kill or spare me as you please. I am his Brâhman, and he sent me." The maids exclaimed that if this Brâhman was so handsome, what must the Râjâ be like? Râi Mornî asked if he knew anything about his patron and he said, "yes." So she said, "tell me," and he spoke thus: —

Bait.	**Verse.**
"*Jis din Hassâ jamîâ haisî changâ wâr.*	"The day when Hassâ was born, was an auspicious day.
Jis kî pagṛî sir ute Hassâ, kade na âyâ hâr.	Since Hassâ donned his turban he has never gone back.
Lagge mutthe na chaldâ, hôwâṅ kaṭak hazâr.	Opposed he does not give way, be there a thousand robbers.
Tun gorî te oh sâṅwalâ; jorî dharî Rabb saṅwâr.	Thou art fair and he is dark; God hath made a pair.
Tûṅ bah nindrî us nâl; oh bah nindrâ tere nâl."	Thou wilt sit beside him a beauty; he will sit a beauty beside thee."

Râi Mornî gave all her jewelry to the Brâhman and wrote a letter and told him to deliver it to Râi Has. She wrote that her wedding procession was to be expected the next day but one. Rûp Chand asked how he was to get out of the palace, and so Mornî had him dressed in a woman's clothes and sent him out with her maids, who were to take him out of the city. Outside, he put on his own dress and set out for his own town. Returning to Râi Has he delivered the letter to him, after first going home and making over all the ornaments to his Brâhmanî. He told Râi Has to expect the wedding procession and Has went home and said: —

Bait.	**Verse.**
"*Thân bakhsho, mere dâyô mâyô; pher bakhshî, merî Kêsar mâṅ.*	"Give me your breast, my nurses and matrons: give them again, Kêsar, mother mine.
Jîwâṅ, tâṅ le âwâṅ Mornî: môiâṅ, tâṅ panâh Khudâ."	If I live, I will bring Mornî: if I die, there is the asylum of God."

Said his mother: — "My son, I will get you wives more beauteous than Mornî. Râi Majhâr has 18,000 horse, and Târadhîrà as many more. That makes 36,000 horsemen in all. Compared to that force what have you?" But Râi Has insisted on going and refused to stay, and his mother said: — "If you will go, don't bring Mornî by stealth. If you do, I will not give you my milk."

[83] *Chhîk*, a draught drunk without taking breath.

With Râi Has went the Ḍûm, the bard, the Brâhman, the barber, but when they had gone a little way, the bard said his lance had got left behind, and how could he recite verses without it? So the Râjâ told him to go and fetch it. The musician[94] said he had left his club and bag of hemp behind, and whence was he to beg for them? The barber said he had forgotten his case, and what was he to do? So the Râjâ told him, too, to go and fetch it. Thus they all went off and only the Râjâ and Rûp Chand were left. The latter remarked that they had all thrown up the job and gone off, and if the Râjâ was going on, he thought he had better go back, too, to his Brâhmanî, and take it easy. When Rûp Chand had left Râi Majhâr's city, it occurred to Râi Hasnî that he would be certain to bring back her brother into his enemies' city. Thinking of this, she went up to the top of the palace and kept a look-out. When she saw him, she resolved to frighten him into going away from the city, and so when the party got near she said to her Brâhman: —

Bait.	**Verse.**
"*Haif kîto, Bâhmanâṅ, wair nâṅ le ândâ keṛe ṭhân.*	"It is a pity, Brâhman, that thou didst bring my brother to such a place.
Itthe ḍukhan de Dere Mâwie, ghoṛe aṭṭhâra hazâr.	Here comes the procession of Deṛâ Mâwiâ, with eighteen thousand horses.
Akhan âgge wer mârîâ; bhan na dekhe terâ dâgh.	A brother slain before her eyes: a sister cannot bear thy disgrace.
Wâste Nirankâr dâ wâgâṅ moṛ gharâṅ nuṅ jâe."	For the sake of God, turn thy horses back."

The Brâhman said to Râi Has, that his sister, on whose aid he had counted, had point-blank refused to help him, and asked if his heart failed him. The Râjâ said to his sister: —

Bait.	**Verse.**
"*Paṭ de ânde tainuṅ kapṛe, sone has ghaṛâ.*	"I have brought thee silken clothes and ornaments of gold.
Kî kareṅ Deṛe Mâwiâ? Kî karêsî Râi Majhâr?	What can Deṛa Mâwiâ do? What will Râi Majhâr do?
Teghâṅ mâreṅ aulîâ-sulîâṅ, jâne kul jahâṅ.	We can strike our swords hither and thither, as all the world knows.
Lagge matthe na chalsâṅ, howâṅ kaṭak hazâr."	I will not turn back, be there a thousand robbers."

His sister concealed Râi Has with Rûp Chand inside, and sent for four goats, which were slaughtered, and then she had the blood put into platters and the meat well minced. Then she sent for plantain leaves and had half the meat put on top and half below. Then she put some more leaves over it and placed it in a dark room. Having made her brother bathe, she got him to go to sleep.

Rûp Chand said: — "You have treated your brother very well. What about Rûp Chand?" She told told him to go up to the upper room and sleep.

She thought her scald-headed and wall-eyed servants had seen them both coming and would probably reveal the secret, so it would be better if she killed them. For the Rânî had two servants, one with one eye and the other bald, as waiting-men[95] and chief of 500 men. So she said to them: — "My brother's mare has had nothing to eat since yesterday, bring her some grass from outside." The scald-headed and wall-eyed servants said they would get some green grass, but the Rânî said

[94] *I. e.*, the Dûm or Mîrâsî.

[95] *Char.*

Then the attendants brought water for him to drink, but he would not drink it at their hands, so one said Mornî had better give him a drink, as he might take it from her. Râi Mornî brought some sherbet and told him to drink it. He got up and went down the stairs, and opened his hands to receive the water, so that he might both see Râi Mornî's face as well as get a drink. When he had had enough, he made a gap[83] between his hands and drew them away. He took his fill both of the sherbet and of his view of Mornî. With his nails he removed the lac from his face and washed it with water, revealing the handsome form of a youth. Râi Mornî was surprised and said: — "What's all this? He was an old Brâhman, but now he had turned out to be a young man." And she told the Brâhman to tell the truth and say if he was Râi Has's Brâhman or not.

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34 *I. e.*, the Dûm or Mîrâsî.

35 *Char.*

that her brother's mare must have hay. Scald-head made a bundle of grass and the Wall-eye told him to pick it up. Scald-head however said, that *he* must do that; but Wall-eye was strong and Scald-head weak and so Wall-eye by force put the bundle on Scald-head's head. When Scald-head had thrown the bundle down in front of the mare and turned to go, Mornî shot him so skilfully with a pistol that he fell down dead. Then she hastened up at once to the palace and called out: — "Wall-eye and Scald-head, bring that grass at once." Wall-eye asked if his brother had not just taken the grass in. The Rânî said he had not and that Wall-eye had better be quick about it. But he said: — "I heard the report of a pistol and I am not such a fool as to be taken in by your tricks."

Since Râi Majhâr had Rai Hasnî's father's Brâhman hanged, she had not been on the best of terms with her husband and had told Râi Chilmil that if he showed himself in her presence she would stab him with her dagger. Accordingly, Râi Chilmil had taken lodgings by the garden well and never came into the palace. To him went Wall-eye and said :—

Bait.	Verse.
"*Kânâ ganjâ charwedâr*	"Wall-eye and Scald-head were servants
Panj se nafar de sirdâr.	And chief of five hundred minions.
Ganjâ bhâi merâ mârîâ, haif kîtâ! âe terî nâr.	My brother Scald-head has been killed, alas! by thy wife.
Shahre pae harolî: 'Hasîâ mahliṅ waṛîâ âe.'"	There is a rumour in the city, that Hasîâ has entered her palace."

The Rânî afterwards sent a letter to Râi Chilmil by her maid: —

Bait.	Verse.
"*Chiṭṭhî likhdâṅ, râulî laṭ bhâulî; wâchan Chilmilîâ, mêrîâ Râi.*	"I write a letter, a plain and simple girl, for Chilmil, my Lord, to read.
Tûṅ jitîâṅ, maiṅ hârîâṅ; bakhshe, âp Khudâe.	Thou hast won and I have lost; forgive, my Lord.
Phullâṅ chhêj wichhâiâ, â kuntâ gall lâe."	I have spread a bed of flowers, come and embrace."

The Râjâ, shield and sword on shoulder, came home and his Rânî made him seven curtseys. The Râjâ asked her why she had written this letter and she said :—

Bait.	Verse.
"*Kul najûmî paṅhde, phir gaî, gae lagan batâ;*	"Yesterday the astrologers came and went away and they prophesied;
Muhrî khidmat kare nard dî, an puchhâṅ bahishtoṅ jâe."	'The wife that serves her husband will go to paradise.'"

The Râjâ asked her what she had given them and she said, "500 rupees." Said the Râjâ, "they got a thousand out of me," and she asked him why he had given so much. Thereupon the Râjâ drew his sword and said :—

Bait.	Verse.
"*Kitthe chhipâyâ nîlṛî kubûtarî? Kitthe chhipâyâ Hassâ Râi?*	"Where hast hidden the blue pigeon? Where hast hidden Hassâ Râi?
Nak te gul têre waḍhsâṅ, doeṅ hath kannâṅ de nâl.	I will cut off thy nose, with both thy hands and ears.
Sach kaheṅ, tâṅ chhadsâṅ, Rânî mere; nahîṅ, tâṅ do dhaṛ karângâ châe."	Tell the truth, and I will spare thee, my Rânî; if not, I will cut thee in two."

Said the Rânî: —

Bait.

"Din si Itwâr dâ; Hassâ charhâ shikâr.
Mallmal mârdâ sherâṅ hihrâṇ, tâṅ rasôî jûvan jal.
Nagh payâ khûnî shêrâṅ de shêrâṅ milmal, kîtî ghâl.
'Chilmil, Chilmil' kardâ, mar gayâ: oh wekh, piârî, Hassâ Râi.

Verse.

"It was Sunday, and Hassâ went hunting.
He shot fierce tigers and then he had his food.
The fiercest of the murderous tigers caught sight of him.
Calling 'Chilmil, Chilmil' he died: there behold my beloved, Hassâ Râi.

Râjâ, seven tigers and the eighth, a tigress, together killed Has Râi and picked his bones. His mare brought him to the hunting place and threw him down. Thy neat-herds seeing this, thy brother-in-law picked him up. I threw him into the room; go and see if he is alive or dead."

The Râjâ said: — "Come and show me," and opening the door of the room, he saw a corpse lying there and, feeling it with his hands, found that the flesh had been separated from the bones. He took a knife out of his pocket and stuck it into the flesh, and when the knife touched the plantain leaves, they rustled. Râi Chilmil thanked God that evil had been averted from his head, and feigned grief for "poor Râi Has." Said the Rânî: —

Bait.

"Hâwe ke lîdh mar jâegâ, nâ bhar ṭhande sanh.
Andar warmî jam jâegâ, khulke mâr, khâe ḍâḍhî ḍah.
Ḍole sâk inhâṅ sâliâṅ bahnoîâṅ de: terî ṭuṭṭî sujjâe banh!
Mangan terî salâmatî; Hassiâ jehî ne lâkh bhirâ.
Phullâṅ chhejh bichhâîâṅ, â kântâ gall lâ."

Verse.

"You will die with sighing, heave not deep sighs
Grief will grip your heart, lament and scream aloud.
(Great are) the connections, one wife's brother and sister's husband: thy right arm is broken!
I pray thy safety; I have a thousand brothers like Hassiâ.
I have spread a bed of flowers: come and embrace."

Seizing the Râjâ's hand, she led him to the bed, and told her Kalâlaṇ to bring for the Râjâ liquor so strong that after the third cup he would be oblivious of the world. She gave the liquor to the Râjâ, and to Râi Hasnî too, and fanned him. The Râjâ was delighted, and when Râi Hasnî saw that he was quite insensible, she tied him on to the bed with silken cords, and drew the arrows out of his quiver, broke off their points and threw them down a well. His own sword she took away and putting another in his scabbard, nailed it in so securely that he could not draw it out, however much he might try. She also took away his steed and put an old Ḍûm's pony in its place. Finally she had her brother bathed and seated on the couch. Then she went to Râi Mornî, whom she found squabbling with her mother, and the latter said, her daughter had put on *maulî* and *henna* in Târadhîṛa's name; but she said "no, in Râi Has's name."

When Mornî saw Râi Hasnî coming, she reproached her and said: —

Bait.

"Jhûṭe wîr de bahinṛî, jhûṭe qaul qarâr.
Âj na âyâ wîr terâ, kaunt merâ; mehndî lâwâṅ kis de châe?"

Verse.

"Sister of a false brother, false thy pledge and promise.
Thy brother is not come to-day who is my lord: for whose sake shall I put on *mehndî*?"

Said Râi Hasnî: —

Bait.	Verse.
"*Le utâre; mere wîr ne oh dekh baiṭhâ; âe Hassâ Râi.*	"Bring him down: see my brother sitting there: Hassâ Râi has come.
Mehndî lâ, le ûnglî, rangâwalî lâîn Hasse de châh."	Bring the *mehndî*, put it on thy finger; put on the colour for Hassâ's sake."

Râi Môrnî was glad enough to put it on. She had with her a barber's wife and a *mîrâsî's* also. The *mirâsan* went to sleep, singing, and when Râi Môrnî went out, the jingling of her anklets woke the *mirâsan*, who said: — "For twenty years past I have been living on credit trusting to your getting married, and now you are running away. What are we to do?" So Môrnî took off her necklet and gave it to the *mirâsan*, and told her to keep quiet and go. Then the *mîrâsan* aroused the barber's wife, saying that the Rânî was going away, and so she had better ask for *her* presents as well, as she did not mean to share hers with her. So she asked the Rânî for it, and she gave her her thumb-mirror. And then she went off with Râi Hasnî to Râi Has, and said to him:

Bait.	Verse.
"*Were de ghar âke, khol na baiṭhe hathîâr.*	"Going to thy enemy's house, sit not with thy arms undone.
Mainuṅ bel chaṛhâ le, pao gharâṅ dî râh."	Put me up behind thee, take thy road home."

Said Râi Has:—

Bait.	Verse.
"*Ih kam chôr te yâr de, lhâlîa dâ kam naṅh.*	"That is the way of the thief and paramour, it is not the way of the honest.
Fajre bail charhâûṅgâ, jâûṅgâ dharag te sattâṅ lâ."	In the morning I will set thee behind me and depart to the beat of drum."

Râi Hasnî went back to where Râi Chilmil had been left tied up and slapped his cheek. He said: "Darling, what do you mean?" and Râi Hasnî said: —

Bait.	Verse.
"*Uddal âî terî bahinṛî; oh wekh baiṭhâ âe Hassâ Râi.*	Thy sister has eloped: behold, there sits Hassâ Râi.
Sad koî gunî Bâhman deota parotahâ. Ehm dâ wekhâṅ bed parhâe.	Call in a clever Brâhman and her family priest, I would see them married.
Bed paṛhâweṅ, tâṅ chhaḍsâṅ, kaun/â meriâ; nahîṅ, tâṅ do dhaṛ karâṅgî châ."	Get them married and I will spare thee, my lord: if not, I will cut thee in twain."

Râi Chilmil said: —

Bait.	Verse.
"*Ḍarye, rannâṅ, tuhâḍe makr toṅ; sir te ghullî bâ.*	"I fear thy wiles, woman; the wind blows over my head.
Tûṅ âkheṅ shêrâṅ Hassâ mâriâ moiâ; kitthoṅ lîyâ jîâ?	Thou saidst that Hassâ had been killed by tigers; whence hast thou brought him alive?
Kitthoṅ kaḍḍhâṅ gunî Brâhman deotâ, inhâṅ dâ dîyâṅ bed paṛhâ?"	Whence shall I fetch a crafty Brâhman, to have them married?"

Rûp Chand the Brâhman was sitting close by and he said: —

Bait.	Verse.
"*Brâhman dâ kî 'uzar hai? Dil dî âkh sunâ.*	"What is your objection to the Brâhman? Tell me your heart's desire.
Ik Môrnî dâ kî bed hai? Maiṅ sârâ shahr dâ deâṅ bed paṛhâ."	What is one Môrnî's wedding? I could marry the whole city."

Râi Chilmil said to Rûp Chand that he had better get the marriage ceremony over, and he did so. At night when both were asleep, Râi Has drew his sword and put it between them.

When one watch of the night remained, Rûp Chand saddled both his own horse and the Râjâ's, and both rode off, the Râjâ with Môrnî behind him. When they got into the gateway, Rûp Chand said: — "You have disgraced the thirty-two streams of your mother's milk, for you never had the drums beaten." Râi Has replied that having a woman mounted behind him he could not go and do it, as the drum was placed in the gateway, but that as Rûp Chand was quite a young man he could go and beat it himself. Rûp Chand went and did so and all the people woke up, and Rûp Chand coming down, got on his horse and slew the guard of Pûrbiâs. Then he took the road to Gaṛh Jammûṅ.

Râi Hasnî saddled the Ḍûm's pony for Râi Chilmil and gave him arms, and said: — "I will go up into my palace, Sir Râi, and see how you wield your arms."

As long as he was in the bazar, the pony went fast, but when it got to the gateway the day dawned and the crows began to caw. Every day the crows had teased the pony, and hearing them caw, it stood still. Râi Chilmil jerked the reins and plied his spurs, until the pony fell over backwards. Then up came Wall-eye and said: —

Bait.	Verse.
"*Likhâṅ lâ giâṅ tainûṅ: banîâ tere bhâ.*	"Thy wife has brought thee dishonour: suffering is for thee.
Pahloṅ sir waḍh ran dâ; phir Hasse te jâe."	First cut off thy wife's head: then go for Hassâ."

Râi Chilmil said he would do for Has: — "Go and get me my horse, arms and clothes." And mounting his horse he went to where Târaḍhîṛa's procession of 18,000 warriors was coming along. Târaḍhîṛa, after mutual salutations had passed, said: — "Sire, that which you have come to fetch has been taken by Râi Has to Gaṛh Mughalânî." Târaḍhîṛâ made his elephant sit down, took off his garland and mounted his steed. Then with all his men he pursued Râi Has, overtook him, and said: —

Bait.	Verse.
"*Na jâîṅ, chirewâriâ ghabrûâ; wârî mêrî deke jâ.*"	"Go not, turbaned youth: go after a bout with me."

When Râi Has turned his horse, Môrnî seized the reins and said: — "He is my husband: I am his bride. First let me take the seven turns (of marriage) with him in this plain. If you fight first and perchance he be killed, whither shall I go?"

Bait.	Verse.
Dhûṅ dhûṅ naqârâ wajiâ, chaṛhî Mornî nâr.	While the drums were being beaten, Môrnî, the woman, made her attack.
Astut paṛhke ḍhûḍhî bhâe; sar mangnî dede, wâhiyâ; khopaṛ bhangâl bhanḍâr.	Seizing a weapon she brandished it: cut off the head of her suitor and cracked his skull.
Târedheṛe da sir waḍhke, leyon ne Gaḍh Jummuṅ da râh.	She cut off Târaḍhîṛâ's head, and took the way to Jammûṅ Fort.

Having cut off her suitor's head, she took it and threw it down before Râi Has. When they had gone two or three *kos*, Rûp Chand said he must play some trick there to maintain his reputation. So he took his book out of his pocket and dropped it. Then he called out to Râi Has that he had dropped his book and they had better go on while he found it. Râi Has told him to leave it and he would give him another. But Rûp Chand said it was his great-grandfather's and where was he to get another like it? People would say they threw away things out of fear. So Rûp Chand went back to the spot where it had fallen, and kissed it as he put it in his pocket. Râi Majhâr's forces came up, and Râi Dîwân, Râi Majhâr's *dîwân*, fell upon Rûp Chand.

Bait.	**Verse.**
Dhûn dhûn nagârâ wajîâ; charhiâ Dîwân Chand Râi.	While the drums were being beaten, Râi Dîwân made his attack.
Nezâ hath nâgdaun dâ Râi Dîwân de lîâ dast uthâî.	Seizing his deadly spear, Râi Dîwân took it in his hand;
Pabbân parne nezâ mâriâ: Rûp Chand le gayâ dhâle lâi.	Poising the lance he threw it: Rûp Chand took it on his shield.
Wârî âî Rûp Chand dî, sût lîâ talwâr.	Rûp Chand's turn came and he drew his sword.
Astût pharke dhadhî bhâ: sir Dîwân Râi de wâhîâ; khopar bhangâî bhandâr.	Taking his weapon, he brandished it: cut off Dîwân Râi's head, and broke his skull.
Râi Dîwân da sir wadhke, lîyâ Gadh Jammûn dâ râh.	Cutting off Râi Dîwân's head, he took the way to Jammûn Fort.

And cast the head before Râi Has and Môrnî, asking the latter whose it was. She said it was that of the Dîwân of 18,000 horse, and that he had done well in cutting it off and bringing it in. So saying they rejoined their troops.

Bait.	**Verse.**
Dhûn dhûn nagârâ wajîâ; charhîâ Madan Râi.	While the drums were being beaten; Madan Râi made his attack.
"*Na jâîn, chîrewâlîâ chhorâ; wârî mere deke jâe.*"	"Go not, turbaned youth: go, when I have had a bout with thee."
Udharon kaun kaun nikle? charhiâ Hassâ Râi.	Who comes out from the other side? Hassâ Râi made his attack.
Pakrî nautânkî kumân: têrân vichon tîr kadhiâ: tîrân vichon tîr balâe.	He seized his great bow; he drew an arrow from the quiver, a deadly arrow from the quiver.
Pahlâ tîr mâriâ: mârîâ Madan Râi.	He shot his first arrow: he slew Madan Râi.
Madan dâ sir wadhke, lîyâ Garh Jamûn dâ râh.	Cutting off Madan Râi's head, he took the road to Jammûn Fort.

As soon as he drew nigh to his own city, Râi Has's mother saw that he was being pursued by the enemy, and she fancied that he had eloped[86] with Môrnî, and that was why he was being pursued. So she bade them shut the town gates and let her unworthy son be killed outside the city. But someone told Râi Bhangî,[87] Râi Has's brother, that Has, Môrnî and Rûp Chand had come, and that his mother had the gates shut in their faces, so he said to her:—"Mother, Râi Majhâr called us menials and sons of menials. See now how gentlefolk come home and their menials follow them. Open the gates, and I will devote myself for the sake of my brother and his wife." Saying thus, he went to where he used to get drunk and having drunk a large cup of poppy-heads,[88] he went and threw open the gates, and brought in his brother and his sister-in-law and Rûp Chand.

[86] *Udhâlnâ*, to run off with another man's wife.

[87] *I. e.*, Râi Keôrâ.

[88] *Panjtôr=pôst*, poppy-heads: *dawra*, an earthern vessel with a wide mouth.

Bait.	Verse.
Dhûṅ dhûṅ nagârâ wajiâ: chaṛhiâ Bhangî Râi.	While the drums were being beaten: Bhangî Râi made his attack.
Udharâṅ kauṅ kaun niklîâ? Chaṛhiâ Dîâl Chand Râi.	From the other side who came out? Dîâl Chand Râi made his attack.
"Najâîṅ, chirewâlîâ Bhangîâ: wârî mere dekh jâe."	"Go not, turbaned Bhangî: go, when I have had a bout with thee."
Nezâ hath nâgdauṅ dâ Râi Dîâl de lîyâ dast ûṭhâe.	Râi Dîâl took a deadly spear in his hand and raised his hand.
Pebbâṅ par nezâ mârîâ; Bhangî le gayâ ḍhâl lâe.	He aimed and threw his spear; Bhangî caught it on his shield.
Wârî âî Râi Bhangî dî, sût lîyâ talwâr.	Now the turn of Râi Bhangî, and he drew his sword.
Sir Dîâl Râi dâ wâhîâ, khopar bhangâî bhandâr.	He smote the head of Dîâl Râî, and broke his skull.
Râi Dîâl dâ sir waḍhîâ. Chaṛhîâ Chilmil Râi.	He cut off the head of Râi Dîâl. Râi Chilmil made his attack.
"Na jâîṅ, chirewâlîâ Bhangîâṅ; wârî mere deke jâṅ."	"Go not, turbaned Bhangî; go, when I have had a bout with thee."
Dast kamân te gutîâ lîyâ chille chârh.	He lowered his bow and drew it.
Pahlâ tîr chalâyâ te mârâ Bhangî Râi.	With the first arrow, he slew Bhangî Râi.

Rai Chilmil bade them bind[89] his horse and his corpse, saying, "the people in the city would be busy mourning for him and they would plunder it." A scout[90] took the news to Rânî Jaunsân, Râi Bhangî's wife, that her husband had been killed. At that time Maṭh Meoṛâ, Râi Bhangî's son, was with the Rânî. He was eighteen years old, and he mounted his horse, took his arms and went forth.

Bait.	Verse.
Dhûṅ dhûṅ nagârâ wajiâ: Meoṛâ gujâ; udharoṅ gujîâ Kâlâ Râi.	While the drums were being beaten: thundered Meoṛâ; on the other side thundered Kâlâ Râi.
"Na jâîṅ, chirewâlîâ chhorâ; wârî, mere deke jâe."	"Go not, turbaned youth; go, when I have had about with thee."
Pabbâṅ pare nezâ mârîâ; Meoṛâ le gaya ḍhâle lâe.	He aimed his spear; Meoṛâ took it on his shield.
Wârî âî Meoṛe Râi dî; sut lîâ talwâr.	Then came Meoṛâ Râi's turn; he drew his sword.
Sir Kâle Râi de wâhîâ, khopar bhangâî bhandâr.	He smote Kâlâ Râi's head, and broke his skull.
Sir Kâle Râi dâ waḍhke. Chaṛhîâ Chilmil Râi.	He cut off Kâlâ Râi's head. Râi Chilmil made his attack.
Na jâîṅ, chirewâlîâ chhorâ; wârî mere deke jâî.	"Go not, turbaned youth; go, when I have had a bout with thee."
Pakṛî nauṭanki kaman, tîroṅ vicchoṅ tîr kadhîâ.	He seized his great bow, and drew an arrow from the quiver.
Pahlâ tîr chalâyâ te mârâ Meoṛâ Râi.	He shot the first arrow and slew Meoṛâ Râi.

And then bade them to bind his horse and his body and send the horse to the city. Said he:—"No one made mourning for Râi Bhangî, as he was old, but this is a youth; assuredly they will mourn for him, and we will plunder the town." A scout brought the news to Rânî Jaunsâṅ that her son also was dead, and she arose and went to where Râi Has and Râi Môrnî were sitting and said: "You are all living at ease, but my home has been made desolate, for my husband and my son have been killed."[91]

89 *Karnâ*, to bind or fetter.

90 *Khurbardâr.*

91 This passage recalls the Iliad, Bk. VI, where Hector reproaches Paris for his cowardice, though the war is waged on his account: (Lang, Leaf and Myers' Trans., pp. 119—121).

Rai Môrnî took her arms and went forth, mounted on her steed.

Bait.	**Verse.**
Dhûn dhûn naqârâ wajîâ : charhîâ Môrnî nâr.	While the drums were being beaten : Môrnî, the woman, made her attack.
Sir wair de wahîâ ; khopar bhangâî bhandâr.	She smote her brother's head and broke his skull.
Sakke wair dâ sir waḍhke : charhîâ Râi Majhâr.	When her own brother's head had been cut off. Râi Majhâr made his attack.
"*Kisne beṭâ merâ mârîâ ? Haise kauṅ jawân ?*"	"Who has slain my son ? Is there any youth who could do it ?"
Dast kamân wagutîâ lîyâ chille charh.	He took his great bow in his hand and drew it.
Jehî charhi khûnâṅ gahr dî, khûnâṅ burî balâe.	He shot a poisoned arrow, a deadly arrow,
Pahlâ tîr chalâyâ Majhâr ne, sônêwâlî le gayâ lâe.	At the first shot, Majhâr shot off her golden ear-ring.
Dîyâ chalâyâ Majhâr ne, chore pâyâ daskâr.	At the second shot, Majhâr broke her bracelet.
Hînas pâyâ mulkâṅ desâṅ Mornî larḍi hai puikâṅ nâl.	News spread through the countries and lands that Môrnî is fighting her father.
"*Na jâîṅ, khotiâ bâblâ dhruyâ ; wârî merê deke jâe.*"	"Go not, hypocrite and father ; go when I have had a bout with thee."

So saying Môrnî attacked her father and overthrew him. She placed her sword at his throat and said:—

Bait.	**Verse.**
"*Sad gunî Bâhman deotâ merâ, wekhâṅ Bed parhâe.*	"Call that clever Brâhman and my priest, and duly celebrate my marriage.
Bed paṭhâweṅ, tâṅ chadsâṅ ; nahîṅ, do dhar karûṅgî châ."	If thou wilt celebrate my marriage, I will let thee go ; if not, I will cut thee in two pieces"

Said Râi Majhâr : —

Bait.	**Verse.**
"*Kâhe dî karâṅ tollê ? Kâhe da wairâ waṛâh ?*	"Of what shall I make the booth ? Of what the wedding square ?
Kâhe dîâṅ karâṅ tamhiâṅ ? Kâhe dâ wairâ waṛâh ?"	Of what shall I make the posts ? Of what the wedding square ? "

Said Môrnî : —

Bait.	**Verse.**
"*Tîrâṅ de kar le tolle : ḍhâlâṅ wairâ warâh.*	"Make the booth of arrows : the square of shields.
Barchhîâṅ dîâṅ kar le tamhîâṅ : rat dâ chuk purâe."	Make the posts of spears, and fill the square with blood."

Bait.	**Verse.**
Rau wich khârâ dharyâ châ.	The shot were placed in the battle field.
Kânâ nafrân dâ sadke, rat dâ chuk purâe.	Wall-eye and the servants were called and the square was filled with blood.
Rûp Chând ândâ sadke, lîyâ Bed paṛhâe.	Rûp Chand was sent for and came and read the marriage.
Môrnî jit, ghar le chaliâ mardâṅ de maidâṅ.	Môrnî victorious went home to the plain of the warriors.
Môrnî Râi Has gawîâṅ, vichâṅ sakhâṅ âgge â.	And the nations sing songs about Môrnî and Has. [92]

[92] We have been unable to discover the exact provenance of this curiosity of folk-literature, or to trace any manuscript of it. We have however found that it is well-known in its present form to the present Râṇa of Hariâna, in the sub-montane district of Hoshiârpur, who is the head of a Râjput family, now converted to Islâm ; he thinks that it originated in the adjacent hills, owing to the use of the term *dhîr*, a 'ridge or range of hills.' However this may be, it is well-known among the Nârâ Râjputs of the Hoshiârpur District, and is sung by all their *pirhais* or bards. We are informed that the story was also current in the Ludhiâna District, but this does not appear to be the case.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES DURING EXPLORATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA IN 1906-8.

BY DR. M. AUREL STEIN.

(Continued from Vol. XXVIII, p. 302.)

7. The Niya Oasis.

At **Niya, the last small oasis** eastwards, which I reached on October 14, I had to prepare rapidly for fresh exploration at the ancient site in the desert northwards, where, on my first visit in 1901, I had made important discoveries among ruins deserted already in the third century A. D. It was encouraging to learn from my old treasure-seeking guide Ibrahim, that the further search I had enjoined him to make for ancient dwellings hidden away amidst the dunes had been fruitful, and equally it was pleasing to see how readily my old Niya diggers rejoined me. I was resolved this time to take out as many labourers as I could possibly keep supplied with water. So it was encouraging that, what with the example set by this my "old guard" and the influence still possessed here by Ibrahim Beg, my energetic old Darogha, whom luckily, as it proved, a little local conspiracy had turned out of his Beg's office just in time to make him available for me, a column of fifty men with additional camels and supplies for four weeks, could be raised within a single day's halt. Then followed three rapid marches, through the luxuriant jungle belt which lines the dying course of the Niya River northward, which were made delightful to the eye by the glowing autumn tints of wild poplars and reed beds. Picturesque parties of pilgrims returning from the lonely shrine of Imam Zafar Sadik added a touch of human interest to the sylvan scenery, glowing in autumn tints. At the supposed resting-place of that great holy warrior, with its quaint collections of rags, yak-tails, and other votive offerings, we left behind the last abode of the living, and also the present end of the river. Two days later I had the satisfaction of camping once more amidst the bare dunes close to the centre of that long-stretched settlement, buried under the sands since the 3rd century A. D., to which a special fascination had made my thoughts turn so often since those happy days of labour in the winter of 1901. The bitter cold then experienced was now absent; but when, in the twilight of that first evening, I strolled across the high sands to a ruin then sighted and reluctantly "left over" for unavoidable reasons, and lighted upon a fine carved cantilever since laid bare by a slight shift of a dune, I felt almost as if I had never been away, and yet full of gratitude to the kindly fate which had allowed me to return.

Already that day's route, slightly diverging from that followed on my first discovery of the site, had taken me past a series of ruined dwellings, rows of gaunt trunks of dead fruit-trees, and other signs of ancient occupation which had not been seen by me on my previous visit. A little experimental scraping had even revealed in the corner of a much-eroded, modest dwelling, some wooden tablets inscribed in that ancient Indian Kharoshthi script, and of the curious type with which my previous excavations had rendered me so familiar. The encouraging promise thus held out to us soon proved true when, after tramping next morning (October 20), some 4 miles over absolutely bare dunes, I started our fresh diggings at the northernmost of the ruined dwellings which Ibrahim, my old guide, had discovered scattered in a line some 2 miles to the west of the area explored in 1901. High dunes

had then kept from our view these structures, evidently marking what must have been the extreme north-western extension of the canal once fed from the Niya River. The ruin we first cleared was a relatively small dwelling, covered only by 3 to 4 feet of sand, and just of the right type to offer an instructive lesson to my native assistants and the men. It occupied a narrow tongue of what owing to the depression produced around by wind erosion looked like high ground, extending in continuation of the line of a small irrigation canal still marked by fallen rows of dead poplars. As soon as the floor was reached in the western end room, Kharoshthi documents on wood began to crop out in numbers. After the first discovery of a *takhta* (tablet) had been duly rewarded with some Chinese silver, I had the satisfaction of seeing specimen after specimen of this ancient record and correspondence in Indian language and script emerge from where the last dweller, 1700 years ago, probably a petty official, about the middle of the third century A. D, had left behind his "waste paper." Rectangular tablets, of the official type, with closely fitting wooden covers serving as envelopes; double wedge-shaped tablets as used for semi-official correspondence; oblong boards and labels of wood serving for records and accounts of all kinds, were all represented among the finds of this first ruin. It added to my gratification to see that a number of the rectangular and wedge-shaped letter tablets still retained intact their original string fastenings, and a few even their clay seal impressions. How cheering it was to discover on them representations of Heracles and Eros left by the impact of classical intaglios! Just as familiar were to me the household implements which this ruin yielded. Remains of a wooden chair decorated with carvings of Græco-Buddhist style, weaving instruments, a boot last, a large eating tray, mouse-trap, etc., were all objects I could with my former experience recognize at the first glance, like the various methods employed in building the timber and plaster walls.

Our next task was the clearing of the remains of a far larger structure close to my camp. Here, the walls and any objects which may have been left between them proved completely eroded, though the massive posts, bleached and splintered, still rose high, marking the position of the timber framework. But when I examined the ground underneath what appeared to have been an outhouse or stables, I realized quickly that it was made up of layers of a huge refuse heap. Of course, previous experience supplied sufficient reason for digging into this unsavoury quarry, though the pungent smells which its contents emitted, even after seventeen centuries of burial, were doubly trying in the fresh eastern breeze driving fine dust, dead microbes and all, into one's eyes, throat and nose. Our perseverance in cutting through layer upon layer of stable refuse was rewarded at last by striking on a level fully 7 feet below the surface, a small wooden enclosure which had probably served as a dustbin for some earlier habitation. There were curious sweepings of all sorts — rags of manifold fabrics in silk, cotton, felt, seals of bronze and bone, embroidered leather, wooden pens, fragments of lacquer-ware, broken implements in wood, etc. But more gratifying still was a find of over a dozen small tablets inscribed with Chinese characters of exquisite penmanship, apparently forwarding notes of various consignments. The localities mentioned are of considerable geographical and historical interest as throwing light upon the connection maintained by this settlement or its Chinese garrison with distant parts on the route into China proper. Quite at the bottom of the enclosure we found a small heap of corn, still in sheaves and in perfect preservation, and close to it the mummified bodies of two mice.

I cannot attempt to give details of the busy days spent in searching the chain of dwellings stretching southward. Some had suffered badly from erosion; others had been better protected, and the clearing of the high sand which filled their room cost great efforts. But the men encouraged by small rewards for the first finds of antiquarian value, wielded their *ketmans* with surprising perseverance, in spite of the discomfort implied by strictly limited water rations, and Ibrahim Beg's rough-humoured exhortations sufficed to keep

them hard at work for ten to eleven hours daily. Kharoshthi records on wood, whether letters, accounts, drafts, or memos, turned up in almost every one of these dwellings, besides household objects and implements illustrative of everyday life and the prevailing industries. Though nothing of intrinsic value had been left behind by the last dwellers of this modest Pompeii, there was sufficient evidence of the ease in which they had lived in fine wood carvings, etc., in the large number of individual rooms provided with fireplaces, comfortable sitting platforms, etc. Remains of fenced gardens and of avenues of poplars or fruit trees could be traced almost invariably near these houses. Where dunes had afforded protection, the gaunt, bleached trunks in these orchards, chiefly mulberry trees, still rose as high as 10 to 12 feet. With so much of these ancient homesteads in almost perfect preservation, and being constantly reminded of identical arrangements in modern Turkestan houses, I often caught myself wanting, as it were, in antiquarian respect for these relics of a past buried since nearly seventeen centuries.

I must forego any attempt at detailed description of the results here yielded by a fortnight of exacting but fruitful work. Yet a particularly rich haul of ancient documents may claim mention were it only on account of the characteristic conditions under which it was discovered. I was clearing a large residence in a group of ruins on the extreme west of the site which had on my previous visit been traced too late for complete exploration, and which I had ever since kept faithfully *in petto*. Fine pieces of architectural wood carving brought to light near a large central hall soon proved that the dwelling must have been that of a well-to-do person, and finds of Kharoshthi records of respectable size, including a wooden tablet fully 3 feet long, in what appeared to have been an ante-room, suggested his having been an official of some consequence. The hope of finding more in his office was soon justified when the first strokes of the *ketman* laid bare regular packets of documents near the floor of a narrow room adjoining the central hall. Their number soon rose to over a hundred. Most of them were "wedges" as used for the conveyance of executive orders; others, on oblong tablets, accounts, lists and miscellaneous "office papers", to use an anachronism. Evidently we had hit upon office files thrown down here and excellently preserved, under the cover of 5 to 6 feet of sand. The scraping of the mud flooring for detached pieces was still proceeding, when a strange discovery rewarded honest Rustam, the most experienced digger of my "old guard." Already during the first clearing I had noticed a large lump of clay or plaster near the wall where the packets of tablets lay closest. I had ordered it to be left undisturbed, though I thought little of its having come to that place by more than accident. Rustam had just extracted between it and the wall a well-preserved double wedge tablet when I saw him eagerly burrow with his hands into the floor just as when my little terrier is at work opening rat-holes. Before I could put any questions, I saw Rustam triumphantly draw forth from *circ.* 6 inches below the floor a complete rectangular document with its double clay seal intact and its envelope still unopened. When the hole was enlarged, we saw that the space towards the wall and below the foundation beam of the latter was full of closely packed layers of similar documents.

It was clear that we had struck a small hidden archive, and my joy at this novel experience was great, for apart from the interest of the documents themselves and their splendid preservation, the condition in which they were found furnished very valuable indications. The fact that, with a few exceptions, all the rectangular documents, of which fully three dozen were cleared in the end, had their elaborated string fastenings unopened and sealed down on the envelope, confirmed the conjectural explanation I had arrived at in the case of a few previous finds of this kind, that these were agreements or bonds which had to be kept under their original fastening and seals in order that in case of need their validity might be safely established. Characteristically enough, the only two open records proved letters addressed in due form to the "Hon'ble Cojhbo Sojaka, dear to gods and men," whose name and title I had read already before on many of the official notes dug up previously in the scattered files. The care which had been taken to hide the deposit and at

the same time to mark its position — for that, no doubt, was the purpose of the clay lump, as Rustam had quite rightly guessed — showed that the owner had been obliged to leave the place in an emergency, but with a hope of returning. This may help to throw light yet on the conditions under which the settlement was deserted. Great care had to be taken in the removal to save on clearing the clay sealings from risk of damage. It was amply rewarded when I discovered on clearing them at night, in my tent, that almost all had remained as fresh as when first impressed, and that most of them were from seals of classical workmanship representing Heracles with club and lion-skin, Eros, Pallas Promachos, helmeted busts, etc. It was strange how victoriously the art of the Greek die-cutter had survived in this distant region, and strange, too, to know myself the *de facto* possessor of Sojaka's deeds, probably referring to lands and other real property buried since long centuries under the silent dunes. Where was the court which might help me to claim them ?

As our work proceeded to the south of the site the surroundings grew, if anything, more sombre and almost lugubrious, in spite of the appearance of still living scrub. The ruins had to be searched for amidst closely set sand cones raising their heads covered with tangled masses of tamarisk, dead or living, to 40 or 50 feet. Ruins just emerging from the foot of a sandhill with deeply eroded ground on the other side made up weird pictures of solitude. The dust haze raised by a cold north-east wind added an appropriately coloured atmosphere. It was almost with a feeling of relief that we emerged at last upon somewhat more open ground towards the southern end of the site. The ruined dwellings were small there; but an inspection of the ground near by revealed features of interest. Only some 60 yards off the ruin which had yielded the first tablets, there stood a square of dead mulberry trees raising their trunks up to 10 feet or more, which had once cast their shade over a tank still marked by a depression. The stream from which the canal once feeding it must have taken off was not far to seek; for behind the nearest ridge of sand to the west there still lay a footbridge about 90 feet long stretched across an unmistakable dry river-bed. Of the trestles which had carried the bridge, two still stood upright half buried in dunes. Beyond the left banks stretched shrivelled remains of arbours for upwards of 200 yards, to where steep banks marked a large square reservoir. For over 2 miles to the north-west, we could follow the traces of the ancient river-bed, in places completely covered by drift-sand, but emerging again amongst low dunes and patches of dead forest. Finally it seemed to join a broad valley-like depression stretching far away with living wild poplars and tamarisks, and flanked by big ridges of sand. This great nullah, and others like it which Ibrahim had vainly searched for ruins rising west of it, had certainly seen no water since long ages. Over all this strange ground desiccation was written most plainly.

8. Endere.

The four hundred odd miles of desert through which my marches took me in November, from the Niya site past Charchan to Charklik, offered opportunities for interesting archæological work at more than one point. But I can pause to describe it now only to mention the solution which some fortunate archæological finds at an ancient site near the Endere River afforded for a problem of antiquarian and geographical interest. In 1901 I had excavated there the sand-buried ruins of a fort which epigraphical and other finds proved to have been occupied about the first decades of the eighth century, and abandoned during the Tibetan invasion soon after. Now it was curious that Hsüan-tsang, the great Chinese pilgrim who had passed by the same route from Niya to Charchan about 649 A. D., found no inhabited place on the ten day's march, but distinctly mentions in a position corresponding exactly to the **Endere site ruins** of abandoned settlements which the tradition of his time described as "old seat of the Tukhara" famous in Central-Asian history.

That we have here a definite historical instance of an old site abandoned to the desert having been reoccupied after the lapse of centuries, was conclusively proved by discoveries made on my fresh visit. A shifting of the low dunes near the fort had exposed much-eroded remains of ancient dwellings. When carefully clearing the consolidated refuse heaps, which had saved them from complete destruction, we came upon Kharoshthi records on wood which clearly belonged to the second or third century A. D. — and thus to the very period of Tukhara, *i. e.*, Indo-Scythian ascendency. Further striking evidence of the often-proved accuracy of my Chinese guide and patron saint came to light when I discovered that the rampart of the fort built within a generation or two of his passage was in one place actually raised over a bank of refuse, which belonged to the first centuries of our era as proved by a Kharoshthi document on leather. It is significant that the time which saw Hsüan-tsang's ruined settlement brought to light again coincides with the re-establishment of Chinese power in the Tarim basin securing peace and security.

9. The Charklik Oasis.

At the small oasis of Charklik, which a variety of indications prove to be the true location of the **Lou-lan** of the old Chinese pilgrims and Marco Polo's **Lop**, the preparations for my long-planned expedition to the ruins north of Lop-nor, first discovered by Dr. Hedin on his memorable journey of 1900, proved an exacting task. Within three days I had to raise a contingent of fifty labourers for proposed excavations ; food supplies to last all of us for five weeks ; and to collect as many camels as I possibly could get for transport, seeing that we should have to carry water, or rather ice, sufficient to provide us all on a seven days' march across waterless desert, then during a prolonged stay at the ruins as well as on the return journey.

10. Ruins of Lop-nor.

On the morning of December 15 we had left the last salt encrusted depression with dead poplars and tamarisk behind us, and very soon after we passed into that zone of excessive erosion which constitutes so striking a feature of the northern portion of the **Lop-nor Desert.** The succession of steep clay banks and sharply cut nullahs between them, all carved out by wind erosion and clearly marking the prevailing direction of the winds, north-east to south-west, was most trying to the camels' feet, — several of the poor beasts had to be "resoled," a painful operation, — and did not allow us to cover more than 14 miles at the utmost, though I kept men and beasts on the move from daybreak until nightfall. There could be no doubt about this ground forming part of a very ancient lake-bed. Yet curiously enough we had scarcely entered it when frequent finds of worked flints and other implements of the Stone Age, together with fragments of very coarse pottery, supplied evidence that it must have been occupied by man in prehistorical times. An equally important discovery was that of small bronze objects, including early Chinese coins, together with plentiful fragments of well-finished pottery, at a point still fully 12 miles to the south of Hedin's site. By that time we were already in the clutches of an icy north-east wind, which in the middle of the following night nearly blew my tent down. With short intervals it continued during our whole stay in this region. With minimum temperatures rapidly falling below zero Fahr., it made life exceedingly trying for the next weeks. Had it not been for the plentiful fuel supplied by the rows of bleached dead tree-trunks, evidently marking ancient river-beds, the men would have suffered even more from exposure than they did. In spite of the sun shining brightly, a double supply of my warmest wraps and gloves failed to keep head and hands warm.

So it was a great relief for us all when, on December 17, the first great mound indicating proximity of the site was duly sighted, exactly where Hedin's sketch-map had led me to expect it. By nightfall I was able to pitch camp at the foot of the **ruined stupa** which stands out in this weirdly desolate landscape as the **landmark of the main group of ruins.** The excavations which I carried on unremittingly for the next eleven days, with a relatively large number of men, enabled me to clear all remains traceable at the several groups of ruins, and yielded plentiful results. Among the dwellings, constructed of timber and plaster walls exactly like those of the Niya site, wind erosion had worked terrible havoc. Its force and direction may be judged by the fact that of the solid walls of stamped clay once enclosing the principal settlement, those facing east and west had been completely carried away, while the north and south walls could just be traced. But, luckily, in various places a sufficient cover of drift sand or consolidated refuse had afforded protection for many interesting relics. In a large rubbish heap, fully 100 feet across, extending near the centre of what proved to have been a small fortified station, we struck a particularly rich mine. The finds of written records, on wood and paper, also on silk, proved remarkably numerous, considering the limited size of the settlements and the number of dwellings which had escaped erosion. The majority of the records are Chinese, apparently chiefly of an administrative character; their detailed examination is likely to throw light on questions connected with the use of the **ancient trade route which passed once here along the south foot of the Kuruk-tagh and north of Lop-nor into Kan-su,** and also on matters of geographical nomenclature (**Lou-lan**, *e g.*, being referred to in a way clearly showing that the name could *not* apply to this settlement).

Kharoshthi documents were also numerous. Their character and the observations made as to their places and conditions of discovery justify the important conclusion that the same early Indian language found in the records of the Niya site was in common local use also in the Lop-nor region for indigenous administration and business. Considering how far removed Lop-nor is from Khotan, this uniform extension of an Indian script and language to the extreme east of the Tarim basin has a special historical interest. Architectural wood carvings, objects of industrial art, metal seals, etc., brought to light in considerable number show the same close dependence on models of Græco-Buddhist art brought from India as the corresponding finds of the Niya site. The resemblance to the latter is so great that even without the evidence of dated Chinese documents and of the very numerous coin finds, the art remains would have sufficed to prove that the ruins which from **the salt springs situated a long march northward may for the present be called those of Altmish-bulak,** were abandoned about the same time as the Niya site, *i. e.*, the latter half of the third century A.D.

The results of our excavations prove clearly that the principal group of ruins represents the remains of a small fortified station garrisoned by Chinese troops, and intended to control an **important ancient route** which led **from Tun-huang (Sha-chou),** on the extreme west of Kan-su to the oases along and **to the north of the Tarim.** We knew from Chinese historical records that this route opened through the desert about 110 B.C. served for the first expansion of Chinese political influence and trade westwards, and remained in use through the whole period of the Han dynasty. But it was only in the course of the explorations of this winter and spring that its exact direction and the starting-points east and west of the absolute desert intervening could be determined with certainty. There were a series of indications to show that the settlement around this western station derived its importance far more from the traffic with China which passed through it than from the resources of local cultivation. Yet even allowing for this, how impressive is the evidence of the great physical changes which have overtaken this region, mainly through desiccation! For over 150 miles to the east, no

drinkable water could be found now along the line which the route must have followed towards the westernmost point of the ancient frontier-line subsequently discovered by me in the desert west of Tun-huang, and no possible canal system from the Tarim could now carry water for anything like that distance beyond the Altmish-bulak site, nor even as far probably as the latter. The springs of Altmish-bulak and some to the west of them where we sent such of our camels as could be spared from transport work, proved so salt that the poor beasts, even with the thirst of a fortnight, would not touch their water. For the same reason no ice had as yet formed on them, in spite of the minimum temperatures during our stay at the ruins having fallen as low as 45° below freezing point.

On 29th December, 1906, I set out with a few men through the unexplored desert south-westward, and afer a seven days' tramp, we safely reached the ice of the Tarim lagoons. Relics of the Stone Age, including a fine jade axe cropped up on the rare patches of eroded bare ground *en route*.

11. Miran.

After surveying some localities of archæological interest on **the lower Tarim and Char-chan Rivers,** I hurried *viâ* Charklik to resume my excavation at **Miran.** This, too, was a very desolate spot situated at the foot of the absolutely barren gravel glacis which stretches down from the mountains towards the westernmost of the Lop-nor marshes. The latter had probably within historical times receded fully 10 miles or so to the north of the position occupied by the ruins. But luckily a small stream which had once been used to irrigate the area, still passes within a few miles of the ruins. In the narrow jungle belt on its banks our hard-tried camels found such grazing as dead leaves of wild poplars and dry reeds can offer, and we ourselves were spared the anxieties about water transport. I had got quite used to connect cold and hardships with my archæological work, but none of our party is ever likely to forget the misery we endured during those three weeks of hard work from the icy gales almost always blowing. There were days when all my assistants were on the sick-list with the exception of bright, alert, Chiang-ssu-yieh.

But the results achieved offered ample reward to me. The ruined fort quite fulfilled the promise held out by the first experimental digging. The rooms and half-underground hovels which had sheltered its Tibetan garrison during the eighth to ninth century A. D. were rough enough in design and construction, but proved to contain in some respects the most remarkable refuse accumulations it has ever fallen to my lot to clear. Rubbish filled them in places to a height of 9 to 10 feet, and right down to the bottom the layers of refuse of all kinds left behind by the occupants yielded in profusion records on paper and wood, mostly in Tibetan, but some in a script which looks like **Kok-turki, the earliest Turki writing.** The total number rose in the end to close on a thousand. Similarly, the remains of implements, articles of clothing, arms, etc., were abundant. Their condition, I am sorry to say, illustrated only too well the squalor in which these Tibetan braves must have passed their time at this forlorn frontier post. Evidence often of a very unsavoury kind seemed to indicate that the rooms which alone could have given shelter against the inclemencies of the climate, continued to be tenanted to the last, while the refuse accumulations on the floor kept steadily rising. In some places they actually attained the roofing. I have had occasion to acquire a rather extensive experience in clearing ancient rubbish heaps, and know how to diagnose them. But for intensity of absolute dirt and age-persisting "smelliness" I shall always put the rich "castings" of Tibetan warriors in the front rank.

There can be no doubt that the stronghold was intended to guard the **direct route from the southern oases of the Tarim basin to Tun-huang (or Sha-chou).** As a branch of the one previously mentioned as leading north of Lop-nor, this must have been a main line of communi-cation into China from the last centuries B. C. onwards, and still grew in importance when the

former became impracticable after the early centuries of our era. But older in date and of far wider interest were the art remains which we brought to light from the *debris* mounds of some Buddhist shrines surviving erosion in the vicinity of the fort. These must have been in ruins at least four centuries before the Tibetan occupation led to the erection of the latter. From one of them emerged remnants of colossal *stucco relievos*, representing seated Buddhas, and showing in their modelling, closest relation to Græco-Buddhist sculpture as developed in the extreme north-west of India during the first centuries of our era. The influence of classical art was reflected with surprising directness in the much-damaged yet remarkable frescoes which covered what remains of walls of two circular-domed temples enclosing small stupas. The paintings of the main frieze on a background of Pompeian red, illustrating scenes of Buddhist legend or worship, showed the same clever adaptation of classical forms to Indian subjects and ideas which constitutes the chief characteristic and charm of Græco-Buddhist sculpture, but which in the pictorial art of that period can no longer be studied within Indian limits, owing to the destruction of all painted work through climatic vicissitudes. But even more interesting were the figures of the elaborate fresco dadoes Some of the frescoes were so thoroughly Western in conception and treatment that when they first emerged from the *debris*, I felt tempted to believe myself rather among the ruins of some Roman villa in Syria or Asia Minor than those of Buddhist sanctuaries on the very confines of China. There were half-length figures of beautiful winged angels, and, more curious still, a cycle of youthful figures in a gracefully designed setting of garland-carrying *putti*, representing the varied pleasures of life. It was such a strange contrast to the weird desolation which now reigns in the desert around the ruins. Kharoshthi inscriptions painted by the side of some frescoes and pieces of silk streamers bearing legends in the same script indicate the third century A.D. as the approximate date when these temples were deserted. Unfortunately, the very confined space and the semi-Arctic weather conditions made photographic work very difficult, and what of frescoes, we succeeded in safely removing, still awaits unpacking.

12. The Lop-nor — Tun-huang Route.

On February 21, 1907, I started on the **long desert journey**, in seventeen long marches, which was to take us from the dreary **Lop-nor marshes right through to Tun-huang on the westernmost border of Kansu and China proper.** It was the same route by which Marco Polo had travelled "through the desert of Lob." Six centuries before him it had seen a traveller scarcely less great, Hsüan-tsang, the pilgrim of pious memory, returning to China laden with Buddhist relics and sacred books after many years' wanderings in the "Western Regions." Ever since the end of the second century B.C., when the Chinese first brought the Tarim Basin under their political influence, this desolate desert track close on 350 miles in length had served as an important caravan route during successive periods, only to be forgotten again, when Chinese power westwards weakened or a policy of rigid seclusion strangled trade. Some twenty-five years ago it had thus to be rediscovered. Mulla, the quaint honest Loplik, who had helped me at Altmish-bulak and Miran, was one of the small party who guided a plucky Chinese official through. Captain Kozloff, to whose excellent pioneer work in the Pei-shan and westernmost Nan-shan it affords me special pleasure to bear testimony, had followed it in 1894, and since then, just a year before me, also Colonel Bruce with Captain Layard. Now the rapidly rising tide of prosperity and commercial enterprise in the southern oases of Turkestan is bringing the route into favour again with traders from Khotan and Kashgar, but only during the winter months when the use of ice makes it possible to overcome the difficulties arising from the want of drinkable water at a succession of stages.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ARTHASASTRA OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V — XV)

Translated by

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[*Note.*—The first four books have been published in the *Mysore Review*, 1906—1908.]

(*Continued from Vol. XXXVIII, p. 310.*)

Chapter V.

Considerations about marching against an assailable enemy and a strong enemy; causes leading to the dwindling, greed, and disloyalty of the army; and considerations about the combination of powers. (Yâtavyâmitrayorabhigrahachintâ kshayalobhaviragahetavah prakṛitînâm. Sâmavâyikaviparimarśah.)

When two enemies, one an assailable enemy and another a strong enemy, are equally involved in troubles, which of them is to be marched against first?

The strong enemy is to be marched against first; after vanquishing him, the assailable enemy is to be attacked, for, when a strong enemy has been vanquished, an assailable enemy will volunteer of his own accord to help the conqueror; but not so, a strong enemy.

Which is to be marched against? An assailable enemy involved in troubles to a greater degree or a strong enemy troubled to a lesser degree?

My teacher says that as a matter of easy conquest, the assailable enemy under worse troubles should be marched against first.

Not so, says Kauṭilya: The conqueror should march against the strong enemy under less troubles, for the troubles of the strong enemy, though less, will be augmented when attacked. True, that the worse troubles of the assailable enemy will be still worse when attacked. But when left to himself, the strong enemy under less troubles will endeavour to get rid of his troubles and unite with the assailable enemy or with another enemy in the rear of the conqueror.

When there are two assailable enemies, one of virtuous character and under worse troubles, and another of vicious character, under less troubles, and with disloyal subjects, which of them is to be marched against first?

When the enemy of virtuous character and under worse troubles is attacked, his subjects will help him; whereas, the subjects of the other of vicious character and under less troubles will be indifferent. Disloyal or indifferent subjects will endeavour to destroy even a strong king. Hence the conqueror should march against that enemy whose subjects are disloyal.

Which is to be marched against? An enemy whose subjects are impoverished and greedy? or an enemy whose subjects are being oppressed?

My teacher says that the conqueror should march against that enemy whose subjects are impoverished and greedy, for impoverished and greedy subjects suffer themselves to be won over to the other side by intrigue, and are easily excited. But not so the oppressed subjects whose wrath can be pacified by punishing the chief men (of the state).

Not so, says Kauṭilya : for though impoverished and greedy. they are loyal to their master and are ready to stand for his cause and to defeat any intrigue against him ; for it is in loyalty that all other good qualities have their strength. Hence the conqueror should march against the enemy whose subjects are opppressed.

Which enemy is to be marched against ? A powerful enemy of wicked character or a powerless enemy of righteous character ?

The strong enemy of wicked character should be marched against, for when he is attacked, his subjects will not help him, but rather put him down or go to the side of the conqueror. But when the enemy of virtuous character is attacked, his subjects will help him or die with him.

(a) By insulting the good and commending the wicked ; by causing unnatural and unrighteous slaughter of life ; (b) by neglecting the observance of proper and righteous customs ; by doing unrighteous acts and neglecting righteous ones ; (c) by doing what ought not to be done and not doing what ought to be done ; by not paying what ought to be paid and exacting what ought not to be taken ; (d) by not punishing the guilty and severely punishing the less guilty ; by arresting those who are not to be caught hold of and leaving those who are to be arrested ; (e) by undertaking risky works and destroying profitable ones ; by not protecting the people against thieves and by robbing them of their wealth ; (f) by giving up manly enterprise and condemning good works ; by hurting the leaders of the people and despising the worthy ; (g) by provoking the aged, by crooked conduct, and by untruthfulness ; by not applying remedies against evils and neglecting works in hand ; (h) and by carelessness and negligence of himself in maintaining the security of person and property of his subjects, the king causes impoverishment, greed, and disaffection to appear among his subjects ; (i) when a people are impoverished, they become greedy ; when they are greedy, they become disaffected ; when disaffected, they voluntarily go to the side of the enemy or destroy their own master [26].

Hence, no king should give room to such causes as would bring about impoverishment, greed or disaffection among his people. If, however, they appear, he should at once take remedial measures against them.

Which (of the three is the worst?) : an impoverished people ? greedy people ? or disaffected people ?

An impoverished people are ever apprehensive of oppression and destruction (by over-taxation, &c.), and are therefore desirous of getting rid of their impoverishment, or of waging war or of migrating elsewhere.

A greedy people are ever discontented and they yield themselves to the intrigues of an enemy.

A disaffected people rise against their master along with his enemy.

When the dwindling of the people is due to want of gold and grain, it is a calamity fraught with danger to the whole of the kingdom and can be remedied with difficulty. The dearth of efficient men can be made up by means of gold and grain. Greed (is) partial and found among a few chief officers, and it can be got rid of or satisfied by allowing them to plunder an enemy's wealth. Disaffection or disloyalty (virâga) can be got rid of by putting down the leaders ; for in the absence of a leader or leaders, the people are easily governed (bhogya) and they will not take part in the intrigues of enemies. When a people are too nervous to endure the calamities, they first become dispersed, when their leaders are put down ; and when they are kept under restraint, they endure calamities.

[26] *a* — *i* are in *śloka* metre.

Having well considered the causes which bring about peace or war, one should combine with kings of considerable power and righteous character and march against one's enemy.

'A king of considerable power,' means one who is strong enough to put down or capture an enemy in the rear of his friend or to give sufficient help to his friend in his march.

'A king of righteous character,' means one who does what one has promised to do, irrespective of good or bad results.

Having combined with one of superior power or with two of equal power among such kings, should the conqueror march against his enemy?

It is better to march combined with two kings of equal power; for, if combined with a king of superior power, the ally appears to move, caught hold of, by his superior, whereas in marching with two kings of equal power, the same will be the result, only, when those two kings are experts in the art of intrigue; besides it is easy to separate them; and when one of them is wicked, he can be put down by the other two and made to suffer the consequences of dissension.

Combined with one of equal power or with two of lesser power, should a king march against his enemy?

Better to march with two kings of lesser power; for the conqueror can depute them to carry out any two different works and keep them under his control. When the desired end is achieved, the inferior king will quietly retire after the satisfaction of his superior.

(*a*) Till his discharge, the good conduct of an ally of usually bad character should be closely scrutinised either by suddenly coming out at a critical time from a covert position (sattra) to examine his conduct, or by having his wife as a pledge for his good conduct.

(*b*) Though actuated with feelings of true friendship, the conqueror has reason to fear his ally, though of equal power, when the latter attains success in his mission; having succeeded in his mission, an ally of equal power is likely to change his attitude even towards the conqueror of superior power.

(*c*) An ally of superior power should not be relied upon, for prosperity changes the mind. Even with little or no share in the spoils, an ally of superior power may go back, appearing contented; but some time afterwards, he may not fail to sit on the lap of the conqueror and carry off twice the amount of share due to him.

(*d*) Having been satisfied with mere victory, the leading conqueror should discharge his allies, having satisfied them with their shares; he may allow himself to be conquered by them instead of attempting to conquer them (in the matter of spoils); it is thus that a king can win the good graces of his circle of states[27].

Chapter VI.

The march of combined powers; agreement of peace with or without definite terms; and peace with renegades. (Samhitaprayâṇikam paripaṇitâparipaṇitâpaṣritâssandhayascha.)

The conqueror should thus over-reach the second element (the enemy close to his territory):— he should engage his neighbouring enemy to undertake a simultaneous march with him and tell the enemy: "Thou, march in that direction, and I shall march in this direction; and the share in the spoils is equal."

[27] *a—d* are in *śloka* metre.

If the booty is to be equally divided, it is an agreement of peace ; if otherwise, it is overpowering the enemy.

An agreement of peace may be made with promise to carry out a definite work (paripaṇita) or with no such promise (aparipaṇita).

When the agreement is to the effect that "Thou, march to that place, and I shall march to this place", it is termed an agreement of peace to carry out a work in a definite locality.

When it is agreed upon that "Thou, be engaged so long, I shall be engaged thus long", it is an agreement to attain an object in a fixed time.

When it is agreed upon that "Thou, try to accomplish that work, and I shall try to finish this work", it is an agreement to achieve a definite end.

When the conqueror thinks that "my enemy (now an ally) has to march through an unknown country, which is intersected with mountains, forests, rivers, forts and deserts, which is devoid of food-stuffs, people, pastural grounds, fodder, firewood and water, and which is far away, different from other countries, and not affording suitable grounds for the exercise of his army ; and I have to traverse a country of quite the reverse description," then he should make an agreement to carry out a work in a definite locality.

When the conqueror thinks that "my enemy has to work with food-stuffs falling short and with no comfort during the rainy, hot or cold season giving rise to various kinds of diseases and obstructing the free exercise of his army during a shorter or longer period of time than necessary for the accomplishment of the work in hand ; and I have to work during a time of quite the reverse nature," then he should make time a factor of the agreement.

When the conqueror thinks that "my enemy has to accomplish a work which, not lasting but trifling in its nature, enrages his subjects, which requires much expenditure of time and money, and which is productive of evil consequences, unrighteous, repugnant to the Madhyama and neutral kings, and destructive of all friendship ; whereas, I have to do the reverse," then he should make an agreement to carry out a definite work.

Likewise with space and time, with time and work, with space and work, and with space, time, and work, made as terms of an agreement, it resolves itself into seven forms.

Long before making such an agreement, the conqueror has to fix his own work and then attempt to overreach his enemy.

When, in order to destroy an enemy who has fallen into troubles and who is hasty, indolent, and not foresighted, an agreement of peace with no terms of time, space, or work is made with an enemy merely for mutual peace, and when under cover of such an agreement, the enemy is caught hold of at his weak points and is struck, it is termed peace with no definite terms (aparipaṇita). With regard to this there is a saying as follows :—

"Having kept a neighbouring enemy engaged with another neighbouring enemy, a wise king should proceed against a third king, and having conquered that enemy of equal power, take possession of his territory[28]."

[28] In *śloka* metre.

Peace with no specific end (akṛitachikîrshâ), peace with binding terms (kṛitaśleshaṇa), the breaking of peace (kṛitavidûshaṇa), and restoration of peace broken (apaśîrṇakriyâ) are other forms of peace.

Open battle, treacherous battle, and silent battle, (*i.e.*, killing an enemy by employing spies when there is no talk of battle at all) are the three forms of battle.

When, by making use of conciliation and other forms of stratagem and the like, a new agreement of peace is made and the rights of equal, inferior, and superior powers concerned in the agreement are defined according to their respective positions, it is termed an agreement of peace with no specific end (other than self-preservation).

When, by the employment of friends (at the Courts of each other), the agreement of peace made is kept secure and the terms are invariably observed and strictly maintained so that no dissension may creep among the parties, it is termed peace with binding terms.

When, having proved through the agency of traitors and spies the treachery of a king, who has made an agreement of peace, the agreement is broken, it is termed the breaking of peace.

When reconciliation is made with a servant, or a friend, or any other renegade, it is termed the restoration of broken peace.

There are four persons who run away from, and return to, their master: one who had reason to run away and to return; one who had no reason either to run away or to return; one who had reason to run away, but none to return; and one who had no reason to run away, but had reason to come back.

He who runs away owing to his master's fault and returns in consideration of (his master's) good nature, or he who runs away attracted by the good nature of his master's enemy and returns finding fault with the enemy is to be reconciled as he had reason to run away and to return.

Whoever runs away owing to his own fault and returns without minding the good nature either of his old or new master is a fickle-minded person having no explanation to account for his conduct, and he should have no terms of reconciliation.

Whoever runs away owing to his master's fault and returns owing to his own defects, is a renegade who had reason to run away, but none to return; and his case is to be well considered (before he is taken back).

Whoever returns deputed by the enemy; or of his own accord, with the intention of hurting his old master, as is natural to persons of such bad character; or coming to know that his old master is attempting to put down the enemy, his new master, and apprehensive of danger to himself; or looking on the attempt of his new master to destroy his old master as cruelty should be examined; and if he is found to be actuated with good motives, he is to be taken back respectfully; otherwise, he should be kept at a distance.

Whoever runs away owing to his own fault and returns owing to his new master's wickedness is a renegade who had no reason to run away, but had reason to come back; such a person is to be examined.

When a king thinks that "This renegade supplies me with full information about my enemy's weakness, and, therefore, he deserves to remain here; his own people with me are in friendship with my friends and at enmity with my enemies and are easily excited at the sight of greedy and cruel persons or of a band of enemies," he may treat such a renegade as deserved.

My teacher says that whoever has failed to achieve profit from his works, lost his strength, or made his learning a commercial article, or is very greedy, inquisitive to see different countries, dead to the feelings of friendship, or has strong enemies, deserves to be abandoned.

But Kautilya says that it is timidity, unprofessional business, and lack of forbearance (to do so). Whoever is injurious to the king's interests should be abandoned, while he who is injurious to the interests of the enemy should be reconciled; and whoever is injurious to the interests of both the king and his enemy should be carefully examined.

When it is necessary to make peace with a king with whom no peace ought to be made defensive measures should be taken against that point where he can shew his power.

(*a*) In restoring broken peace, a renegade or a person inclined towards the enemy should be kept at such a distance that till the close of his life, he may be useful to the state.

(*b*) Or, he may be set against the enemy or may be employed as a captain of an army to guard wild tracts against enemies, or thrown somewhere on the boundary.

(*c*) Or, he may be employed to carry on a secret trade in new or old commodities in foreign countries and may accordingly be accused of conspiracy with the enemy.

(*d*) Or, in the interests of future peace, a renegade who must be put to death may at once be destroyed.

(*e and f*) That kind of wicked character which has from the beginning grown upon a man owing to his association with enemies is as ever fraught with danger as constant living in company with a snake, and is ever threatening with destruction just as a pigeon living on the seeds of Plaksha (holy fig-tree) is to the śâlmali (silk cotton) tree.

(*g*) When battle is fought in daylight and in some locality, it is termed an open battle; threatening in one direction, assault in another, destruction of an enemy captured while he was careless or in troubles, and bribing a portion of the army and destroying another portion, are forms of treacherous fight; and attempt to win over the chief officers of the enemy by intrigue, is the characteristic of silent battle.[29]

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[29] *a—g* are *śloka* metre.

Chapter VII.

Peace and war by adopting the double policy. (Dvaidhîbhâvikâssandhivikramâh.)

The conqueror may overpower the second member (*i. e.*, the immediate enemy) thus: —

Having combined with a neighbouring king, the conqueror may march against another neighbouring king. Or if he thinks that "(my enemy) will neither capture my rear nor make an alliance with my assailable enemy against whom I am going to march; (for otherwise) I shall have to fight against great odds; (my ally) will not only facilitate the collection of my revenue and supplies and put down the internal enemies who are causing me immense trouble, but also punish wild tribes and their followers entrenched in their strongholds, reduce my assailable enemy to a precarious condition or compel him to accept the proffered peace, and having received as much profit as he desires, he will endeavour to endear my other enemies to me," then the conqueror may proclaim war against one and make peace with another and endeavour to get an army for money or money for the supply of an army from among his neighbouring kings.

When kings of superior, equal or inferior power make peace with the conqueror and agree to pay a greater, or equal, or less amount of profit in proportion to the army supplied, it is termed even peace; that which is of the reverse character is styled uneven peace; and when the profit is proportionally very high, it is termed deception (atisandhi).

When a king of superior power is involved in troubles, or is come to grief or is afflicted with misfortune, his enemy, though of inferior power, may request of him the help of his army in return for a share in the profit proportional to the strength of the army supplied. If the king to whom peace is offered on such terms is powerful enough to retaliate, he may declare war; and otherwise he may accept the terms.

In view of marching for the purpose of exacting some expected revenue to be utilised in recouping his own strength and resources, an inferior king may request of a superior the help of the latter's army for the purpose of guarding the base and the rear of his territory in return for the payment of a greater share in the profit than the strength of the army supplied deserves. The king to whom such a proposal is made may accept the proposal, if the proposer is of good intentions; but otherwise he may declare war.

When a king of inferior power or one who is provided with the aid of forts and friends has to make a short march in order to capture an enemy without waging war or to receive some expected profit, he may request a third king of superior power involved under various troubles and misfortunes the help of the latter's army in return for the payment of a share in the profit less than the strength of the army supplied deserves. If the king to whom this proposal is made is powerful enough to retaliate, he may declare war; but otherwise he may accept the proposal.

When a king of superior power and free from all troubles is desirous of causing to his enemy loss of men and money in the latter's ill-considered undertakings, or of sending his own treacherous army abroad, or bringing his enemy under the clutches of an inimical army, or of causing trouble to a reduceable and tottering enemy by setting an inferior king against that enemy, or is desirous of having peace for the sake of peace itself and is possessed of good intentions, he may accept a less share in the profit (promised for the army supplied to another) and endeavour to make wealth by combining with an ally if the latter is equally of good intentions; but otherwise he may declare war (against that ally).

A king may deceive or help his equal as follows:—

When a king proposes peace to another king of equal power on the condition of receiving the help of the latter's army strong enough to oppose an enemy's army, or to guard the front, centre and rear of his territory, or to help his friend, or to protect any other wild tracts of his territory in return for the payment of a share in the profit proportionally equal to the strength of the army supplied, the latter may accept the terms if the proposer is of good intentions; but otherwise he may declare war.

When a king of equal power, capable of receiving the help of an army from another quarter requests of another king in troubles due to the diminished strength of the elements of sovereignty, and with many enemies, the help of the latter's army in return for the payment of a share in the profit less than the strength of the army supplied deserves, the latter, if powerful, may declare war or accept the terms otherwise.

When a king who is under troubles, who has his works at the mercy of his neighbouring kings, and who has yet to make an army, requests of another king of equal power the help of the latter's army in return for the payment of a share in the profit greater than the strength of the army supplied deserves, the latter may accept the terms if the proposer is of good intentions: but otherwise, war may be declared.

When, with the desire of putting down a king in troubles due to the diminished strength of the elements of sovereignty, or with the desire of destroying his well-begun work of immense and unfailing profit, or with the intention of striking him in his own place or on the occasion of marching, one, though frequently getting immense (subsidy) from an assailable enemy of equal inferior, or superior power, sends demands to him again and again, then he may comply with the demands of the former if he is desirous of maintaining his own power by destroying with the army of the former an impregnable fortress of an enemy or a friend of that enemy or by laying waste the wild tracts of that enemy, or if he is desirous of exposing the army of the ally to wear and tear even in good roads and good seasons, or if he is desirous of strengthening his own army with that of his ally and thereby putting down the ally or winning over the army of the ally.

When a king is desirous of keeping under his power another king of superior or inferior power as an assailable enemy and of destroying the latter after routing out another enemy with the help of the latter, or when he is desirous of getting back whatever he has paid (as subsidy), he may send a proposal of peace to another on the condition of paying more than the cost of the army supplied. If the king to whom this proposal is made is powerful enough to retaliate, he may declare war; or if otherwise, he may accept the terms; or he may keep quiet allied with the assailable enemy; or he may supply the proposer of peace with his army full of traitors, enemies and wild tribes.

When a king of superior power falls into troubles owing to the weakness of the elements of his sovereignty, and requests of an inferior king the help of the latter's army in return for the payment of a share in the profit proportionally equal to the strength of the army supplied, the latter, if powerful enough to retaliate, may declare war and if otherwise, accept the terms.

A king of superior power may request of an inferior the help of the latter's army in return for the payment of a share in the profit less than the cost of the army supplied; and the latter, if powerful enough to retaliate, may declare war, or accept the terms otherwise.

The king who is sued for peace and also the king who offers peace should both consider the motive with which the proposal of peace is made, and adopt that course of action which on consideration seems to be productive of good results.[30]

Chapter VIII.

The attitude of an assailable enemy ; and friends that deserve help. (Yâtavyavṛittih anugrâhyamitraviśeshâh.)

When an assailable enemy who is in danger of being attacked is desirous of taking upon himself the condition which led one king to combine with another against himself, or of splitting them from each other, he may propose peace to one of the kings on the condition of himself paying twice the amount of profit accruing from the combination. The agreement having been made, he may describe to that king the loss of men and money, the hardships of sojourning abroad, the commission of sinful deeds, and the misery and other personal troubles to which that king would have been subjected. When the king is convinced of the truth, the amount promised may be paid; or having made that king to incur enmity with other kings, the agreement itself may be broken off.

When a king is inclined to cause to another, loss of men and money in the ill-considered undertakings of the latter or to frustrate the latter in the attempt of achieving large profits from well-begun undertakings; or when he means to strike another at his (another's) own place or while marching; or when he intends to exact subsidy again in combination with the latter's assailable enemy ; or when he is in need of money and does not like to trust to his ally, he may, for the time being, be satisfied with a small amount of profit.

When a king has in view the necessity of helping a friend or of destroying an enemy, or the possibility of acquiring much wealth (in return for the present help) or when he intends to utilise in future the services of the one now obliged by him, he may reject the offer of large profit at the present in preference of a small gain in future.

When a king means to help another from the clutches of traitors or enemies or of a superior king threatening the very existence of the latter, and intends thereby to set an example of rendering similar help to himself in future, he should receive no profit either at the present or in the future.

When a king means to harass the people of an enemy or to break the agreement of peace between a friend and a foe, or when he suspects of another's attack upon himself, and when owing to any of these causes, he wants to break peace with his ally, he may demand from the latter an enhanced amount of profit long before it is due. The latter under these circumstances may demand for a procedure (krama) either at the present or in the future. The same procedure explains the cases treated of before.

The conqueror and his enemy helping their respective friends differ according as their friends are such or are not such as undertake possible, praiseworthy or productive works and as are resolute in their undertakings and are provided with loyal and devoted subjects.

[30] In *śloka* metre.

Whoever undertakes tolerable work is a beginner of possible work; whoever undertakes an unblemished work is a beginner of praiseworthy work; whoever undertakes a work of large profits is a beginner of a productive work; whoever takes no rest before the completion of the work undertaken is a resolute worker; and whoever has loyal and devoted subjects is in a position to command help and to bring to a successful termination any work without losing anything in the form of favour. When such friends are gratified by the enemy or the conqueror, they can be of immense help to him; friends of reverse character should never be helped.

Of the two, the conqueror and his enemy, both of whom may happen to have a friend in the same person, he who helps a true or a truer friend overreaches the other; for, by helping a true friend, he enriches himself, while the other not only incurs loss of men and money and the hardships of sojourning abroad, but also showers benefits on an enemy who hates the benefactor all the more for his gratification.

Whoever of the two, the conqueror and his enemy, who may happen to have a friend in the same Madhyama king, helps a Madhyama king of true or truer friendship overreaches the other; for, by helping a true friend, he enriches himself, while the other incurs loss of men and money and the difficulties of sojourning abroad. When a Madhyama king thus helped is devoid of good qualities, then the enemy overreaches the conqueror; for, such a Madhyama king, spending his energies on useless undertakings and receiving help with no idea of returning it, withdraws himself away.

The same thing holds good with a neutral king under similar circumstances.

In case of helping with a portion of the army one of the two, a Madhyama or a neutral king, whoever happens to help one who is brave, skilful in handling weapons, and possessed of endurance and friendly feelings will himself be deceived while his enemy, helping one of reverse character, will overreach him.

When a king achieves this or that object with the assistance of a friend who is to receive the help of his army in return later on, then he may send out of his various kinds of army—such as hereditary army, hired army, formed of corporations of people, his friend's army and the army composed of wild tribes—either that kind of army which has the experience of all sorts of grounds and of seasons or the army of enemies or of wild tribes, which is far removed in space and time.

When a king thinks that "Though successful, my ally may cause my army to move in an enemy's territory or in wild tracts, and during unfavourable seasons and thereby he may render it useless to me," then under the excuse of having to employ his army otherwise, he may help his ally in any other way; but when he is obliged to lend his army, he may send that kind of his army, which is used to the weather of the time of operation, under the condition of employing it till the completion of the work, and of protecting it from dangers. When the ally has finished his work, he should, under some excuse, try to get back his army; or he may send to his ally that army which is composed of traitors, enemies, and wild tribes; or having made peace with the ally's assailable enemy, he may deceive the ally.

When the profit accruing to kings under an agreement, whether they be of equal, inferior, or superior power, is equal to all, that agreement is termed peace (sandhi); when unequal, it is termed defeat (vikrama). Such is the nature of peace and war.[31]

(To be continued.)

[31] In *śloka* metre.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

(Concluded from Vol. XXXVIII, p. 328.)

SERIES II.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

Toi : stream. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 7

Tokh : (i) a long narrow valley which intersects the hill country lying east of the Sulemân Range. D. I. Khân S. R., 1809, p. 182. (ii) a natural road, so termed by Balochis. D. I. Khan Gr., 1884, p. 3.

Top a, *from tupan* = to eat or bite: the injury done to crops by field rats. Multân Gr., p. 221.

Topah : a grain measure. Bannû S. R., p. xvi.

Tor : digging out the sand of a well till water has been reached. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.

Traplâ : the green pin-tailed fly-catcher, so called from a fancied resemblance to the spinning wheel. Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.

Toria=satthrî : Multân Gr., p. 221.

Traddî : a palm mat. See *phûrî* and *parchh*. Multân Gr., p. 82.

Trârâ : the bunch of ears, given to the reaper as part of his wages. Jhang S. R., p. 98.

Trat : a rope (? cracking a rope). Multân Gr., p. 209; a whip and goad combined. Cf. *kandiyâr*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iii.

Trel : dew. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. ix.

Trer : third ploughing. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vi.

Treranwâlî : (fr. *trer*, crack), soil which dries and cracks into huge blocks with miniature crevasses between them. Multân Gr., p. 193.

Tret : a disease of sheep. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvii.

Trihân : a camel at the commencement of its third year. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.

Trihâna, *fem.* **Trihân** : the name of a buffalo from its second to third year. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.

Trimundi : indigo plants in their third year, cf. *trundhi*. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 111.

Tringal : a pitch-fork. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iv.

Trophar : a she-buffalo in milk. D. I. Khân S. R., 1872-79, p. 355.

Trundhî : indigo crop in its third year. Mgarh. S. R., p. 76.

Tsarai=ûbâra : the lesser bustard. Cf. *karmor*. Peshâwar S. R., 1878, p. 134.

Tsata : a sackful (of wheat, etc.). Peshâwar S. R., 1878, p. 140.

Tuhâyâ : the grebe. Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.

Tukarî : profits of a gambling house. Jhang.

Tupdar : a game-bird. Jhang. S. R., p. 27.

Tukma : an earring. Multân Gr., p. 89.

Tura : a unit of measurement. *Dir*, etc. Cf. P. D., p. 1154.

Turâ,-î : a horse or mare. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiv.

Turai = *surnâ* : Yûsufzai bag-pipes. Peshâwar S. R., 1878, p. 137.

Turwâlâ kallar : a synonym for *shor* soil. Cf. *kâla kallar*. Chenab Col. Gr., 1904, p. 64.

Tutin : the female dove. Mgarh. S. R., p. 36.

Ubha : the north. Bannû S. R., p. xli.

Ubhâo : water in a well which is exhausted on the well being worked. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.

Ubhar : the east. Bannû S. R., p. xli.

Uchhâr : a rich cloth spread over a corpse. Mgarh. S. R., p. 70.

Udâi : the grain received by the sweeper for winnowing. Monty. S. R., p. 30.

Udhâla : the abduction of a girl or woman. Bannû S. R., p. xli.

Udhârâ : a loan. (Cf. *udhâr*, a loan, Jukes' *Dicty. W. P.*, p. 7). Multân Gr., p. 189.

Udnâ : a hairy snake. Cf. *jatal*, Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.

Ugâj : absorption. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.

Ukhli mohlâ : pestle and mortar. Multân Gr., p. 83.

Ûrâ : (i) a revolving arrangement in the form of a capstan for clearing out silt at the bottom of a well. Cf. *dol*. Multân Gr., p. 196; (ii) a spindle. Mgarh. S. R., p. 61.

Ûriâl : the moufflon, (*ovis cycloceros*). Jhelum S. R., p. 20.

Ushar : tithe, of the produce taken by the Khâns in the minor Khanates of Bâjaur.

Usri : a tack or furrow made by a ploughman without turning. Also used of reaping. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vi.

Utangan : a kind of *jhalâr*, used when the water is at a medium distance: the wheel contains about 50 or 60 pots. Multân Gr., p. 205.

Uthpairara : a common weed, with a fan-shaped leaf. Multân Gr., p. 208.

Utla = *chaddar* : shovel. Jhang. S. R., p. 103.

Vadânak : a kind of wheat. Multân Gr., p. 218.

Vadhânak : a white variety of wheat. Cf. *pamman*. Chenab Col. Gr., 1904, p. 79.

Vahâ : a bird like a starling in its flight. Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.

Vaini : the best kind of Biloch mare. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 119.

Vais : a kind of snake. Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.

Valâi : a disease of wheat. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. viii.

Valh : indigo refuse. Mgarh. S. R., p. 75.

Valori : vatting. Multân Gr., p. 214.

Valwîn lichh : 'returned *lichh*', also called *khuti*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 96.

Van de pind : (dates) as picked, *i. e.*, fresh. Multân Gr., pp. 227-8.

Vâran : cotton (standing crop). Multân Gr., p. 215.

Vatâ : a kind of marriage, in which an exchange of brides is effected. Mgarh. S. R., p. 68.

Vatta bhann : 'stone-breaker', title of a saint. Shâhpur Gr., p. 86.

Vela : a canal. Cf. *vial*. Bannû S. R., p. xli.

Velawi : cotton-cleaner's wages, 8 *annas* a maund. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 110.

Velgi : a canal, diminutive of vela. Bannû S. R., p. xli.

Veo : fish oil. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxiv.

Vesh : (i) a block of cultivated land. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 86; (ii) redistribution of land. Peshâwar S. R., 1878, p. 85. *Khula vesh* : a system by which each clansman, present at the time of the partition, gets an equal share, no regard being paid to original proprietary right. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 86.

Vhola (bahola) : a mattock. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iv.

Vial : a canal. Cf. *vela*. Bannû S. R., p. xli.

Vichobi : a system of cultivation which resembles the ordinary hill torrent cultivation, to which this term is also applied. D. I. Khân S. R., 1879, p. 9.

Vil : a disease of cattle. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.

Visâkhi : a bullock race (so-called because the first of Baisâkh = Visâkh is the favourite day for such races). Mgarh. S. R., p. 12.

Vohr : the name of a bullock till 4 years old. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.

Wâ : a disease caused by eating peas. Mgarh. S. R., 81.

Wachoba : dry-wet. Peshâwar S. R., 1874, p. 279.

Wadah : the wedding ceremony. Peshâwar S. R., 1878, p. 137.

Wadah dohai : see *jang*.

Wadhna : to reap. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.

Wadnâ (= *karwâ*) : a vessel with a spout. Multân Gr., p. 83.

Wâgin : a female cow-herd. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.

Wahan : a hill torrent. Cf. *wahi*. Bannû S. R., p. xli.

Wahi : (i) hill torrent. Cf. *wahan*. Bannû S. R., p. xli; (ii) a channel. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 103.

Wairhâ : the name of a bullock till $2\frac{1}{2}$ years old. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.

Wajjh ṭakrâ : (of evidence) 'fortuitous, met by chance.'

Wakû : a canal labourer. Bannû S. R., p. xli.

Wal : (i) an indigo stalk. Multân Gr., p. 208; (ii) a dry melon stalk. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.

Wâlâ : the stage, which wheat and barley reach after the *angûri*, when the plant is young and bends easily to the wind. Monty S. R. Gloss., p. xii.

Wand : a branch canal. D. I. Khân S. R., 1872-79, p. 131.

Wandâi : sharing of the crop. Bannû S. R., p. xli; division of grain, crop, etc. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. viii.

Wanni : (i) the gift of a girl as compensation for a murder. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 44. Cf. *banni*; (ii) a bit of land given to a complainant in a woman case. Kohât S. R., p. 79.

Wârah: the custom of distributing one or two pice each to *mîrâsîs* at weddings. Gujrât S. R., p. 42.

Warboi: descriptive of the best land close to a village. Bannû S. R., p. xli.

Warewân: cotton seed. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.

Warihâl: a treatment of land. Jhelum S. R., p. 88.

Wârîsûî: the visit of the bridegroom's father with a small party to the bride's home to receive the *dâj*. Multân Gr., p. 94.

Zahmat: a disease of camels. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.

Zakât: transit duties. Mgarh. S. R., p. 83.

Zam: a perennial spring. D. I. Khân S. R., 1879, p. 5.

Zamîn lamber bane banâe pâr hojânâ: of land, to be transferred by avulsion; *zamîn dahkar (par hojânâ)* to be transferred by diluvion. *Zamîn dhât-hoke (pâr hojânâ)* to be transferred by diluvion; *zamîn tot hoke (pâr hojânâ)*, to be transferred by avulsion. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxiv.

Zango: a swing cot. Peshâwar S. R., 1878, p. 134.

Ziârat: a sacred grove. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 11.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

LOCAL SONGS OF SAHARANPUR.

Sahâranpûr has a class of local songs peculiar to itself which are known as **sâng or swâng.** The singing of these songs commences generally about five days before the Holi festival. Much competition goes on among the local poets in the composition of them. Another name for this class of songs is **chamolâ** and they are sung to the accompaniment of a little drum known as *mridang*.

The song generally begins with some verses in praise of the *ustâd* or teacher from whom the poet has received instruction in the art of composition. Then it goes on to treat of some important event which has engaged the attention of the public, or to record the career of some eminent personage. The composition is usually in the form of a dialogue.

Singers meet at several recognized places known as *akâra* and large crowds assemble to listen to the competitors.

It is said that these songs were originated by Ambâ Râm, a Gujarâtî Brâhman, who was a resident of Sahâranpûr. He was a man of considerable wealth, most of which he spent on encouraging this class of performance. He finally became destitute and wandered to Haidarâbâd, where he received much patronage. After living there some time, he died.

The singing of these songs commenced at Sahâranpûr about **1819 A. D.**

PANDIT RAMGHARIB CHAUBE.

BOOK NOTICE.

DAS PUSPASUTRA, mit Einleitung und Übersetzung herausgegeben von RICHARD SIMON. München, 1908. Abhandlungen der K. B. Akademie der Wiss., I, Kl. XXIII, Bd. III, Abt. pp. 481—780.

The *Pushpasūtra* belongs to the Vedic school of the Kauthumas. It professes to teach the correct liturgical intonation of the single words of the *Sāmasaṁhitā* according to the melodies and songs mentioned in the song-book called *Uttaragāna*, and may thus be considered a kind of Prātiśākhya on the *Uttaragāna*. No other European scholar was better qualified for editing this difficult work than Professor Simon, who has made Hindū music one of his special studies. His edition is based on thirteen MSS. and the Calcutta edition of 1890. To each section of the text he has added a German translation with critical and explanatory notes, which are supplemented by a complete index of melodies and verses. The introduction contains an elaborate glossary of the numerous technical terms that render the *Pushpasūtra* a sealed book to the outsider. The composition of the work is ascribed to Gōbhila or to Vararuchi. It was commented on by Ajātaśatru, who quotes the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Halāyudha (about A. D. 950), and subsequently by Rāmakrishna.

HALLE (SAALE),

August 19th, 1909.

E. HULTZSCH.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES DURING EXPLORATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA IN 1906-8.

BY DR. AUREL STEIN.

(*Concluded from p. 18.*)

13. The Tun-huang Oasis, an Ancient "Great Wall."

WE discovered that **a considerable river flows out of the Khara-nor Lake**, hitherto supposed to be the end of the Sulaiho, during the spring and summer floods, and after draining a series of smaller lakes and marshes lower down, carries its water right through to the lake beds we had passed so much further west. The deep-cut bed of this river could easily escape discovery, owing to the very deceptive way in which its course is masked by what looks an unbroken flat glacis of gravel.

After emerging from this terminal river basin and at a point still five long marches from the edge of the **Tun-huang oasis**, I first sighted the remains of ruined watch-towers, and soon came upon traces of an ancient wall connecting them. A lucky chance rewarded already the first scraping of the ground near a watch-tower with relics of manifest antiquity, including a Chinese record on wood, and a variety of archæological indications gathered rapidly as we passed onwards, made me feel convinced that these ruins belonged to **an early system of frontier defence corresponding in character to the extant "Great Wall" on the Kansu border.** So, as soon as men and animals had recovered from the preceding fatigues by a short halt at Tun-huang, I returned to the still wintry desert in order to explore this ruined *limes* in detail. It proved a fascinating and fruitful task, but also one of uncommon difficulty. The ground over which the line of the wall ran, was, from the old frontier town of Anshi westwards, practically all an absolute desert of gravel, broken only at rare intervals by belts of sandy scrub or thin jungle near the river or marshes.

Nothing was known of the ruins to the magistrate and others. No information could be obtained about the ruins through the educated Chinese officials of Tun-huang, who all took a very friendly interest in my work, and would have been ready enough to help us. On the other hand the deep-rooted secretiveness of the local Chinese population effectively prevented any of the hunters or shepherds who occasionally visit the nearer of the riverine jungles, from coming forward with guidance. So all the tracking of the ancient wall, often completely effaced for miles, and frequently crossing most deceptive ground, had to be done by myself. Still more serious was the trouble about adequate labour for excavations. The slum-dwelling coolies, whom only the exercise of special pressure on the magistrate's part could induce to venture into the dreaded desert were, in spite of very liberal treatment, ever ready to desert, or else to get lost in the desert through their helplessness as confirmed opium smokers. Yet, by moving first to the north of the oasis, and subsequently striking the ancient *limes* by a new route right through the desert west of Tun-huang, we succeeded in the course of two months, in accurately surveying its line all the way **from An-shi** to its westernmost point, **a distance of some 140 miles**, and in exploring the ruins of all watch-stations, sectional headquarters, etc., which adjoined it.

The fine massive watch-towers, usually rising at intervals of two to three miles along the wall, were my best guides in tracking the line. Almost invariably I could trace near them ruins of the modest quarters which had sheltered the detachments echelonned along the wall. From the Chinese records, mostly on wood or bamboo, which the excavation of almost every ruin yielded in plenty, I soon made certain with the scholarly help of my indefatigable Chinese Secretary, Chiang-ssŭ-yieh, that **this frontier-line dated back to the end of the Second Century B. C.,** when Chinese expansion into Central Asia first began under the emperor Wu-ti. Exactly dated documents commencing with the year 99 B. C. showed that the regular garrisoning of the border wall

continued throughout the first century B. C., and probably for the greatest part of its length down to the middle of the second century A. D. But the outlying westernmost section appears to have been abandoned already earlier. The main purpose of this *imes* was undoubtedly to safeguard the territory south of the Su-lai-ho River, which was indispensable as a base and passage for the Chinese military forces, political missions, etc., sent to extend and consolidate Chinese power in the Tarim basin. It is equally certain that the enemy whose eruptions from the north had to be warded off were the Hsiong-nu, the ancestors of those Huns who some centuries later watered their horses in the Danube and Po. It is an important geographical fact, brought out by the very existence of this defensive line, that the desert hill region north of the Su-lai-ho marshes, now quite impracticable owing to the absence of water, must then still have been passable, at least for small raiding parties.

The very character of the ground through which the fortified frontier-line ran from An-shi westwards, almost all of it already in ancient times a real desert, had presented exceptionally favourable conditions for the preservation of antiques. Whatever objects had once passed under the protection of a layer of gravel or *dêbris*, however thin, were practically safe in a soil which had seen but extremely scanty rainfall for the last two thousand years, was far removed from any chance of irrigation or other interference by human agency, and had suffered on its flat surface but rarely even from wind erosion So it was natural enough that the hundreds of inscribed pieces of wood, bamboo, silk, the remains of clothing, furniture and equipment, all the miscellaneous articles of antiquarian interest, which the successive occupants of these desolate posts had left behind as of no value, should have survived practically uninjured. Sometimes a mere scraping on the surface of what looked like an ordinary gravel slope adjoining the ruined watch-station, sufficed to disclose rubbish heaps in which files of wooden records, thrown out from the office of some military commander before the time of Christ, lay amongst the most perishable materials, straw, bits of clothing, etc., all looking perfectly fresh. The Chinese documents, of which I recovered in the end over two thousand, refer mainly to matters of military administration, often giving exact details as to the strength, movements, etc., of the troops echelonned along the border ; their commissariat, equipment, and the like. There are brief official reports and more curious still are private letters addressed to officers full of quaint actualities, family news from their distant homes, etc. The careful study of these miscellaneous records, far older than any which have as yet in original come to light in Central Asia or China, together with that of the actual remains of quarters, furnitures, arms, etc., will suffice to restore an accurate picture of the life led along this most desolate of borders. But in addition to this evidence I recovered very interesting relics of the traffic from the distant west, which once passed along the line guarded by the *limes* in the form of silk pieces inscribed with Indian Kharoshthi and Brahmi and in a number of letters on paper found carefully fastened, containing writing in an unknown script resembling Aramaic. Are these perhaps in some Iranian tongue, and were they left behind by some early traders from Persia or Western Turkestan coming for the silk of the distant Seres ?

The construction of a regular defensive line across so extensive a stretch of desert, bare of all resources, must have been a difficult task, and it was interesting to find again and again evidence of the skill with which the old Chinese engineers had attacked it. Guided by a sharp eye for all topographical features, they had cleverly used the succession of salt marshes and lakes to supplement their line by these natural defences. For the wall itself they had had recourse to materials which, though of little apparent strength, were particularly adapted to local conditions, and have stood the stress of two thousand years, on the whole, remarkably well. Between layers of stamped gravel, about one foot high each, they interposed carefully secured rows of fascines, about as high, made of neatly cut and strongly tied bundles of reeds, which were obtained from the marshes. The salts contained everywhere in the soil and water soon gave to the strange rampart thus constructed a quasi-petrified consistency, which in such a region could well hold its own against man and nature — all forces in fact, but that of slow grinding but almost incessant wind erosion. Again and again I noted in the course of my

surveys how well preserved the wall rose along those sections which lay parallel to the prevailing direction of the winds, while where the line lay across it and in any way barred the progress of driving sand, wind erosion had badly breached or completely effaced the rampart. The winds which now blow over this desert with remarkable violence and persistence come mainly from the east and north-east. The observation derives additional importance from the fact that those winds make their effect felt even far away in the Tarim basin, as I have had ample occasion to observe in the climatic conditions and surface formations about Lop-nor. The extent and character of the damage which the various sections of the wall have suffered prove that the same conditions must have prevailed for the last two thousand years. "Aspiration," due to the higher temperatures which the atmosphere of the low-lying desert around and west of Lop-nor must generally attain as compared with the great plateaus of stone and gravel which rise on either side of the Sulaiho depression, may supply a likely explanation.

The wall shows everywhere a uniform thickness of 8 feet, and still rises in places to over 10 feet. But that its builders knew how to make greater efforts where needed in spite of all difficulties about labour, materials, etc., is proved by the watch-towers, which are ordinarily built of sun-dried bricks of considerable strength, rising in one solid square mass to heights of 30 feet or more. One small fort, marking probably the position of the gate station of Yü-mên, long vainly sought for by Chinese antiquaries, at a period when its original position at the westernmost extension of the wall had already been abandoned, about the commencement of our era, showed high and solid walls of stamped clay fully 15 feet thick. Still more imposing is a solid block of halls nearly 500 feet long and with walls of 6 feet thickness still rising to 25 feet or so, which at first puzzled me greatly by its palace-like look and dimensions, until finds of dated records of the First Century B.C. near by proved that it had been constructed as a great magazine for troops garrisoning the line or passing along it.

I might talk for hours about the strange observations and experiences which, in the course of those fascinating months, made me forget, as it were, the lapse of long ages. A few touches must suffice here. Never did I realize more deeply how little two thousand years mean where human activity is suspended, and even that of nature benumbed, than when on my long reconnoitring rides, the evenings found me alone amidst the *débris* of some commanding watch-station. Struck by the rays of the setting sun, tower after tower far away, up to 10 miles' distance and more, could be seen glittering in a yellowish light. As they showed up from afar, with long stretches of the wall between them, often clearly rising as straight, brownish lines above the grey bare gravel desert, how easy it was to imagine that towers and wall were still guarded, that watchful eyes were scanning the deceptive plateaus and nullahs northward? The arrow-heads in bronze which I picked up in numbers near the wall and towers, were clear proof that attacks and alarms were familiar incidents on this border. Unconsciously my eye sought the scrub-covered ground flanking the salt marshes where Hun raiders might collect before making their rush in the twilight. But the slanting rays of the sun would reveal also things far more real. Then the eye caught quite clearly a curiously straight, furrow-like line keeping parallel to the wall, and about 20 feet within it wherever there was a well-preserved stretch of it. Repeated examination proved that it was a shallow but well-defined track worn into the fine gravel soil by the patrols and others who had tramped along here for centuries. In spite of the persistence with which this strange uncanny track reappeared along wall sections situated miles away from the caravan route, I might have doubted this simple explanation had I not again and again had occasion to convince myself of the remarkable persistence with which this gravel soil retains and preserves all impressions. Thus, the footprints we had left on our first march to Tun-huang, looked two months later absolutely as fresh as if we had just passed there. Yet we knew by sad experience the force of the gales which had blown here almost daily.

I may quote another curious observation in illustration of the extraordinary preserving power of this desert soil and climate. At a number of watch-stations I had noticed a series of queer little mounds, arranged in regular cross rows (*quincunx* fashion), each about 7 feet square and about 6 feet in height. Closer examination revealed that they were built up entirely of regular reed fascines, laid crosswise in alternate layers, and intermixed with a slight sprinkling of coarse sand and gravel. Through the action of the salts once contained in them, the reeds had acquired a quasi-petrified appearance and considerable consistency, though each reed, when detached, still showed flexible fibres. I was at first greatly puzzled as to the real meaning and purpose of these strange little structures until it dawned upon me, in consequence of various conclusive observations, that they were nothing but stacks of the reed fascines, used in the construction of the *agger*, kept ready at the posts for any urgent repairs. Of course, they reminded me then at once of the stacks of wooden sleepers seen neatly piled up at a railway station.

14. Tun-huang and the Halls of the Thousand Buddhas.

An important archæological task made me doubly eager to return to **Tun-huang**. Already in 1902, my friend, Prof. L. de Loezy, the distinguished head of the Hungarian Geological Survey, and President of the Geographical Society of Hungary, had called my attention to the sacred Buddhist grottoes, known as the "**Halls of the Thousand Buddhas**," to the south-east of Tun-huang, which, as member of Count Szechenyi's expedition and thus as a pioneer of modern geographical exploration in Kansu, he had visited as early as 1879. His glowing description of the fine fresco paintings and stucco sculptures which he had seen there and the archæological importance of which he had quite rightly recognized, without himself being an antiquarian student, had then greatly impressed me, and had been a main cause inducing me to extend the plans of my expedition so far eastwards into China. When, soon after my arrival at Tun-huang, in March, 1907, I had paid my first flying visit to the sacred caves carved into the precipitous conglomerate cliffs at the mouth of a barren valley some 12 miles to the south-east of the oasis, I had found my expectations fully verified, and now I was drawn back by the remembrance of a wealth of art treasures waiting for closer study. There were hundreds of grottoes, large and small, honeycombing in irregular tiers the sombre rock-faces, and my first hurried inspection showed that almost all of them had on their plastered walls a profusion of beautiful and more or less well-preserved frescoes. In composition and style they showed the closest affinity to the remains of Buddhist pictorial art as transplanted from India to Eastern Turkestan, and already familiar to me from the ruined shrines I had excavated in the Khotan desert. The sculptural remains in these grottoes were equally plentiful, and bore equally interesting testimony to that early art connection between India and China proper; but much of this statuary in friable stucco had evidently suffered both from the hands of iconoclasts and the zeal of pious restorers.

Plentiful antiquarian evidence, including a series of fine Chinese inscriptions on marble, proved beyond all doubt that a very great portion of the shrines and relics belonged to the period of the Tang dynasty (**seventh to ninth century A.D.**), when Buddhism had greatly flourished in China and when for nearly two centuries this westernmost outpost of China proper had enjoyed imperial protection against invasions, both from the Turks in the north and the Tibetan southward. The vicissitudes of the succeeding period, when, until the establishment of paramount Mongol power, these Marches, then already outside the Great Wall, had been abandoned to barbarian inroads of all sorts, must have sadly diminished the splendour of the temples and the numbers of the monks and nuns established near them. Yet, in spite of all changes and devastations, Tun-huang had evidently managed to retain its traditions of Buddhist piety even to the time of Marco Polo, for as I examined one grotto after the other, noting the profusion of large images on their platforms, and the frequency of colossal figures

of Buddhas in a variety of poses, I felt convinced that it was the very sight of these colossal statues, some reaching nearly 100 feet in height, and the vivid first impression of the cult paid to them, which had made Marco Polo describe just in his chapter on *Sa-chui*, *i.e.*, Tun-huang, the strange idolatrous customs of the "people of Tangut."

The good folk of Tun-huang have, indeed, remained to this day attached with particular zeal to such forms of worship as represent Buddhism in the queer medley of Chinese popular religion, and it scarcely needed the experience of a great annual religious fair which drew the villagers and townspeople of the oasis by the thousands to the "Thousand Buddhas" just about the time of my return, to make it clear to me that the cave temples, notwithstanding all apparent decay, were still real cult places "in being." I knew well, therefore, that my archæological activity at them, as far as frescoes and sculptures were concerned, would, by every consideration of prudence, have to be strictly platonic, *i.e.*, to remain confined to the study of the art relics by means of photography, drawing of plans, etc.; in short, to such work as could not reasonably arouse popular resentment with all its eventual serious consequences. Yet when by May 20 I established myself for a prolonged stay in camp at the sacred site which then had once more resumed its air of utter desolation and silence, I confess what kept my heart buoyant were secret hopes of another and more substantial kind. Already two months before I had heard vague rumours about a great hidden deposit of ancient manuscripts, which had been accidentally discovered by a Taoist monk about two years earlier, while restoring one of the temples. The trove was jealously guarded in the walled-up side chapel, where it was originally discovered, and there were good reasons for caution in the first endeavours to secure access to it.

The Taoist priest who had come upon and taken charge of it proved a very quaint person as ignorant of what he was guarding as he was full of fears concerning gods and men. He was at first a difficult person to handle, and the story of our lengthy struggle with his objections, conscientious and otherwise, must be left to be told thereafter. But I may confide here already that our success in the end was, apart from Chiang-ssŭ-yieh's tactful diplomacy, due mainly to what the priest was prepared to accept as a special interposition on my behalf of my Chinese patron saint, the great Hsüan-tsang. Already the fact of my well-known attachment to the memory of the saintly traveller had been helpful; for curiously enough the Tao-shi, though poorly versed in, and indifferent to things Buddhist, was quite as ardent an admirer in his own way of "T'angsên," the "great monk of the T'ang period," as I am in another. It is true the fantastic legends which have transformed Hsüan-tsang in popular belief into a sort of saintly Munchhausen, and which accounted for the Tao-shi's worship, are not to be found in the great pilgrim's genuine Memoirs. But why should that little difference matter? When the first specimens which we at last prevailed upon the priest to pick out from the hidden manuscript store and show us in secret, proved by mere chance to be **fine rolls of paper containing Chinese versions of certain Buddhist texts**, which the colophons declared to have been brought from India and translated by Hsüan-tsang, the priest and even my zealous secretary were greatly impressed by the portent. Was it not Hsüan-tsang himself, so Chiang declared, who had at the opportune moment revealed the hiding-place of that manuscript hoard in order to prepare for me, his disciple from distant India, a fitting antiquarian reward on the westernmost confines of China proper?

Under the influence of this quasi-divine hint the Tao-shi then summoned up courage to open before me the rough door closing the entrance which led from the side of the broad front passage of his temple into the rock-carved recess, and which, previous to accidental discovery through a crack, had been hidden behind a frescoed wall. The sight of the small room disclosed was one to make my eyes open wide. Heaped up in layers, but without any order, there appeared in the dim light of the priest's little oil lamp a solid mass of manuscript bundles rising to 10 feet from the floor and filling,

as subsequent measurement showed, close on 500 cubic feet. It was impossible to examine anything in this "black hole." But when the priest had brought out some bundles, and had allowed us to look rapidly through the contents in a side room of the newly built porch, where we were well screened from any inquisitive eyes, my contentment rose greatly. The thick rolls of paper, about one foot high, which turned up first, contained Chinese Buddhist texts in excellent preservation, and yet showing in paper, arrangement, etc., unmistakable signs of great age. To discover exact date records in these big rolls opening out to 10 yards length and more was not easy at first. But when I lighted on the reverse of a Chinese roll upon the extensive text in a cursive form of Indian Brahmi script, I felt relieved of all doubt. Here was indisputable proof that the bulk of the manuscripts deposited went back to the time when Indian writing and some knowledge of Sanskrit still prevailed in Central-Asian Buddhism. All the manuscripts were manifestly preserved exactly in the same condition they were in when deposited. Nowhere could I trace the slightest effect of moisture. And, in fact, what better place for preserving such relics could well be imagined than a chamber carved out of the rock in these terribly barren hills, and hermetically shut off from what moisture, if any, the atmosphere of this desert valley ever contained ?

How grateful I felt for the protection thus afforded when, on opening a large packet wrapped in a sheet of stout coloured cotton I found it full of fine paintings on silk and cotton, ex-votos in all kinds of silk and brocade, with a miscellaneous mass of paper pictures, streamers in various fabrics, fragments of embroidered materials, etc. The silk and cotton paintings had served as temple banners, and were found neatly rolled up. When unfurled they displayed beautifully painted figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, either quite Indian in style, or else illustrating in a very interesting fashion the adaptation of Indian models to Chinese taste. Below the divine figures or scenes there appear frequently representations of worshippers, in the characteristic monastic dress of the period. And it was not long before Chiang-ssŭ-yieh had discovered dedicatory legends, with dates of the ninth and tenth century A. D. The silk used for these paintings was almost invariably a transparent gauze of remarkable fineness. Hence, when we came upon larger pictures of this sort, up to 5 or 6 feet in length, closely folded up at the time of their deposition, and much creased in consequence, their opening out could not be attempted from obvious risks of damage. Nor was there time then for any closer study. My main care was how many of these delicate graceful paintings I might hope to rescue from their dismal imprisonment and the risks from their present guardian's careless handling. To my surprise and relief he attached little value to these fine art relics of the Tang times. So I could rapidly put aside "for further inspection" the best of the pictures, without the risk of displaying too great *empressement*.

It was probably the priest's indifference to remains of this kind, and his secret hope of diverting by their sacrifice my attention from the precious rolls of Chinese canonical texts, which made him hand out now more readily bundles of what he evidently classed under the head of miscellaneous rubbish. I had every reason to be satisfied with this benevolent intention; for in the very first large packet of this sort I discovered, mixed up with Chinese and Tibetan texts, a great heap of leaves in the variety of Indian script, known as Central-Asian Brahmi. They proved on arrangement to belong to half a dozen different MSS., several of considerable size and some quite complete None of my previous finds in Sanskrit or the "unknown" ecclesiastical language of Turkestan written in this script equalled them in this respect or in excellence of preservation. So Chiang-ssŭ-yieh and myself worked on without a break that first day until it got quite late, picking out sometimes stray Indian leaves even from regular Chinese or Tibetan bundles, or else Chinese texts with Central-Asian versions and notes. Though our honest Tao-shi grew visibly tired with climbing over MS. heaps and dragging out heavy bundles, I could see that our appreciation of all this, to him valueless lore flattered and reassured him.

It is impossible for me to describe here how the search was continued day after day without remission, or to indicate all the interesting finds with which this curious digging was rewarded. It was particularly the bundles filled with miscellaneous texts, painted fabrics, papers of all sorts, which yielded in plenty important finds of Buddhist MSS., in Indian and other non-Chinese languages. One of the most important among them was a large and remarkably well-preserved Sanskrit MS. on palm-leaves, apparently containing some text from the northern Buddhist Canon. The material makes it quite certain that the MS. had been brought from India, and palæographical features indicate its having been written earlier than any so far known Sanskrit MS. Tibetan texts, both in form of big rolls and *pothis*, were abundant. But not from the south alone had the old temple library, which had laid here hidden for long centuries, received its additions. Considering how flourishing Buddhism was under the Uighur kingdom, which existed in the north-east of Turkestan up to the twelfth century, and at one time probably also held Tun-huang, I was not surprised when also old Turki Uighur MSS. and block-printed books cropped up in various miscellaneous bundles. Kök-turki, too, and even the peculiar form of Syriac script, usually employed for Manichæan writings, were represented.

Less attractive at first sight, but in reality of particular antiquarian value, were the miscellaneous records in Chinese such as letters, monastic accounts, etc., which filled those bundles of apparent "waste paper." They not only throw instructive light on monastic organization as prevailing here in the ninth to tenth century, but the plentiful dated documents found among them soon enabled me to determine that the walling-up of the chamber must have taken place about 1000 A.D. There can be little doubt that the fear of some destructive invasion had prompted the act. But the well-sheltered small cave had in all probability served for a long time previously as a place of deposit for objects far more ancient and for all kinds of objects sanctified by their use but no longer needed. That these objects must have been very often of considerable antiquity already at the time when the deposit was finally walled up, was obvious from the first. Yet it was to me a most gratifying assurance when the partial examination of our Chinese collection, which became possible a year later, disclosed in fact quite a series of manuscripts showing exact dates which extend certainly as far back as the third century A. D. Of course, it will need yet protracted scholarly labours before the time of the earliest piece can be definitely established.

When after long days of anxious work had resulted in the rapid search of all miscellaneous bundles piled up on the top and the selection of all manuscripts of special interest, pictures and other relics I was eager to rescue, we attacked the solid rampart of hard-tied uniform packets of Chinese manuscript rolls. This was a troublesome undertaking in more than one sense, though discreet treatment and judiciously administered doses of silver did much to counteract the Tao-shi's relapses into timorous contrariness. The labour of clearing out the whole chamber might by itself have dismayed a stouter heart than his. However, in the end, it was amply rewarded by the discovery, quite at the bottom, of more miscellaneous bundles with to us precious silk paintings, etc. Rapid as our search of the rest had to be, it led also to the recovery of more manuscripts in Central-Asian Brahmi and other foreign scripts which had got embedded among the great array of Chinese rolls. The negotiations about the compensation to be offered to the Tao-shi in the form of a liberal present to the temple, which by his restoration he could claim to have annexed as his own with all its contents known or unknown, were necessarily protracted. But I need not attempt to relate here all the difficulties which had to be overcome in the course of this strange digging before most of the "selections for closer study," as our polite convention styled by them, could be safely transferred to my improvised store-room without any one, even of my own men, having received the slightest inkling. How this was accomplished, mainly through Chiang's devotion, is a curious story which I may yet be able to tell elsewhere, and how our acquisitions were safely packed without arousing any attention, is also "another story." Enough for the present that

in the end the Tao-shi had received a weighty proof of our fair dealing in the form of a goodly number of silver-horse shoes, and had by temporary visit to the oasis gathered assurance that his spiritual influence, such as it was, had suffered no diminution whatsoever, he became almost ready to recognize that I was performing a pious act in rescuing for Western scholarship all those relics of ancient Buddhist literature and art which were otherwise bound to get lost earlier or later through local indifference. I received gratifying proof of the peaceful state of his mind when on my return four months later he agreed to let depart for a certain seat of learning in the distant West, a fair share also of the Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts. But my time for feeling true relief came when all the twenty-four cases, heavy with the manuscript treasures rescued from that strange place of hiding, and the five more filled with paintings and similar art relics from the same cave, had safely been deposited in London.

15. Nan-shan. — The Valley of the Ten Thousand Buddhas.

The strain of these labours had been great, and when by the middle of June, I had completed also the examination and photographing of all the more notable frescoes and sculptures of old date in the "Halls of the Thousand Buddhas." So, by the end of June, I felt heartily glad to exchange archæological work in the torrid desert plains for geographical exploration in the **western and central Nan-shan.** After leaving my collections in the safe keeping of the Yamên at An-shi, I moved towards the great snowy range south, which forms the watershed between the Su-lai-ho and the river of Tun-huang. On my way there I discovered a large ruined site near the village of **Chiao-tzu,** between the lowest two of the barren outer ranges. The great change in physical and economic conditions which desiccation has worked in this lower hill region, was illustrated by the fact that the stream from which a canal still traceable for a long distance brought water to the town and the once cultivated area around it, has completely disappeared. Though the damage done by extensive erosion and the height of the dunes left little scope for excavation, yet there was enough archæological evidence to show that the walled town must have been occupied up to the twelfth to thirteenth century A. D. All the more striking was the proof which its walls afforded of the effects of wind erosion since that period. In spite of very massive construction all lines of walls facing east have been completely breached through the driving and scouring sand, and in many places practically effaced, while the walls facing north and south and thus lying parallel to the direction of the prevailing east winds, have escaped practically uninjured. When I subsequently ascended the cañon-like valley in which the stream of Ta-shi cuts through the second outer range, I came upon very picturesque series of Buddhist cave temples, known as **Wang-fu-hsia, the valley of the Ten Thousand Buddhas,** and still forming a pilgrimage place. In character and date they showed close affinity to the "Halls of the Thousand Buddhas." The large and well-preserved fresco compositions decorating their walls furnished fresh illustrations of value for the study of Buddhist pictorial art as practised in this region from the eighth to the twelfth century, A. D.

16. Nan-shan. — The Chia-yü-kuan Gate of the Great Wall.

After surveying the great chain of glacier-crowned peaks which overlook the terribly barren detritus plateaus of the Nan-shan west of the Su-lai-ho, we descended to the pleasant little **oasis of Chong-ma.** Then we made our way through a hitherto unexplored mountain tract where even at this favourable season want of water was a serious difficulty to the famous **Chia-yü-kuan Gate of the still extant Great Wall.** Here I succeeded in clearing up an archœological problem of considerable historical interest. It concerned the relation which this wall, hitherto believed to end at Chia-yü-kuan, bears to the ancient defensive border line I had discovered to extend into the desert over 300 miles further west. All books and maps, whether European or Chinese, represent the imposing line of wall which bends round the westernmost part of the Su-chou oasis to the very foot of the Nan-shan, as the termination of the ancient Great Wall protecting the

northern border of Kansu. Since centuries the big fortified gate leading through it has been greeted by travellers coming from Central-Asia as the threshold of true Cathay. Yet certain early Chinese records seemed to place the position of that famous gate much further to the west, and the remains of the ancient frontier wall I had discovered in the desert of Tun-huang spoke still more emphatically against the common assumption. Careful examination on the spot sufficed to solve the problem. I was able to trace near Chia-yü-kuan the junction of two defensive lines of widely different age and purpose. One line represented by the crumbling wall of stamped clay which runs along the whole northern border of the Su-chou and Kan-chou districts, proved to have been originally connected with the *limes* of Tun-huang and An-shi and to date like this from the second century B. C. Its purpose was to protect the narrow belt of oases along the north foot of the Nan-shan which since Chinese expansion westwards had commenced under the first Han dynasty was indispensably needed as a passage into Eastern Turkestan. The second line, which meets this ancient wall at right angles and is passed now through the Chia-yü-kuan gate, is of far more recent construction and was built for the very opposite purpose, that of closing the great Central Asian route, at a time when China had resumed its traditional attitude of seclusion.

17. Hami and Turfan.

Of the long journey commenced early in October 1907 and covering close on 900 miles marching distance, which took me within about two months from An-shi to Karashahr, in the extreme north-east of the Tarim basin I cannot pause to give details here. Both at **Hami** and **Turfan**, the only oases breaking the monotonous stony waste between the Tien-shan and the Pei-shan, I devoted some time to visits of important ruined sites, though a variety of considerations precluded archæological operations on any scale. Advantage was taken of these breaks for detailed surveys of those districts and the adjoining parts of the Tien-shan. At **Turfan** the inspection of the numerous and extensive ruins, dating chiefly from the time of the Uighar dominion (ninth to twelfth century A. D.), which had been largely explored by successive expeditions under the auspices of the Prussian Government, and had yielded a rich harvest to Prof. Grünwedel and Dr. Lecoq, proved very instructive. To me it was interesting also to study the conditions which accounted for the survival of these ruins within or else quite close to the still cultivated area, particularly as I could well, after my desert experiences, appreciate the practical facilities thus assured to the archæologists.

18. Karashahr and Ming-oi.

On reaching **Karashahr** early in December, I lost no time in setting the spade to work. Sites of ancient towns of some size could be traced at several points of the great scrub-covered plain which encircles the northern shores of **the Bagrash lake**. But the vicinity of subsoil water, often impregnated with salts, and the effects of a climate evidently less dry than in other parts of the great Turkestan basin, had completely destroyed all structural remains, and reduced even the clay-built town walls to mere shapeless earthen mounds.

A fair field for systematic excavations was offered by an extensive collection of ruined Buddhist shrines, known to the local Muhammadans by the name of **Ming-oi**, "the Thousand Houses," which dot some low rock terraces jutting out from the foot of the hills, one march to the west of Karashahr. The disposition of the hills in long rows of detached *cellas*, varying in size, but all similar in plan and construction, facilitated the employment of a large number of labourers. It soon became evident that, apart from the destructive effects of rain and snow, the temples had suffered much damage by a great conflagration, which, in view of coin finds reaching down to the ninth century A. D., is likely to have been connected with the earliest Muhammadan invasions. But in spite of all the destruction due to iconoclastic zeal and atmospheric influences, plentiful archæological spoil rewarded our diggings here. The deep *débris* layers filling the interior of the larger shrines yielded a great quantity of excellent relievo sculptures in stucco, once adorning the temple walls. From vaulted passages enclosing some *cellas* we recovered fine fresco panels which a timely

burial had saved both from fire and moisture. Of the lavish adornment with votive gifts which these shrines once enjoyed, there survived evidence in finds of painted panels and delicately carved relievos once richly gilt. The style of these art relics displayed quite as clearly as the work of ancient Khotan, the predominant influence of Græco-Buddhist models brought from the extreme north-west of India. The frequency with which cinerary urns and boxes turned up around some of the shrines was a curious feature of the site ; but of traces of the abodes of the living there were none. Was the great plain stretching eastwards already in old days that desolate waste of sand and scrub which it is now, notwithstanding the relative ease with which it could be brought under irrigation by canals from the large Karashahr River?

19. Karadong.

The ground we had passed through during the dangerous journey through the **Taklamakan** had its own fascination, and survey work on it offered considerable geographical interest. Yet I was glad when after a day's rest I could resume archæological labour in Feburary 1908, at the **Kara-dong site**, which the river by its latest change has approached again after long centuries. On my first visit in 1901 a succession of sandstorms had prevented a complete examination of the site and the shifting of dunes had since laid bare ruined dwellings then too deeply buried beneath the sand. Their excavation now furnished definite antiquarian evidence that a small agricultural settlement, and not merely a frontier guard post, had existed here far away in the desert during the first centuries of our era. Having been joined on the Keriya River by a party of my old "treasure-seeking guides" from Khotan, I marched with them by a new route to the desert belt north of the oasis of Domoko. There in the deceptive zone of tamarisk-covered sand-cones they had succeeded in tracking an extensive but much scattered series of ruined dwellings, with several Buddhist shrines which had previously escaped our search. Though these ruins had suffered much through the vicinity of "Old Domoko," a village site occupied until some sixty years ago, my excavations were rewarded in the end by valuable finds of well-preserved manuscripts in Indian script, Buddhist paintings on wood, etc. The time of abandonment was here, too, about the end of the eighth century A. D.

20. The Mazar-tagh Fort.

March and April were thus spent in supplementary archæological labours along the desert fringing the oasis from Domoko westwards to Khotan. Amongst the ruins newly traced it must suffice to mention the remains of a **large Buddhist temple** decorated with elaborate frescoes, which, completely buried under high dunes, came to light now in the desert strip between the Yurung-Kash and Kara-kash Rivers. Like the great Rawak Stupa, discovered in 1901, on the opposite bank of the Yurung-kash in a closely corresponding position, this temple belonged to the early centuries of our era. Unfortunately here, too, subsoil moisture had, as at Rawak, played havoc to such an extent that continued excavation would have resulted in complete destruction. We then set out northward for Aksu by the desert route which leads along the Khotan river-bed, then practically dry. While following it I had the satisfaction of discovering the ruins of a fort once guarding the route on the curious desert hill of **Mazar-tagh**, which, as the last offshoot of a low and now almost completely eroded range from the north-west, juts out to the left bank of the Khotan River. The fort had been destroyed by fire but on the steep rock slope below huge masses of refuse, thrown down by the occupants in the course of long years, had fortunately remained in excellent preservation, safe alike from moisture and driving sand. In the course of three days' hard work we recovered from them a great collection of documents on wood and paper in a variety of scripts, and none apparently later than the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. Tibetan records predominated, pointing, as in the case of the ruined fort of Miran, to the period of Tibetan invasions.

21. Kelpin and Ancient Settlements on the Kashgar River.

We reached **Aksu** early in May, after suffering a good deal *en route* from the heat of the desert and a succession of sandstorms. There I arranged, through the kind help of my old Mandarin friend, Pan Darin, now Tao-tai, for the local assistance which Rai Lal Singh needed for the continuous survey he was to carry through the outer Tien-shan range as far as the passes north of Kashgar. I myself, after foregathering for a few days with that most learned of Mandarins and kindest of friends in China, travelled up the Uch-Turfan valley, where opportunities offered for useful anthropometrical work among the Kirghiz, and then made my way across a barren and yet remarkably picturesque range, previously unsurveyed, to the little known **oasis of Kelpin.** The peaks, curiously recalling the Dolomites, reach up to 12,000—13,000 feet, but they carry very little snow, and throughout these mountains want of water is a serious trouble for the few Kirghiz herdsmen who still cling to them. Apart from useful observations about obvious desiccation I could gather here and in the equally barren outer ranges, it was of special interest to me to study conditions such as may be supposed to have prevailed in the now absolutely waterless hills of the Poi-shan south of Hami during the period when Hun raiders could still make their way through them towards Tun-huang and the great Chinese route to the west. In fact, Kirghiz raids of a similar kind upon the Aksu-Kashgar high-road are still a matter of living recollection, and might yet be revived in practice if the hold of the Chinese administration were relaxed. From information opportunely secured through treasure-seekers of **Kelpin** I subsequently succeeded in tracing extensive *débris* areas marking ancient settlements in the desert between the arid outer hills of Kelpin and the lower course of the Kashgar River. Though far-advanced erosion had left little or no remains for excavation, I secured ample archæological evidence showing that this tract had been occupied down to the eighth century A. D. by large settlements, to which canals, still traceable in parts, carried water from the Kashgar River. I also ascertained the line of the ancient Chinese high-road to Kashgar which had passed through them. There was room, too, here for interesting topographical work, as I discovered in this previously unsurveyed desert belt a series of low parallel ranges clearly connected geologically with the curious rugged hills about Tumshuk and Maralbashi, which have hitherto figured in our maps as isolated rock islands..

22. Haji Habibullah's Route over the Kunlun.

It was a great relief when, after three depressing marches, we struck traces of **the old route,** forgotten since more than forty years, by which **Haji Habibullah, Chief of Khotan** at the commencement of the last Muhammadan rebellion, tried to open up direct communication with Ladak and India, and over which Mr. Johnson in 1865, had been taken on his adventurous visit to that ill-fated ruler. The survival almost intact of the cairns, the stacks of *burtse* roots to be used as fuel, and of other relics left behind by those who followed this route during the few years it was open, was a characteristic proof of the dryness of the climate even at this high elevation. We had used up the last of our fodder store when guided by those marks and crossing several side spurs from the main range, we emerged at last, on the evening ot September 18, in the valley of an eastern feeder of the Kara Kash. Descending this, I was joined two days later by a party of Kirghiz with yaks from Shahidulla, whom I had ordered from Khotan to await my arrival here.

The only task now remaining was to trace Haji Habibullah's route up to the point where it crossed the main Kun-lun range towards Karanghu-tagh. A line of cairns running up a side valley showed where the pass would have to be looked for. But advancing masses of ice and snow had obliterated all trace of the old route at the head of the valley. As, however, it was important to fix our position accurately by linking it up with our former surveys from the north side of the main range, I ascended on September 22, with Lal Singh and some Kirghiz, a steep glacier which seemed to offer the nearest approach to the watershed. The ascent, over miles of much-crevassed ice and *névé*, deeply covered with fresh snow, taxed us severely, and it was late when at last we had gained the crest at an elevation of about 20,000 feet.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V — XV),

Translated by

R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.,

Librarian, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.[32]

(Continued from page 28.)

Chapter IX.

Agreement for the acquisition of a friend or gold.

(Mitrasandhih hiraṇyasandhiścha.)

Of the three gains, the acquisition of a friend, of gold, and of territory, accruing from the march of combined powers, that which is mentioned later is better than the one previously mentioned; for friends and gold can be acquired by means of territory; of the two gains, that of a friend and of gold, each can be a means to acquire the other.

Agreement under the condition, " let us acquire a friend, etc., " is termed even peace; when one acquires a friend and the other makes an enemy, etc., it is termed uneven peace; and when one gains more than the other, it is deception.

In an even peace (*i. e.*, agreement on equal terms), whoever acquires a friend of good character or relieves an old friend from troubles, overreaches the other; for help given in misfortune renders friendship very firm.

Which is better of the two: a friend of longstanding, but unsubmissive nature, or a temporary friend of submissive nature, both being acquired by affording relief from their respective troubles?

My teacher says that a long-standing friend of unsubmissive nature is better inasmuch as such a friend, though not helpful, will not create harm.

Not so, says Kauṭilya: a temporary friend of submissive nature is better; for such a friend will be a true friend so long as he is helpful; for the real characteristic of friendship lies in giving help.

Which is the better of two submissive friends: a temporary friend of large prospects, or a longstanding friend of limited prospects?

My teacher says that a temporary friend of large prospects is better inasmuch as such a friend can, in virtue of his large prospects, render immense service in a very short time, and can stand undertakings of large outlay.

Not so, says Kauṭilya: a long-standing friend of limited prospects is better, inasmuch as a temporary friend of large prospects is likely to withdraw his friendship on account of material loss in the shape of help given, or is likely to expect similar kind of help in return but a long-standing friend of limited prospects can, in virtue of his long-standing nature, render immense service in the long run.

Which is better, a big friend, difficult to be roused, or a small friend, easy to be roused?

My teacher says that a big friend, though difficult to be roused, is of imposing nature, and when he rises up, he can accomplish the work undertaken.

Not so, says Kauṭilya: a small friend easy to be roused is better, for such a friend will not, in virtue of his ready preparations, be behind the opportune moment of work, and can, in virtue of his weakness in power, be used in any way the conqueror may like; but not so the other of vast territorial power.

[32] The first four books have been published in the *Mysore Review* 1906-1908.

Which is better, scattered troops, or an unsubmissive standing army ?

My teacher says that scattered troops can be collected in time as they are of submissive nature.

Not so, says Kauṭilya : an unsubmissive standing army is better as it can be made submissive by conciliation and other strategic means ; but it is not so easy to collect in time scattered troops as they are engaged in their individual avocations.

Which is better, a friend of vast population, or a friend of immense gold ?

My teacher says that a friend of vast population is better inasmuch as such a friend will be of imposing power and can, when he rises up, accomplish any work undertaken.

Not so, says Kauṭilya : a friend possessing immense gold is better ; for possession of gold is ever desirable ; but an army is not always required. Moreover armies and other desired objects can be purchased for gold.

Which is better, a friend possessing gold, or a friend possessing vast territory ?

My teacher says that a friend possessing gold can stand any heavy expenditure made with discretion.

Not so, says Kauṭilya : for it has already been stated that both friends and gold can be acquired by means of territory. Hence a friend of vast territory is far better.

When the friend of the conqueror and his enemy happen to possess equal population, their people may yet differ in possession of qualities such as bravery, power of endurance, amicableness, and qualification for the formation of any kind of army.

When the friends are equally rich in gold, they may yet differ in qualities such as readiness to comply with requests, magnanimous and munificent help, and accessibility at any time and always.

About this topic, the following sayings are current :—

(*a*) Longstanding, submissive, easy to be roused, coming from fathers and grand-fathers, powerful, and never of a contradictory nature, is a good friend ; and these are said to be the six qualities of a good friend.

(*b*) that friend who maintains friendship with disinterested motives and merely for the sake of friendship, and by whom the relationship acquired of old is kept intact, is a long standing friend.

(*c*) that friend whose munificence is enjoyable in various ways is a submissive friend, and is said to be of three forms :— one who is enjoyable only by one, who is enjoyable by two (the enemy and the conqueror), and one who is enjoyable by all, is the third.

(*d*) that friend who, whether as receiving help or as giving help, lives with an oppressive hand over his enemies, and who possesses a number of forts and a vast army of wild tribes is said to be a long standing friend of unsubmissive nature.

(*e*) that friend who, either when attacked or when in trouble, makes friendship for the security of his own existence is a temporary and submissive friend.

(*f*) that friend who contracts friendship with a single aim in view and who is helpful, immutable, and amicable is a friend never falling foul even in adversity.

(*g*) whoever is of an amicable nature is a true friend ; whoever sides also with the enemy is a mutable friend ; and whoever is indifferent to neither (the conqueror and his enemy) is a friend to both.

(*h*) that friend who is inimical to the conqueror or who is equally friendly to the conqueror's enemy is a harmful friend, whether he is giving help or is capable of helping.

(i) whoever helps the enemy's friend, *protegee* or any vulnerable person or a relation of the enemy is a friend common to (both) the enemy (and the conqueror).

(j) whoever possesses extensive and fertile territory and is contented, strong, but indolent, will be indifferent (towards his ally) when the latter becomes despicable under troubles.

(k) Whoever, owing to his own weakness, follows the ascendancy of both the conqueror and his enemy, not incurring enmity with either, is known as a common friend.

(l) Whoever neglects a friend who is being hurt with or without reason and who seeks help with or without reason despises his own danger.[33]

Which is better, an immediate small gain, or a distant large gain ?

My teacher says that an immediate small gain is better, as it is useful to carry out immediate undertakings.

Not so, says Kauṭilya : a large gain, as continuous as a productive seed, is better ; otherwise an immediate small gain.

Thus,[34] having taken into consideration the good aspects of a permanent gain or of a share in a permanent gain, should a king, desirous of strengthening himself, march combined with others.

Chapter X.

Agreement of Peace for the Acquisition of Land.

(Bhūmisandhih.)

The agreement made under the condition, " Let us acquire land, " is an agreement of peace for the acquisition of land.

Of the two kings thus entering into an agreement, whoever acquires a rich and fertile land with standing crops overreaches the other.

The acquisition of rich land being equal, whoever acquires such land by putting down a powerful enemy, overreaches the other ; for not only does he acquire territory, but also destroys an enemy and thereby augments his own power. True, there is beauty in acquiring land by putting down a weak enemy ; but the land acquired will also be poor, and the king in the neighbourhood, who has hitherto been a friend, will now become an enemy.

The enemies being equally strong, he who acquires territory after beating a fortified enemy overreaches the other ; for the capture of a fort is conducive to the protection of territory and to the destruction of wild tribes.

As to the acquisition of land from a wandering[35] enemy, there is the difference of having a powerful or powerless enemy close to the acquired territory ; for the land which is close to a powerless enemy is easily maintained while that bordering upon the territory of a powerful enemy has to be kept at the expense of men and money.

Which is better, the acquisition of a rich land close to a constant enemy, or that of sterile land near to a temporary enemy ?

My teacher says that a rich land with a constant enemy is better, inasmuch as it yields much wealth to maintain a strong army, by which the enemy can be put down.

Not so, says Kauṭilya : for a rich land creates many enemies, and the constant enemy will ever be an enemy whether or not he is helped (with men and money to conciliate him) ; but a temporary enemy will be quiet either from fear or favour. That land, on the border of which there are a number of forts giving shelter to bands of thieves, Mlechchhas, and wild tribes is a land with a constant enemy ; and that which is of reverse character is one with a temporary enemy.

33 a—l, in *Śloka* metre.

34 In *Śloka* metre.

35 Observe the difference between a wandering enemy (*chala śatru*) and an entrenched enemy (*sthita śatru*).

Which is better, a small piece of land, not far, or an extensive piece of land, very far ?

A small piece of land, not far, is better, inasmuch as it can be easily acquired, protected, and defended, whereas the other is of a reverse nature.

Of the above two kinds of land, which is better, that which can be maintained by itself, or that which requires external armed force to maintain ?

The former is better, as it can be maintained with the army and money produced by itself, whereas the latter is of a reverse character as a military station.

Which is better, acquisition of land from a stupid or a wise king ?

That acquired from a stupid king is better, as it can be easily acquired and secured, and cannot be taken back, whereas that obtained from a wise king, beloved of his subjects, is of a reverse nature.

Of two enemies, of whom one can only be harassed and another is reducible, acquisition of land from the latter is better; for when the latter is attacked, he, having little or no help, begins to run away, taking his army and treasure with him, and he is deserted by his subjects ; whereas the former does not do so, as he has the help of his forts and friends.

Of two fortified kings, one who has his forts on a plain is more easily reduced than the other owning a fort in the centre of a river; for a fort in a plain can be easily assailed, destroyed or captured along with the enemy in it, whereas a fort, surrounded by a river requires twice as much effort to capture and supplies the enemy with water and other necessaries of life.

Of two kings, one owning a fort surrounded by a river, and another having mountainous fortifications, seizing the former's land is better, for a fort in the centre of a river can be assailed by a bridge formed of elephants made to stand in a row in the river or by wooden bridges, or by means of boats; and the river will not always be deep and can be emptied of its water, whereas a fort on a mountain is of a self-defensive nature, and not easy to besiege or to ascend ; and when one portion of the army defending it is routed out, the other portions can escape unhurt; and such a fort is of immense service, as it affords facilities to throw down heaps of stone and trees over the enemy.

Which is easier, seizing land from those who fight on plains, or from those who fight from low grounds ?

Seizing the land from the latter is easier, inasmuch as they have to fight in time and space of adverse nature, whereas the former can fight anywhere and at any time.

Of the two enemies, one fighting from ditches and another from heights (*khanakákáśayodhibhyám*), seizing land from the former is better; for they can be serviceable inasmuch as they fight from ditches and with weapons in hand, whereas the latter can only fight with weapons in hand.

Whoever, well-versed in the science of polity, wrests land from such and other enemies will outshine both his allies in combination with him and enemies out of combination.[36]

Chapter XI.

Interminable Agreement (Anavasitasandhih).

The agreement made under the condition, "Let us colonize waste land," is termed an interminable agreement.

Whoever of the two parties of the agreement colonises a fertile land, reaping the harvest earlier, overreaches the other.

[36] In *śloka* metre.

Which is better for colonization : a plain or a watery land ?

A limited tract of land with water is far better than a vast plain, inasmuch as the former is conducive to the growth of crops and fruits throughout the year.

Of plains, that which is conducive to the growth of both early and late crops and which requires less labour and less rain for cultivation is better than the other of reverse character.

Of watery lands, that which is conducive to the growth of grains is better than another productive of crops other than grains.

Of two watery tracts, one of limited area and conducive to the growth of grains, and another, vast and productive of crops other than grains, the latter is better, inasmuch as it affords vast area not only to grow spices and other medicinal crops, but also to construct forts and other defensive works in plenty: for fertility and other qualities of lands are artificial (*kritrimâh*).

Of the two tracts of land, one rich in grains and another in mines, the latter helps the treasury, while the former can fill both the treasury and the store-house ; and besides this, the construction of forts and other buildings requires grains. Still, that kind of land containing mines and which yields precious metals to purchase large tracts of land is far better.

My teacher says that of the two forests, one productive of timber, and another of elephants, the former is the source of all kinds of works and is of immense help in forming a store-house, while the latter, is of reverse character.

Not so, says Kauṭilya : for it is possible to plant any number of timber-forests in many places, but not an elephant-forest ; yet it is on elephants that the destruction of an enemy's army depends.

Of the two, communication by water and by land, the former is not long-standing, while the latter can ever be enjoyed.

Which is better, the land with scattered people or that with a corporation of people ?

The former is better inasmuch as it can be kept under control and is not susceptible to the intrigues of enemies, while the latter is intolerant of calamities and susceptible of anger and other passions.

In colonizing a land with four castes, colonization with the lowest caste is better, inasmuch as it is serviceable in various ways, plentiful, and permanent.

Of cultivated and uncultivated tracts, the uncultivated tract may be suitable for various kinds of agricultural operations ; and when it is fertile, adapted for pasture grounds, manufacture of merchandise, mercantile transactions of borrowing and lending, and attractive to rich merchants, it is still far better (than a cultivated tract).

Which is better of the two, the tract of land with forts or that which is thickly populated ?

The latter is better ; for that which is thickly populated is a kingdom in all its senses ; what can a depopulated country like a barren cow be productive of ?

The king who is desirous of getting back the land sold for colonization to another when the latter has lost his men and money in colonizing it, should first make an agreement with such a purchaser as is weak, base-born, devoid of energy, helpless, of unrighteous character, addicted to evil ways, trusting to fate, and indiscreet in his actions. When the colonization of a land entails much expenditure of men and money, and when a weak and base-born man attempts to colonize it, he will perish along with his people in consequence of his loss of men and money. Though strong, a base-born man will be deserted by his people who do not like him lest they may come to grief under him ; though possessing an army, he cannot employ it if he is devoid of energy ; and such an army

will perish in consequence of the loss incurred by its master ; though possessing wealth, a man who hesitates to part with his money and shows favour to none, cannot find help in any quarter; and when it is easy to drive out a man of unrighteous character from the colony in which he has firmly established himelf, none can expect that a man of unrighteous character would be capable of colonizing a tract of waste land and keeping it secure ; the same fact explains the fate of such a colonizer as is addicted to evil ways; whoever, trusting to fate and putting no reliance on manliness, withdraws himself from energetic work, will perish without undertaking anything or without achieving anything from his undertakings; and whoever is indiscreet in his actions will achieve nothing, and is the worst of the set of the colonizers.

My teacher says that an indiscreet colonizer may sometimes betray the weak points of his employer, the conqueror.

But Kauṭilya says that, just as he betrays the weak points, so also does he facilitate his destruction by the conqueror.

In the absence of such persons to colonize waste lands, the conqueror may arrange for the colonization of waste land in the same way as we shall treat of later on in connection with the "capture of an enemy in the rear."[37]

The above is what is termed verbal agreement (*abhihitasandhih*).

When a king of immense power compels another to sell a portion of the latter's fertile territory of which the former is very fond, then the latter may make an agreement with the former and sell the land. This is what is termed "unconcealed peace" (*anibhṛitasandhih*).

When a king of equal power demands land from another as above, then the latter may sell it after considering "whether the land can be recovered by me, or can be kept under my control; whether my enemy can be brought under my power in consequence of his taking possession of the land; and whether I can acquire by the sale of the land friends and wealth, enough to help me in my undertakings."

This explains the case of a king of inferior power, who purchases lands.

Whoever, well versed in the science of polity, thus acquires friends, wealth, and territory with or without population will overreach other kings in combination with him.[38]

Chapter XII.

Agreement for undertaking a work.

(Karmasandhih).

When an agreement is made on the condition "Let us have a fort built," it is termed agreement for undertaking a work.

Whoever of the two kings builds an impregnable fortress on a spot naturally best fitted for the purpose with less labour and expenditure overreaches the other.

Of forts such as a fort on a plain, in the centre of a river, and on a mountain, that which is mentioned later is of more advantage than the one previously mentioned; of irrigational works (*setu-bandha*), that which is of perennial water is better than that which is fed with water drawn from other sources; and of works containing perennial water, that which can irrigate an extensive area is better.

Of timber forests, whoever plants a forest which produces valuable articles, which expands into wild tracts, and which possesses a river on its border overreaches the other; for a forest containing a river is self-dependent and can afford shelter in calamities.

[37] Chapter XIII, Book VII.

[38] In *śloka* metre.

Of game-forests, whoever plants a forest full of cruel beasts, close to an enemy's forest containing wild animals, causing therefore much harm to the enemy, and extending into an elephant-forest at the country's border, overreaches the other.

My teacher says that of the two countries, one with a large number of effete persons, and another with a small number of brave persons, the latter is better inasmuch as a few brave persons can destroy a large mass of effete persons whose slaughter brings about the destruction of the entire army of their master.

Not so, says Kauṭilya: a large number of effete persons is better inasmuch as they can be employed to do other kinds of works in the camp: to serve the soldiers fighting in battlefields, and to terrify the enemy by its number. It is also possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm in the timid by means of discipline and training.

Of mines, whoever exploits with less labour and expenditure a mine of valuable output and of easy communication, overreaches the other.

Which is better of the two, a small mine of valuable yield, or a big mine productive of commodities of inferior value?

My teacher says that the former is better inasmuch as valuable products, such as diamonds, precious stones, pearls, corals, gold and silver, can swallow vast quantities of inferior commodities.

Not so, says Kauṭilya: for there is the possibility of purchasing valuable commodities by a mass of accumulated articles of inferior value, collected from a vast and long-standing mine of inferior commodities.

This explains the selection of trade-routes:

My teacher says that of the two trade-routes, one by water and another by land, the former is better, inasmuch as it is less expensive, but productive of large profit.

Not so, says Kauṭilya: for water-route is liable to obstruction, not permanent, a source of imminent dangers, and incapable of defence, whereas a land-route is of reverse nature.

Of water-routes, one along the shore and another in mid-ocean, the route along, and close to the shore is better, as it touches at many trading port-towns; likewise river navigation is better, as it is uninterrupted and is of avoidable or endurable dangers.

My teacher says that of land-routes, that which leads to the Himâlayas is better than that which leads to the south.

Not so, says Kauṭilya: for with the exception of blankets, skins, and horses, other articles of merchandise, such as, conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls and gold are available in plenty in the south.

Of routes leading to the south, either that trade-route which traverses a large number of mines which is frequented by people, and which is less expensive or troublesome, or that route by taking which plenty of merchandise of various kinds can be obtained is better.

This explains the selection of trade-routes leading either to the east or to the west.

Of a cart-track and a foot-path, a cart-track is better as it affords facilities for preparations on a large scale.

Routes that can be traversed by asses or camels, irrespective of countries and seasons are also good.

This explains the selection of trade-routes traversed by men alone (*amsa-patha*, shoulder-path a path traversed by men carrying merchandise on their shoulders).

(*a*) It is a loss for the conqueror to undertake that kind of work which is productive of benefits to the enemy, while a work of reverse nature is a gain. When the benefits are equal, the conqueror has to consider that his condition is stagnant.

(*b*) Likewise it is a loss to undertake a work of less out-put and of greater outlay, while a work of reverse nature is a gain. If the out-put and outlay of a work are at par, the conqueror has to consider that his condition is stagnant.

(*c*) Hence the conqueror should find out such fort-building and other works as, instead of being expensive, are productive of greater profit and power. Such is the nature of agreements for undertaking works.[39]

Chapter XIII.

Considerations about an enemy in the rear.

(Pârshṇigrâhachintâ).

When the conqueror and his enemy simultaneously proceed to capture the rear of their respective enemies who are engaged in an attack against others, he who captures the rear of one who is possessed of vast resources gains more advantages (*atisandhatte*) ; for one who is possessed of vast resources has to put down the rear-enemy only after doing away with one's frontal enemy already attacked, but not one who is poor in resources and who has not realised the desired profits.

Resources being equal, he who captures the rear of one who has made vast preparations gains more advantages ; for one who has made vast preparations has to put down the enemy in the rear only after destroying the frontal enemy, but not one whose preparations are made on a small scale and whose movements are, therefore, obstructed by the Circle of States.

Preparations being equal, he who captures the rear of one who has marched out with all the resources gains more advantages ; for one whose base is undefended is easy to be subdued, but not one who has marched out with a part of the army after having made arrangements to defend the rear.

Troops taken being of equal strength, he who captures the rear of one who has gone against a wandering enemy gains more advantages ; for one who has marched out against a wandering enemy has to put down the rear-enemy only after obtaining an easy victory over the wandering enemy ; but not one who has marched out against an entrenched enemy, for one who has marched out against an entrenched enemy will be repelled in his attack against the enemy's forts and will, after his return, find himself between the rear-enemy and the frontal enemy who is possessed of strong forts.

This explains the cases of other enemies described before.

Enemies being of equal description, he who attacks the rear of one who has gone against a virtuous king gains more advantages, for one who has gone against a virtuous king will incur the displeasure of even his own people, whereas one who has attacked a wicked king will endear himself to all.

This explains the consequences of capturing the rear of those who have marched against an extravagant king, or a king living from hand to mouth, or a niggardly king.

The same reasons hold good in the case of those who have marched against their own friends.

When there are two enemies, one engaged in attacking a friend and another an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the latter gains more advantages ; for one who has attacked a friend will, after easily making peace with the friend, proceed against the rear-enemy ; for it is easier to make peace with a friend than with an enemy.

[39] *a—c* are in *śloka* metre.

When there are two kings, one engaged in destroying a friend, and another an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the former gains more advantages; for one who is engaged in destroying an enemy will have the support of his friends and will thereby put down the rear-enemy, but not the former who is engaged in destroying his own side.

When the conqueror and his enemy in their attack against the rear of an enemy mean to enforce the payment of what is not due to them, he whose enemy has lost considerable profits and has sustained a great loss of men and money gains more advantages; when they mean to enforce the payment of what is due to them, then he whose enemy has lost profits and army, gains more advantages.

When the assailable enemy is capable of retaliation and when the assailant's rear-enemy, capable of augmenting his army and other resources, has entrenched himself on one of the assailant's flanks, then the rear-enemy gains more advantages; for a rear-enemy on one of the assailants' flanks will not only become a friend of the assailable enemy, but also attack the base of the assailant, whereas a rear-enemy behind the assailant can only harass the rear.

(*a*) Kings, capable of harassing the rear of an enemy and of obstructing his movements are three: the group of kings situated behind the enemy, and the group of kings on his flanks.

(*b*) He who is situated between a conqueror and his enemy is called an *antardhi*, (one between two kings); when such a king is possessed of forts, wild tribes, and other kinds of help, he proves an impediment in the way of the strong.[40]

When the conqueror and his enemy are desirous of catching hold of a *madhyama* king and attack the latter's rear, then he who in his attempt to enforce the promised payment separates the Madhyama king from the latter's friend and obtains, thereby, an enemy as a friend, gains more advantages; for an enemy compelled to sue for peace will be of greater help than a friend compelled to maintain the abandoned friendship.

This explains the attempt to catch hold of a neutral king.

Of attacks from the rear and front, that which affords opportunities of carrying on a treacherous fight (*mantrayuddha*) is preferable.

My teacher says that in an open war, both sides suffer by sustaining a heavy loss of men and money; and that even the king who wins a victory will appear as defeated in consequence of the loss of men and money.

No, says Kauṭilya even at considerable loss of men and money, the destruction of an enemy is desirable.

Loss of men and money being equal, he who entirely destroys first his frontal enemy, and next attacks his rear-enemy gains more advantages; when both the conqueror and his enemy are severally engaged in destroying their respective frontal enemies, he who destroys a frontal enemy of deep rooted enmity and of vast resources, gains more advantages.

This explains the destruction of other enemies and wild tribes:

(*a*) When an enemy in the rear and in the front, and an assailable enemy to be marched against happen together, then the conqueror should adopt the following policy:—

(*b*) the rear-enemy will usually lead the conqueror's frontal enemy to attack the conqueror's friend; then having set the *ākranda* (the enemy of the rear-enemy) against the rear-enemy's ally,

(*c*) and, having caused war between them, the conqueror should frustrate the rear-enemy's designs; likewise he should provoke hostilities between the allies of the *ākranda* and of the rear-enemy;

[40] *a* and *b* are in *sloka* metre

(*d*) he should also keep his frontal enemy's friend engaged in war with his own friend; and with the help of his friend's friend, he should avert the attack, threatened by the friend of his enemy's friend,

(*e*) he should, with his friend's help, hold his rear-enemy at bay; and with the help of his friend's friend, he should prevent his rear-enemy attacking the *ākranda* (his rear-ally);

(*f*) thus the conqueror should, through the aid of his friends, bring the Circle of States under his own sway. both in his rear and front;

(*g*) he should send messengers and spies to reside in each of the states composing the Circle and having again and again destroyed the strength of his enemies, he should keep his counsels concealed, being friendly with his friends;

(*h*) the works of him whose counsels are not kept concealed, will, though they may prosper for a time, perish as undoubtedly as a broken raft on the sea.[41]

Chapter XIV.

Recruitment of lost power. (Hīnaśaktipūraṇam.)

When the conqueror is thus attacked by the combined army of his enemies, he may tell their leader, "I shall make peace with you; this is the gold, and I am the friend; your gain is doubled; it is not worthy of you to augment at your own expense the power of your enemies who keep a friendly appearance now; for gaining in power, they will put you down in the long run."

Or he may tell the leader so as to break the combination: "just as an innocent person like myself is now attacked by the combined army of these kings, so the very same kings in combination will attack you in weal or woe; for power intoxicates the mind; hence break their combination."

The combination being broken, he may set the leader against the weak among his enemies; or offering inducements, he may set the combined power of the weak against the leader; or in whatever way he may find it to be conducive to his own prosperity, in that way he may make the leader incur the displeasure of others, and thus frustrate their attempts; or showing the prospect of a larger profit, he may, through intrigue, make peace with their leader. Then the recipients of salaries from two states, exhibiting the acquisition of large profits (to the leader), may satirise the kings, saying "you are all very well combined!"

If some of the kings of the combination are wicked, they my be made to break the treaty; then the recipients of salaries from two states may again tell them so as to break the combination entirely, "This is just what we have already pointed out."

When the enemies are separated, the conqueror may move forward by catching hold of any of the kings (as an ally).

In the absence of a leader, the conqueror may win him over who is the inciter of the combination; or who is of a resolute mind, or who has endeared himself to his people, or who, from greed or fear, joined the combination, or who is afraid of the conqueror, or whose friendship with the conqueror is based upon some consanguinity of royalty, or who is a friend, or who is a wandering enemy,—in the order of enumeration.

[41] *a—h* are in the *śloka* metre.

Of these, one has to please the inciter by surrendering oneself, by conciliation and salutation, him who is of a resolute mind; by giving a daughter in marriage or by availing oneself of his youth (to beget a son on one's wife ?) him who is the beloved of his people; by giving twice the amount of profit him who is greedy; by helping with men and money him who is afraid of the combination; by giving a hostage to him who is naturally timid; by entering into a closer union with him whose friendship is based upon some consanguinity of royalty; by doing what is pleasing and beneficial to both or by abandoning hostilities against him who is a friend; and by offering help and abandoning hostilities against him who is a wandering enemy; one has to win over the confidence of any of the above kings by adopting suitable means or by means of conciliation, gifts, dissension, or threats, as will be explained under "troubles."[42]

He who is in troubles and is apprehensive of an attack from his enemy should, on the condition of supplying the enemy with army and money, make peace with the enemy on definite terms with reference to place, time, and work; he should also set right any offence he might have given by the violation of a treaty; if he has no supporters, he should find them among his relatives and friends; or he may build an impregnable fortress, for he who is defended by forts and friends will be respected both by his own and his enemy's people.

Whoever is wanting in the power of deliberation should collect wise men around himself, and associate with old men of considerable learning; thus he would attain his desired ends.

He who is devoid of a good treasury and army should direct his attention towards the strengthening of the safety and security of the elements of his sovereignty; for the country is the source of all those works which are conducive to treasury and army; the haven of the king and of his army is a strong fort.

Irrigational works (*setubandha*) are the source of crops; the results of a good shower of rain are ever attained in the case of crops below irrigational works.

The roads of traffic are a means to overreach an enemy; for it is through the roads of traffic that armies and spies are led (from one country to another); and that weapons, armour, chariots, and draught-animals are purchased; and that entrance and exist (in travelling) are facilitated.

Mines are the source of whatever is useful in battles.

Timber-forests are the surce of such materials as are necessary for building forts, conveyances and chariots.

Elephant-forests are the source of elephants.

Pasture-lands are the source of cows, horses, and camels to draw chariots.

In the absence of such sources of his own, he should acquire them from some one among his relatives and friends. If he is destitute of an army, he should, as far as possible, atract to himself the brave men of corporations, of thieves, of wild tribes, of Mlechchhas, and of spies who are capable of inflicting injuries upon enemies.

He should also adopt the policy of a weak king towards a powerful king in view of averting danger from enemies or friends.

Thus with the aid of one's own party, the power of deliberation, the treasury, and the army, one should get rid of the clutches of one's enemies.[43]

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[42] See Chapter V, Book IX.

[43] In *śloka* metre.

Chapter XV.

Measures conducive to peace with a strong and provoked enemy; and the attitude of a conquered enemy (Balavatâ vigṛihyoparodhahetavah, danḍopanatavṛittam cha).

When a weak king is attacked by a powerful enemy, the former should seek the protection of one who is superior to his enemy and whom his enemy's power of deliberation for intrigue cannot affect. Of kings who are equal in the power of deliberation, difference should be sought in unchangeable prosperity and in association with the aged.

In the absence of a superior king, he should combine with a number of his equals who are equal in power to his enemy and whom his enemy's power of purse, army, and intrigue cannot reach. Of kings who are equally possessed of the power of purse, army, and intrigue, difference should be sought in their capacity for making vast preparations.

In the absence of equals, he should combine with a number of inferior kings who are pure and enthusiastic, who can oppose the enemy, and whom his enemy's power of purse, army, and intrigue cannot reach. Of kings who are equally possessed of enthusiasm and capacity for action difference should be sought in the opportunity of securing favourable battlefields. Of knigs who are equally possessed of favourable battle-fields, difference should be sought in their ever being ready for war. Of kings who are equally possessed of favourable battlefields and who are equally ready for war, difference should be sought in their possession of weapons and armour necessary for war.

In the absence of any such help, he should seek shelter inside a fort in which his enemy with a large army can offer no obstruction to the supply of food-stuffs, grass, firewood and water, but would sustain a heavy loss of men and money. When there are many forts, difference should be sought in their affording facility for the collection of stores and supplies. Kauṭilya is of opinion that, one should entrench oneself in a fort inhabited by men and provided with stores and supplies. Also for the following reasons, one should shelter oneself in such a fort :—

"I shall oppose him (the enemy) with his rear-enemy's ally or with a *madhyama* king, or with a neutral king; I shall either capture or devastate his kingdom with the aid of a neighbouring king, a wild tribe, a scion of his family, or an imprisoned prince; by the help of my partisans with him, I shall create troubles in his fort, country or camp; when he is near, I shall murder him with weapons, fire, or poison, or any other secret means at my pleasure; I shall cause him to sustain a heavy loss of men and money in works undertaken by himself or made to be undertaken at the instance of my spies; I shall easily sow the seeds of dissension among his friends or his army when they have suffered from loss of men and money; I shall catch hold of his camp by cutting off supplies and stores going to it; or by surrendering myself (to him), I shall create some weak points in him and put him down with all my resources; or having curbed his spirit, I shall compel him to make peace with me on my own terms; when I obstruct his movements, troubles arise to him from all sides; when he is helpless, I shall slay him with the help of my hereditary army or with his enemy's army, or with wild tribes; I shall maintain the safety and security of my vast country by entrenching myself within my fort; the army of myself and of my friends will be invincible when collected together in this fort; my army which is trained to fight from valleys, pits, or at night, will bring him into dificulties on his way, when he is engaged in an immediate work; owing to loss of men and money, he will make himself powerless when he arrives here at a bad place and in a bad time; owing to the existence of forts and of wild tribes (on the way), he will find this country accessible only at considerable cost of men and money; being unable to find positions favourable for the exercise of the armies of himself and of his friends, suffering from disease, he will arrive here in distress; or having arrived here, he will not return."

In the absence of such circumstances, or when the enemy's army is very strong, one may run away abandoning one's fort.

My teacher says that one may rush against the enemy like a moth against a flame; success in one way or other (*i. e.*, death or victory) is certain for one who is reckless of life.

No, says Kauṭilya: having observed the conditions conducive to peace between himself and his enemy, he may make peace; in the absence of such conditions, he may, by taking recourse to threats secure peace or a friend; or he may send a messenger to one who is likely to accept peace; or having pleased with wealth and honour the messenger sent by his enemy, he may tell the latter:— "This is the king's manufactory; this is the residence of the queen and the princes; myself and this kingdom are at your disposal, as approved of by the queen and the princes."

Having secured his enemy's protection, he should behave himself like a servant to his master by serving the protector's occasional needs. Forts and other defensive works, acquisition of things, celebration of marriages, installation of the heir-apparent, commercial undertakings, capture of elephants, construction of covert places for battle (*sattra*), marching against an enemy, and holding sports,—all these he should undertake only at the permission of his protector. He should also obtain his protector's permission before making any agreement with people settled in his country or before punishing those who may run away from his country. If the citizens and country people living in his kingdom prove disloyal or inimical to him, he may request of his protector another good country; or he may get rid of wicked people by making use of such secret means as are employed against traitors. He should not accept the offer of a good country even from a friend. Unknown to his protector, he may see the protector's minister, high priest, commander of the army or heir-apparent. He should also help his protector as much as he can. On all occasions of worshipping gods and of making prayers, he should cause his people to pray for the long life of his protector; and he should always proclaim his readiness to place himself at the disposal of his protector.

Serving him who is strong and combined with others, and being far away from the society of suspected persons, a conquered king should thus always behave himself towards his protector.[44]

Chapter XVI.

The attitude of a conquered king (Daṇḍopanâyivṛittam).

In view of causing financial trouble to his protector, a powerful vassal king, desirous of making conquests, may, under the permission of his protector, march on countries where the formation of the ground and the climate are favourable for the manœuvre of his army, his enemy having neither forts nor any other defensive works, and the conqueror himself having no enemies in the rear. Otherwise (in case of enemies in the rear), he should march after making provisions for the defence of his rear.

By means of conciliation and gifts, he should subdue weak kings; and by means of sowing the seeds of dissension and by threats, strong kings. By adopting a particular, or an alternative, or all of the strategic means, he should subdue his immediate and distant enemies.

He should observe the policy of conciliation by promising the protection of villages, of those who live in forests, of flocks of cattle, and of the roads of traffic as well as the restoration of those who have been banished or who have run away or who have done some harm.

Gifts of land, of things, and of girls in marriage and absence of fear,— by declaring these, he should observe the policy of gifts.

By instigating any one of a neighbouring king, a wild chief, a scion of the enemy's family, or an imprisoned prince, he should sow the seeds of dissension.

[44] In *śloka* metre.

By capturing the enemy in an open battle, or in a treacherous fight, or through a conspiracy, or in the tumult of seizing the enemy's fort by strategic means, he should punish the enemy.

He may reinstate kings who are spirited and who can strengthen his army ; likewise he may reinstate those who are possessed of a good treasury and army and who can therefore help him with money ; as well as those who are wise and who can therefore provide him with lands.

Whoever among his friends helps him with gems, precious things, raw materials acquired from commercial towns, villages, and mines, or with conveyances and draught-animals acquired from timber and elephant forests, and herds of cattle, is a friend affording a variety of enjoyments (*chitrabhoga*); whoever supplies him with wealth and army is a friend affording vast enjoyment (*mahâbhoga*); whoever supplies him with army, wealth, and lands is a friend affording all enjoyments (*sarvabhoga*) ; whoever safeguards him against a side-enemy is a friend affording enjoyments on one side (*ekatobhogi*) ; whoever helps also his enemy and his enemy's allies is a friend affording enjoyment to both sides (*ubhayatobhogi*) ; and whoever helps him against his enemy, his enemy's ally, his neighbour, and wild tribes is a friend affording enjoyment on all sides (*sarvatobhogi*).

If he happens to have an enemy in the rear, or a wild chief, or an enemy, or a chief enemy capable of being propitiated with the gift of lands, he should provide such an enemy with a useless piece of land ; an enemy possessed of forts with a piece of land, not connected with his (conqueror's) own territory ; a wild chief with a piece of land yielding no livelihood ; a scion of the enemy's family with a piece of land that can be taken back ; an enemy's prisoner with a piece of land which is (not ?) snatched from the enemy ; a corporation of armed men with a piece of land, constantly under troubles from an enemy ; the combination of corporations with a piece of land close to the territory of a powerful king ; a corporation invincible in war with a piece of land under both the above troubles ; a spirited king desirous of war with a piece of land which affords no advantageous positions for the manœuvre of the army ; an enemy's partisan with waste lands ; a banished prince with a piece of land exhausted of its resources ; a king who has renewed the observance of a treaty of peace after breaking it, with a piece of land which can be colonized at considerable cost of men and money, a deserted prince with a piece of land which affords no protection ; and his own protector with an uninhabitable piece of land.

(The king who is desirous of making conquests) should continue in following the same policy towards him, who, among the above kings, is most helpful and keeps the same attitude ; should by secret means bring him round who is opposed ; should favour the helpful with facilities for giving further help ; besides bestowing rewards and honour at all costs upon him ; should give relief to him who is under troubles ; should receive visitors at their own choice and afford satisfaction to them ; should avoid using contemptuous, threatening, defamatory, or harsh words towards them ; should like a father protect those who are promised security from fear ; should punish the guilty after publishing their guilt ; and in order to avoid causing suspicion to the protector, the vassal king should adopt the procedure of inflicting secret punishments upon offenders.

He should never covet the land, things, and sons and wives of the king slain by him ; he should reinstate in their own estates the relatives of the kings slain. He should install in the kingdom the heir-apparent of the king who has died while working (with the conqueror) ; all conquered kings will, if thus treated, loyally follow the sons and grand-sons of the conqueror.

Whoever covets the lands, things, sons, and wives of the kings whom he has either slain or bound in chains will cause provocation to the circle of states and make it rise against himself ; also his own ministers employed in his own territory will be provoked and will seek shelter under the circle of states, having an eye upon his life and kingdom.

Hence conquered kings preserved in their own lands in accordance with the policy of conciliation will be loyal to the conqueror and follow his sons and grand-sons.[45]

[45] In *śloka* metre.

Chapter XVII.

Making peace and breaking it (Sandhikarma sandhimokshaścha).

The words *śama* (quiet), *sandhi* (agreement of peace), and *samâdhi*, (reconcilement), are synonymous. That which is conducive to mutual faith among kings is termed *śama*, *sandhi* or *samâdhi*.'

My teacher says that peace, depended upon honesty or oath, is mutable, while peace with a security or an hostage is immutable.

No, says Kauṭilya :— Peace, dependent upon honesty or oath, is immutable both in this and the next world. It is for this world only that a security or an hostage is required for strengthening the agreement. Honest kings of old made their agreenent of peace with this declaration : " We have joined in peace. " In case of any apprehension of breach of honesty, they made their agreement by swearing by fire, water, plough, the brick of a fort-wall, the shoulder of an elephant, the hips of a horse, the front of a chariot, a weapon, seeds, scents, juice (*rasa*) , wrought gold (*suvarṇa*), or bullion gold (*hiraṇya*), and by declaring that these things will destroy and desert him who violates the oath.

In order to avoid the contingency of violation of oath, peace made with the security of such persons as ascetics engaged in penance, or nobles is peace with a security. In such a peace, whoever takes as security a person capable of controlling the enemy gains more advantages, while he who acts to the contrary is deceived.

In peace made with children as hostages, and in the case of giving a princess or a prince as an hostage, whoever gives a princess gains advantages ; for a princess, when taken as an hostage, causes troubles to the receiver, while a prince is of reverse nature.

With regard to two sons, whoever hands over a high-born, brave, and wise son, trained in military art, or an only son, is deceived, while he who acts otherwise gains advantages. It is better to give a base-born son as an hostage than a high-born one, inasmuch as the former has neither heirship nor the right to beget heirs ; it is better to give a stupid son than a wise one, inasmuch as the former is destitute of the power of deliberation ; better to give a timid son than a brave one, inasmuch as the former is destitute of martial spirit ; better a son who is not trained in military art than one who is trained, inasmuch as the former is devoid of the capacity for striking an enemy ; and better one of many sons than an only son, since many sons are not wanted.

With regard to a high-born and a wise son, people will continue to be loyal to a high-born son, though he is not wise ; a wise son, though base-born, is characterised with capacity to consider state matters ; but so far as capacity to consider state matters is concerned, a high-born prince associating himself with the aged, has more advantages than a wise but base-born, prince.

With regard to a wise and a brave prince, a wise prince, though timid, is characterised with capacity for intellectual works ; and a brave prince, though not wise, possesses warlike spirit. So far as warlike spirit is concerned, a wise prince overreaches a brave one just as a hunter does an elephant.

With regard to a brave and a trained prince, a brave prince, though untrained, is characterised with capacity for war ; and a trained prince, though timid, is capable of hitting objects aright. Notwithstanding the capacity for hitting objects aright, a brave prince excels a trained prince in determination and firm adherence to his policy.

With regard to a king having many sons and another an only son, the former, giving one of his sons as an hostage and being contented with the rest, is able to break the peace, but not the latter.

When peace is made by handing over the whole lot of sons, advantage is to be sought in capacity to beget additional sons; capacity to beget additional sons being common, he who can beget able sons will have more advantages than another king (who is not so fortunate); capacity to beget able sons being common, he by whom the birth of a son is early expected will have more advantages than another (who is not so fortunate).

In the case of an only son who is also brave, he who has lost capacity to beget any more sons should surrender himself as an hostage, but not the only son.

Whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace. Carpenters, artisans, and other spies, attending upon the prince (kept as an hostage) and doing work under the enemy, may take away the prince at night through an underground tunnel dug for the purpose. Dancers, actors, singers, players on musical instruments, buffoons, court-bards, swimmers, and *saubhikas* (?), previously set about the enemy, may continue under his service and may indirectly serve the prince. They should have the privilege of entering into, staying in and going out of, the palace at any time without rule. The prince may therefore get out at night disguised as any one of the above spies.

This explains the work of prostitutes and other women spies under the garb of wives; the prince may get out, carrying their pipes, utensils, or vessels.

Or the prince may be removed concealed under things, clothes, commodities, vessels, beds, seats, and other articles by cooks, confectioners, servants employed to serve the king while bathing, servants employed for carrying conveyances, for spreading the bed, toilet-making, dressing, and procuring water; or taking something in pitch dark, he may get out, disguised as a servant.

Or he may (pretend to) be in communion with god Varuṇa in a reservoir (which is seen) through a tunnel or to which he is taken at night; spies under the guise of traders dealing in cooked rice and fruits may (poison those things and) distribute among the sentinels.

Or having served the sentinels with cooked rice and beverage mixed with the juice of *madana* plant on occasions of making offerings to gods or of performing an ancestral ceremony or some sacrificial rite, the prince may get out; or by bribing the sentinels; or spies disguised as a *nâgaraka* (officer in charge of the city), a court-bard, or a physician may set fire to a building filled with valuable articles; or sentinels or spies disguised as merchants may set fire to the store of commercial articles; or in view of avoiding the fear of pursuit, the prince may, after putting some human body in the house occupied by him, set fire to it and escape by breaking open some house-joints, or a window, or through a tunnel; or having disguised himself as a carrier of glass-beads, pots, and other commodities, he may set out at night; or having entered the residence of ascetics with shaven heads or with twisted hair, he may set out at night, disguised as any one of them; or having disguised himself as one suffering from a peculiar disease or as a forest-man, he may get out; or spies may carry him away as a corpse; or disguised as a widowed wife, he may follow a corpse that is being carried away. Spies, disguised as forest-people, should mislead the pursuers of the prince by pointing out another direction, and the prince himself may take a different direction.

Or he may escape, hiding himself in the midst of carts of cart-drivers; if he is closely followed, he may lead the pursuers to an ambuscade (*sattra*); in the absence of an ambuscade he may leave here and there gold or morsels of poisoned food on both sides of a road and take a different road.

If he is captured, he should try to win over the pursuers by conciliation and other means, or serve them with poisoned food; and having caused another body to be put in a sacrifice performed to please god Varuṇa or in a fire that has broken out, (the prince's father) may accuse the enemy of the murder of his son and attack the enemy.

Or taking out a concealed sword, and falling upon the sentinels, he may quickly run away together with the spies concealed before.[46]

Chapter. XVIII.

The conduct of a Madhyama king, a neutral king, and of a circle of states (Madhyamodâsînamanḍalacharitâni).

The third and the fifth states from a Madhyama [47] king are states friendly to him; while the second, the fourth, and the sixth are unfriendly. If the Madhyama king shows favour to both of these states, the conqueror should be friendly with him; if he does not favour them, the conqueror should be friendly with those states.

If the Madhyama king is desirous of securing the friendship of the conqueror's would-be friend then having set his own and his friend's friends against the Madhyama, and having separated the Madhyama from the latter's friends, the conqueror should preserve his own friend; or the conqueror may incite the circle of states against the Madhyama by telling them, "This Madhyama king has grown haughty, and is aiming at our destruction; let us therefore combine and interrupt his march."

If the circle of states is favourable to his cause, then he may aggrandise himself by putting down the Madhyama; if not favourable, then having helped his friend with men and money, he should, by means of conciliation and gifts, win over either the leader or a neighbouring king among the kings who hate the Madhyama, or who have been living with mutual support, or who will follow the one that is won over (by the conqueror), or who do not rise owing to mutual suspicion; thus by winning over a second (king), he should double his own power; by securing a third, he should treble his own power; thus gaining in strength, he should put down the Madhyama king.

When place and time are found unsuitable for success in the above attempt, he should, by peace, seek the friendship of one of the enemies of the Madhyama king, or cause some traitors to combine against the Madhyama; if the Madhyama king is desirous of reducing the conqueror's friend, the conqueror should prevent it, and tell the friend, "I shall protect you as long as you are weak," and should accordingly protect him when he is poor in resources; if the Madhyama king desires to rout out a friend of the conqueror, the latter should protect him in his difficulties; or having removed him from the fear of the Madhyama king, the conqueror should provide him with new lands and keep him under his (the conqueror's) protection, lest he might go elsewhere.

If, among the conqueror's friends who are either reducible or assailable enemies of the Madhyama king, some undertake to help the Madhyama, then the conqueror should make peace with a third king; and if, among the Madhyama king's friends who are either reducible or assailable enemies of the conqueror, some are capable of offence and defence and become friendly to the conqueror, then he should make peace with them; thus the conqueror can not only attain his own ends, but also please the Madhyama king.

If the Madhyama king is desirous of securing a would-be friend of the conqueror as a friend then the conqueror may make peace with another king, or prevent the friend from going to the Madhyama, telling him, "It is unworthy of you to forsake a friend who is desirous of your friendship"; or the conqueror may keep quiet, if the conqueror thinks that the circle of states would be enraged against the friend for deserting his own party. If the Madhyama king is desirous of securing the conqueror's enemy as his friend, then the conqueror should indirectly (*i. e.*, without being known to the Madhyama) help the enemy with wealth and army.

If the Madhyama king desires to win the neutral king, the conqueror should sow the seeds of dissension between them. Whoever of the Madhyama and the neutral kings is esteemed by the circle of states, his protection should the conqueror seek.

The conduct of the Madhyama king explains that of the neutral king.

If the neutral king is desirous of combining with the Madhyama king, then the conqueror should so attempt as to frustrate the desire of the neutral king to overreach an enemy or to help a friend or to secure the services of the army of another neutral king. Having thus strengthened himself, the conqueror should reduce his enemies and help his friends, though their position is inimical towards him.

[47] See Chapter II, Book VI.

Those who may be inimical to the conqueror are, a king who is of wicked character and who is therefore always harmful, a rear-enemy in combination with a frontal enemy, a reducible enemy under troubles, and one who is watching the troubles of the conqueror to invade him.

Those who may be friendly with the conqueror are one who marches with him with the same end in view, one who marches with him with a different end in view, one who wants to combine with the conqueror to march (against a common enemy), one who marches under an agreement for peace, one who marches with a set purpose of his own, one who rises along with others, one who is ready to purchase or to sell either the army or the treasury, and one who adopts the double policy (*i.e.*, making peace with one and waging war with another).

Those neighbouring kings who can be servants to the conqueror are a neighbouring king under the apprehension of an attack from a powerful king, one who is situated between the conqueror and his enemy, the rear-enemy of a powerful king, one who has voluntarily surrendered oneself to the conqueror, one who has surrendered oneself under fear, and one who has been subdued. The same is the case with those kings who are next to the territory of the immediate enemies of the conqueror.

(*a*) Of these kings, the conqueror should, as far as possible, help that friend who has the same end in view as the conqueror in his conflict with the enemy, and thus hold the enemy at bay.

(*b*) When, after having put down the enemy, and after having grown in power, a friend becomes unsubmissive, the conqueror should cause the friend to incur the displeasure of a neighbour and of the king who is next to the neighbour.

(*c*) Or the conqueror may employ a scion of the friend's family or an imprisoned prince to seize his lands ; or the conqueror may so act that his friend, desirous of further help, may continue to be obedient.

(*d*) The conqueror should never help his friend when the latter is more and more deteriorating ; a politician should so keep his friend that the latter neither deteriorates nor grows in power.

(*e*) When, with the desire of getting wealth, a wandering friend (*i. e.*, a nomadic king) makes an agreement with the conqueror, the latter should so remove the cause of the friend's flight that he never flies again.

(*f*) When friend is as accessible to the conqueror as to the latter's enemy, the conqueror should first separate that obstinate friend from the enemy, and then destroy him, and afterwards the enemy also.

(*g*) When a friend remains neutral, the conqueror should cause him to incur the displeasure of his immediate enemies ; and when he is worried in his wars with them, the conqueror should oblige him with help.

(*h*) When, owing to his own weakness, a friend seeks protection both from the conqueror and the latter's enemy, the conqueror should help him with the army, so that he never turns his atten tion elsewhere.

(*i*) Or having removed him from his own lands, the conqueror may keep him in another tract of land, having made some previous arrangements to punish or favour the friend.

(*j*) Or the conqueror may harm him when he has grown powerful, or destroy him when he does not help the conqueror in danger and when he lies on the conqueror's lap in good faith.

(*k*) When an enemy furiously rises against his own enemy (*i. e.*, the conqueror's friend) under troubles, the former should be put down by the latter himself with troubles concealed.

(*l*) When a friend keeps quiet after rising against an enemy under troubles, that friend will be subdued by the enemy himself after getting rid of his troubles.

(*m*) Whoever is acquainted with the science of polity should clearly observe the conditions of progress, deterioration, stagnation, reduction, and destruction, as well as the use of all kinds of strategic means.

(*n*) Whoever thus knows the inter-dependence of the six kinds of policy plays at his pleasure with kings, bound round, as it were, in chains skilfully devised by himself.[48]

[48] *a—n* are in *śloka* metre.

Book VIII.

Concerning vices and calamities (Vyasanâdhikârikam).

Chapter I.

The aggregate of the calamities of the elements of sovereignty (Prakṛitivyasanavargah).

When calamities happen together, the form of consideration should be whether it is easier to take an offensive or defensive attitude. National calamities, coming from Providence or from man happen from one's misfortune or bad policy. The word, *vyasana* (vices or calamities), means the reverse or absence of virtue, the preponderance of vices, and occasional troubles. That which deprives (*vyasyati*) a person of his happiness is termed *vyasana* (vices or calamities).

My teacher says that of the calamities, *viz.*, the king in distress, the minister in distress, the people in distress, distress due to bad fortifications, financial distress, the army in distress, and an ally in distress, — that which is first mentioned is more serious than the one, coming later in the order of enumeration.

No, says Bhâradvâja : Of the distress of the king and of his minister, ministerial distress is more serious; deliberations in council, the attainment of results as anticipated while deliberating in council, the accomplishment of works, the business of revenue collection and its expenditure, recruiting the army, the driving out of the enemy and of wild tribes, the protection of the kingdom, taking remedial measures against calamities, the protection of the heir-apparent, and the installation of princes constitute the duties of ministers. In the absence of ministers, the above works are ill-done; and like a bird, deprived of its feathers, the king loses his active capacity. In such calamities, the intrigues of the enemy find a ready scope. In ministerial distress, the king's life itself comes into danger, for a minister is the mainstay of the security of the king's life.

No, says Kauṭilya : It is verily the king who attends to the business of appointing ministers, priests, and other servants, including the superintendents of several departments, the application of remedies against the troubles of his people, and of his kingdom, and the adoption of progressive measures ; when his ministers fall into troubles, he employs others ; he is ever ready to bestow rewards on the worthy and inflict punishments on the wicked ; when the king is well off, by his welfare and prosperity, he pleases the people ; of what kind the king's character is, of the same kind will be the character of his people ; for their progress or downfall, the people depend upon the king ; the king is, as it were, the aggregate of the people.

Viśâlâksha says that of the troubles of the minister and of the people ; the troubles of the people are more serious : finance, army, raw products, free labour, carriage of things, and collection (of necessaries) are all secured from the people. There will be no such things in the absence of people, next to the king and his minister.

No, says Kauṭilya : All activities proceed from the minister, activities such as the successful accomplishment of the works of the people, security of person and property from internal and external enemies, remedial measures against calamities, colonization and improvement of wild tracts of land, recruiting the army, collection of revenue, and bestowal of favour.

The school of Parâśara says that of the distress of the people and distress due to bad fortifications, the latter is a more serious evil ; for it is in fortified towns that the treasury and the army are secured ; they (fortified towns) are a secure place for the people ; they are a stronger power than the citizens or country people ; and they are a powerful defensive instrument in times of danger for the king. As to the people, they are common both to the king and his enemy.

No, says Kauṭilya : For forts, finance, and the army depend upon the people ; likewise buildings, trade, agriculture, cattle-rearing, bravery, stability, power, and abundance (of things). In countries inhabited by people, there are mountains and islands (as natural forts) ; in the absence of an expansive country, forts are resorted to. When a country consists purely of cultivators, troubles due to the absence of fortifications (are apparent) ; while in a country which consists purely of warlike people, troubles that may appear are due to the absence of (an expansive and cultivated) territory.

Piśuna says that of the troubles due to the absence of forts and to want of finance, troubles due to want of finance are more serious: the repair of fortifications and their maintenance depend upon finance; by means of wealth, intrigue to capture an enemy's fort may be carried on; by means of wealth, the people, friends, and enemies can be kept under control; by means of it, outsiders can be encouraged and the establishment of the army and its operations conducted. It is possible to remove the treasure in times of danger, but not the fort.

No, says Kauṭilya: For it is in the fort that the treasury and the army are safely kept, and it is from the fort that secret war (intrigue), control over one's partisans, the up-keep of the army, the reception of allies and the driving out of enemies and of wild tribes are successfully practised. In the absence of forts, the treasury is to the enemy, for it seems that for those who own forts, there is no destruction.

Kauṇapadanta says that of distress due to want of finance or to an inefficient army, that which is due to the want of an inefficient army is more serious; for control over one's own friends and enemies, the winning over the army of an enemy, and the business of administration are all dependent upon the army. In the absence of the army, it is certain that the treasury will be lost, whereas lack of finance can be made up by procuring raw products and lands or by seizing an enemy's territory.

The[49] army may go to the enemy, or murder the king himself, and bring about all kinds of troubles. But finance is the chief means of observing virtuous acts and of enjoying desires. Owing to a change in place, time, and policy, either finance or the army may be a superior power; for the army is (sometimes) the means of securing the wealth acquired; but wealth is (always) the means of securing both the treasury and the army. Since all activities are dependent upon finance, financial troubles are more serious.

Vâtavyâdhi says that of the distress of the army and of an ally, the distress of an ally is more serious:— an ally, though he is not fed and is far off, is still serviceable; he drives off not only the rear-enemy and the friends of the rear-enemy, but also the frontal enemy and wild tribes; he also helps his friend with money, army, and lands on occasions of troubles.

No, says Kauṭilya: The ally of him who has a powerful army keeps the alliance; and even the enemy assumes a friendly attitude; when there is a work that can be equally accomplished either by the army or by an ally, then preference to the army or to the ally should depend on the advantages of securing the appropriate place and time for war and the expected profit. In times of sudden expedition and on occasions of troubles from an enemy, a wild tribe, or local rebels, no friend can be trusted. When calamities happen together, or when an enemy has grown strong, a friend keeps up his friendship as long as money is forthcoming. Thus the determination of the comparative seriousness of the calamities of the various elements of sovereignty.

(*a*) When a part of one of the elements of sovereignty is under troubles, the extent, affection, and strength of the serviceable part can be the means of accomplishing a work.

(*b*) When any two elements of sovereignty are equally under troubles, they should be distinguished in respect of their progressive or declining tendency, provided that the good condition of the rest of the elements needs no description.

(*c*) When the calamities of a single element tend to destroy the rest of the elements, those calamities, whether they be of the fundamental or any other element, are verily serious.[50]

(*To be continued.*)

[49] A line or two introducing the opinion of Kauṭilya against that of Kauṇapadanta, seem to have been lost here.

[50] *a*, *b*, and *c* are in *śloka* metre.

ASOKA NOTES.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH.

(*Continued from Vol. XXXVIII., p. 159.*)

No. XI. — The Etymology of *Sâmîpaṁ* in Rock Edict II.

Some time ago ['Asoka Notes,' No. VI. *ante* Vol. XXXIV (1905) p. 245] I discussed the meaning of the word *sâmaṁta* as applied to the unnamed Yôna or Hellenistic kings referred to in Rock Edict II, and showed that *sâmaṁta* must be interpreted in the light of the Girnâr variant *sâmîpaṁ* so as to mean 'neighbouring' or 'bordering,' and not 'vassal-kings,' as translated by Bühler. That point may be taken as settled, and nobody, I think, will dispute that the words *Aṁtiyako Yônarâja ye vâ pi tasa Aṁtiyakasa sâmîpaṁ râjâno* of the Girnâr recension are properly translated 'Antiochos the Greek (Yôna) king, or the kings bordering on the said Antiochos.'[1]

Dr. Truman Michelson of New York, while accepting the translation given above, has undertaken to investigate the exact meaning and etymology of the word *sâmîpaṁ* in a paper published recently in a journal not accessible to many readers of the *Indian Antiquary,* to whom an abstract of the learned writer's results may be acceptable.[2]

In the first place, Dr. Michelson observes, *sâmîpaṁ* must be a nominative, as is shown by the *sâmaṁtâ* (with slightly variant forms) of the other recensions; and it can be nothing else than a nominative singular neuter. The next thing is to find a Sanskrit counterpart that will fit the case, and that offers little difficulty, because *sâmîpaṁ* phonetically corresponds exactly with the Sanskrit *sâmîpyaṁ*, 'neighbourhood.' In Sanskrit *sâmîpya,* as a masculine noun, means 'neighbour.' The abstract word 'neighbourhood' is thus used as an equivalent for 'neighbours.' Dr. Michelson further observes that the word *sâmaṁtâ* (including variant forms) also may be treated as a substantive. I see no objection to Dr. Michelson's conclusions.

The use of an abstract noun in place of a concrete one may be illustrated by the passage in the Brahmagiri text of Minor Rock Edict I, *no hîyam sakye m ahâtpenena pâpotave*, 'nor is this to be attained by mere greatness,' meaning 'by great men only,' such as the mighty sovereign, Asoka.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

POPULAR SINGERS IN SAHARANPUR.

In Sahâranpûr and the neighbourhood there is a class of religious mendicants whose business it is to compose what are known as the **Lâwanî Songs**. These they teach to their disciples, some of whom are ordinary householders and some mendicants. These teachers are held in the highest regard by their disciples. The songs they sing are known as **Lâwanî** or **Marhâthî**. Some call them **Khayâl**.

This class of songs is said to have originated in the Dakkhin under two teachers named **Tukâgir** and **Shâh 'Alî**. From these are descended two parties known as **Turrâ** and **Kalangî** from their preference for this particular form of song.

Singers of both the varieties are found in Sahâranpûr, and they sometimes meet and contend, each asserting their superiority. Money is deposited on both sides and the singer who can sing the greatest number of superior songs is awarded the prize. The prize won is expended in buying liquor and tobacco, which is distributed among the companions of the winner.

Such people, though they pretend to extreme piety of life, are not held in much estimation by respectable people.

PANDIT RAMGHARIB CHAUBE.

29*th August,* 1909.

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[1] *Asoka the Buddhist Emperor of India,* 2nd ed., revised and enlarged, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909, p. 157.

[2] *The American Journal of Philology,* Vol. XXX, 2, April, May, June, 1909, 'The meaning and etymology of the Girnâr word *sâmîpaṁ*,' pp 183-7.

METHOD IN THE STUDY OF INDIAN ANTIQUITIES [1]

BY A. M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I C.S.

THE popular idea of an antiquary has changed but little since the days of Sir Walter Scott. In most minds the word still calls up a picture of the friends and correspondents of Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns, "who, like himself, measured decayed entrenchments, made plans of ruined castles, read illegible inscriptions, and wrote essays on medals in the proportion of twelve pages to each letter of the legend.' The study of antiquities is regarded either as a harmless hobby on a par with fret-work or the collection of postage stamps or as the dry and dull pursuit of blear-eyed and anæmic scholars who are so absorbed in the past that they have lost all interest in the present.

There is this much truth in popular view, that the study of antiquity for its own sake is liable to fall into dilettantism on the one hand and into pedantry on the other. To avoid these faults, it is needful to keep steadily in view the relations of archæology to other branches of science.

In this connection, the first point to be emphasized is the unity of all knowledge. How ever theories may differ as regards the order of the universe, all alike are agreed that it is intelligible only so far as it is coherent, that is, in so far as it forms a single whole. Only to this extent then can it be the object of knowledge, and that knowledge itself must form a single coherent whole. But the mass of facts to be noted and classified is grown so great that no one man can now follow Bacon in taking all knowledge to be his portion. Commonly, therefore, we divide knowledge into two great kingdoms, the kingdom of nature and the kingdom of man, and in each of these we make further sub-divisions for the convenience of teaching and research. But it must never be forgotten that the divisions are more or less arbitrary and created for our own convenience. Even the two great primary divisions are open to criticism, for man himself belongs to the kingdom of nature in respect of his bodily frame, and even his mental processes have been investigated by methods of observation and experiment that belong to the same realm. Still, Renan's two great primary divisions are generally accepted as convenient, and there is little dispute as to the class to which any given fact should be referred. Broadly speaking, we have to do in the kingdom of man with what a well-known English archæologist (Prof. P. Gardner) has called "Human Science," the study of man as an individual and in society, in the present and in the past. But here again the field is too vast to be studied as a whole, and we break it up into geographical and historical sections that are of more manageable compass.

If now, we take India as one of these sections, we find there three living civilisations—the Hindu, the Arab and the European, which subsist side by side, not, it is true, without profoundly influencing one another, but without fundamental change of their original character. Each has its own special outlook on life, its own ideals of public and private conduct, and its own self-contained and coherent theory of the universe. Of these three worlds of thought, we have to deal here with the one that is indigenous to India. This microcosm, which is Indian life, is the embodiment of the Indian spirit, which in art, in religion, and in material civilisation, has deeply influenced all Asia and the islands, from Balkh to Borneo and from Ceylon to Japan. A spirit that could dominate so large a part of civilised mankind is assuredly worthy of the most careful study in all its manifestations. It is not by examining Indian life in a few only of its aspects that we can learn its value as

[1] A lecture delivered at the Wilson College, Bombay, August 3rd, 1907.

a coherent expression of the Indian spirit. Only when it is studied as a whole is it possible to appreciate its full value in the history of mankind. Indian life of course has not always been what it is to-day, for though changes have been slow, yet they have taken place. The study of Indian antiquities, or Indian archæology, is merely another name for the study of Indian life in its historical aspect. There are several reasons why this study cannot be fruitful without a wide and deep knowledge of Indian life as it exists to-day. It is not only that, as Huxley said,[2] "Archæology, which takes up the thread of history beyond the point at which documentary evidence fails us, could have no existence except for our well-grounded confidence that monuments and works of art and artifice have never been produced by causes different in kind from those to which they now owe their origin." This is merely a special case of the general law of uniformity in causation which is the basis of all human activities, and tells us no more than that we can explain the origin of material remains if we know how similar objects are produced at the present day. Moreover, it is not only that here, as in other sciences, we must work back from the known to the unknown, and that we cannot explain the origin of a thing unless we clearly understand the nature of that thing. This is true, indeed, but not the whole of the truth. The great difference between the study of Indian antiquities and the archæology of the dead kingdoms of Mesopotamia and the buried cities of Greece or Italy, lies in the fact that the latter, despite all their influence on later ages, no longer have an organised existence, whereas, the civilisation of India remains to this day a living whole. It has been truly said[3] that "no other country except China can trace back its language and literature, its religious beliefs and rites, its domestic and social customs, through an uninterrupted development of more than three thousand years." At present we know the greatness of Greece and Rome only from the fragments of literature and of material remains that have survived the drums and tramplings of innumerable conquests. From these we painfully piece together a most incomplete picture of Greek or Roman life. How much clearer an insight we should have could we live the life of Greeks and Romans even for a day. It is easy to picture the delight that classical scholars would feel, if Mr. Andrew Lang's ingenious tale should come true, and an island should be discovered in some remote sea, peopled by a remnant of the Homeric Greeks. This good fortune, for which the classical scholar can never hope, can be had for the asking by the student of Indian life, yet how few of them have made use of their opportunities. It would seem as if the limitations of knowledge that are imposed upon the classical scholar by the disappearance of Greco-Roman civilisation had come to be regarded as necessary conditions of the study of other "classical" languages, so that it hardly occurs to the Sanskrit scholar to seek light from the Indian life of the present day. The European-Sanskrit scholar still for the most part draws his knowledge of India from books, and is only half aware of the consequent limitations of his outlook. He may admit, with Prof. Macdonell[4] that "it is impossible even for the Sanskrit scholar, who has not lived in India, to appreciate fully the merits of this later (*kavya*) 'poetry'". Yet he will proceed with the utmost confidence to follow Roth in assigning meanings to Vedic words according to his own arbitrary will and pleasure.[5] In the Vedic domain, indeed Roth and his followers have gone so far as to make a merit of their ignorance, and have laid it down that a European scholar is better able than the most learned Indian to arrive at the true meaning of the Vedas. This arrogance has, however, aroused the inevitable reaction, and saner views now have their advocates.[6] The average European student, who has never been in India, is still, however, hardly aware of the gaps in his knowledge and understanding of the Indian spirit. I have met with no more ludicrously absolute statement of the all sufficiency of book knowledge than the following words of James Mill: "Whatever is worth seeing or hearing in India can be expressed in writing. As soon as everything of importance is expressed in writing, a man, who is duly qualified, may attain more knowledge of India in one year, in his closet in England, than he could obtain during the course of the longest life by the use of his eyes and ears in India."

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[2] *Collected Essays*, IV, 9.
[3] Macdonell's *Sanskrit Literature*, pp 7-8.
[4] *Ib.*, p. 279.
[5] Oldenberg, *Veda Forschung*, p. 6.
[6] Pischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*.

Blindness so pathetically complete as this, beggars criticism. But an Indian audience hardly needs to be reminded that *pratyaksha* is the best *pramāṇa* or that those European scholars who have done the most enduring work have had first hand knowledge of India. Nor should it be needful, before European scholars at the present day, to vindicate the claims of direct scientific observation against book-knowledge gleaned from a heterogeneous mass of half informed writings. Yet it is strange that scholars should spend so much labour in the collection of printed evidence, while they neglect the living evidence that is to be had in any quantity if looked for on the spot. If they were true to their principles, it would be reckoned a graver fault in method to write upon Indian life without studying it on the spot than without reading the latest *Gymnasial-program* or *Doctor-dissertation*. We have seen that the study of Indian antiquities is but a branch of the study of Indian life, and that, before we investigate the life of the past, we must make ourselves acquainted with the life of the present. The sciences of observation and description must come before the historical sciences. But here the Indian student may object that he has no need to study the life with which he has been familiar from his birth. It may be all very well, he will say, for the European observer of Indian life to collect and classify, by painful degrees, the facts that he is able to discover, but an Indian has no need of such laborious methods. To this we may reply. Is it indeed so? Is it true that the average Indian student acquires an ordered and complete knowledge of Indian life without conscious effort? Scientific knowledge, we must remember, is ordered and organised knowledge, and order and organisation can be attained only through effort. It is perfectly true that an Indian scholar starts with an enormous advantage in the fact that the Indian spirit has nursed him from his birth; but he needs as much as the European the discipline which effort in the discovery of truth alone can give. Not only do we all need that noble "fanaticism of veracity" that Huxley was never tired of preaching, but we all need no less a special training that we may observe and record with exactness the facts that we may discover. As Browning has said[7]:

"But when man walks the garden of this world
"For his own solace, and, unchecked by law,
"Speaks or keeps silence as himself sees fit,
"Without the least incumbency to lie,
"—Why, can he tell you what a rose is like,
"Or how the birds fly, and not slip to false
"Though truth serve better?"

And the process by which alone truth can be reached, he speaks of in another place[8]:

"Truth, nowhere, lies yet everywhere in these—
"Not absolutely in a portion, yet
"Evolvible from the whole: evolved at last
"Painfully, held tenaciously by me."

For further illustration of this point, I cannot do better than quote the words of Professor Gardner[9]: "Some people speak as if observing facts and accurately reporting them were the easiest of things. But in fact it is only the highly-trained mind which can really see the simplest fact, only a master who can precisely describe the commonest phenomenon. This is the case as regards the observation of nature: but how much more as regards the observation of mankind. In human studies the facts are far more complicated, the chances of observation far rarer; and at every moment inherited bias and acquired tendency come in to distort the vision. The virtues which the votary of physical science acquires as he works—patience, self-suppression, infinite respect for fact—must be cultivated in a still higher degree by him who would really learn about mankind. From experiment, he is almost shut out, and the instruments of precision, which are of so ready avail in all physical studies, help but little where mind and thought are concerned."

[7] *Ring and the Book*, the Pope, 361 ff. [8] *Ib.*, 229 *ff.* [9] *Oxford at the Cross Roads*, p. 91.

The student, then, has to practise himself in observation and description of the life around him, and to select some particular aspect thereof to begin upon. These aspects are infinitely various, and whereas some have already been closely studied, others have hardly yet attracted the attention of qualified investigators. For instance, the real beliefs of the Indian people as regards the constitution and duties of Governments have not yet been enquired into without bias: and the study of Indian economics in a scientific spirit has only just begun. In these two regions, the passion and prejudice engendered by political disputation are still dominant, and little progress can be hoped for until they are put aside. On the other hand, much study has already been devoted, with encouraging results, to the bodily structure, languages, ethnology, social organisation, religious beliefs and customs of the Indian peoples.

It is well known that an experienced eye can discern from the appearance of a man from what part of India he comes and to what caste he belongs. Measurements of large numbers of persons of all castes from all parts of India have established the existence of a limited number of racial types, roughly corresponding to the great linguistic divisions of India, and have shown that within the area of each such type is to be found a number of caste sub-types. The bars to marriage arising from caste rules and difference of language account for the persistence of these types, but their ultimate origin may lie in an admixture of foreign blood. It is a good training in observation to learn to distinguish the castes by the eye, and the anthropological measurement of new subjects will doubtless result in the establishment of a number of new types and sub-types, and perhaps in the correction of some of the averages upon which the conception of the type is based. Upon the whole, however, the anthropological measurements hitherto taken in India have yielded somewhat disappointing results. In every civilised country, the rapidity of mental evolution far exceeds that of physical change, and the bodily frame of man remains practically unaltered over great intervals of time and space.

Taking next the study of the living languages, the first remark to be made is that the spoken and not the written language is the proper subject of study, and therefore the lower and not the educated classes are to be singled out for observation. The educated man's pronunciation is largely governed by his reading, and he gives Sanskrit pronunciation to many words that in the mouths of the peasantry retain their Prakrit form. Thus, where a Marātha Brahman will say *smaraṇ* as in Sanskrit, a Kunbi will give the word in its Prakrit form as *sumaran*, though the latter is never to be found in printed Marathi. The first essential for scientific study of the language is careful analysis of its sounds, and minute observation of differences of pronunciation. In Europe the study of phonetics has been brought to great perfection, and whole alphabets of symbols have been devised to represent in writing minute differences of sound that cannot be expressed in ordinary letters. It is not possible to distinguish all these without long special study, nor is it necessary for the ordinary student of language to try to do so. A little practice will give those who have a naturally acute ear a sufficient command of the subject. Though the languages of India are being comprehensively treated in Dr. Grierson's great enterprise, the results of which are now being published under the name of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, much remains to be done in the way of determining dialectal differences in pronunciation and vocabulary.

Moreover, the analysis of the vocabularies of vernacular languages is capable of yielding results of high historical value. Take for instance the familiar word *ghoḍā* which is in common use in the Gaudian languages as the name of the horse. Sanskrit dictionaries give a form *ghoṭaka*, which is not a genuine Sanskrit word, for it has no Sanskrit etymology or congener, but is a mere Sanskritised form of the vernacular word. What then is the origin of the word *ghoḍā*? Now, Chinese authorities tell us that the Western Turks, who first appeared on the frontiers of India in the 6th century, A. D., had a word *ghoran*, meaning a white horse; and it seems probable that, by an extension of meaning that is common in all languages, this name came to be applied to horses in general, and completely displaced derivatives of the old Sanskrit word *aśva*. Further investigation is very

likely to show that other vernacular words also are of Turkish origin. The chief difficulty of the inquiry lies in the absence of early literary monuments, both of the Turki dialects and of the Indian vernaculars. In these circumstances a suggested derivation cannot be more than a more or less probable guess. Such derivations are of no great value as evidence, unless they are cumulative; unless, that is, a large number of phonetically exact correspondences can be found between the two families of languages. When they are found, they prove that at some period the two families were in close contact. The question, which is the borrower of any given word that is common to both is to be answered upon a consideration of each case on its merits. In the case of the Turki tribes of Central Asia, we have historical evidence of their invasions of India, and there is good reason to believe that many of them have been adopted as Rajputs into the Hindu community, so that we should naturally expect their languages to have influenced the Indian vernaculars. The use of linguistic arguments, and especially of etymology, in tracing the history of a tribe or caste, needs a word of caution. Likeness of language is no proof of sameness of race, and etymology is a blind guide when the earliest forms of the words or proper names, that are to be compared, are unknown. More wild speculation has grown out of false etymologies of proper names than out of any other single cause of error in historical enquiry. Such etymologies, therefore, should be used as sparingly as possible, and never without carefully testing them by the phonetic laws of the language concerned and by the known history of the tribe or caste whose origin is under discussion.

In the study of ethnology and social organisation, though much has been done, much still remains to do. The detailed and accurate record of caste customs and peculiarities calls for many more workers than are as yet available. It is a good exercise to write down all you know about a caste other than your own, and then test and supplement your information by enquiry from members of the caste. A useful guide to the points on which information should be collected is to be found in a pamphlet published in 1902 by the Ethnographic Survey of India under the name of *Draft Manual of Ethnography for India.* Special attention should be paid to the machinery by which caste disputes are settled, for this is of great importance for the history of the caste system. In these ethnological enquiries, it will often be found that the people questioned are unwilling to give information, that they claim a higher orgin than they are really entitled to, or that they give information obtained from books (especially *Purāṇas*) instead of the real traditions of the caste. Enquiry should be made by preference from the oldest and the least educated members of the caste and every statement should be checked by comparing the versions of two or three independent authorities, whose names should always be noted. The people are often more or less ashamed of peculiar customs, and will not admit them until their confidence has been gained. It is in the investigation of religious beliefs that the greatest difficulties are met with. Side by side with the orthodox Hinduism of the *Purāṇas*, we find a popular religion which consists in the worship in every village of a number of local deities and spirits, which may at different times be either kindly or malevolent, and some of which are, while others are not, regarded as the ghosts of dead men. There is a strong tendency among the more educated members of the village communities to regularise this popu'ar religion by assimilating it to orthodox Hinduism. The local deities are identified with the Puranic gods and the rites of worship are described in terms taken from the *Purāṇas*. Hence information on this subject, given by persons who are well up in the Puranic worship, is to be received with great suspicion. Information as to magical rites is specially hard to get, but sometimes, if the enquirer shows that he knows something already, the people can be induced to tell him more. A useful set of questions regarding the popular religion was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the year 1898.

It is in the region of beliefs and customs which are conveniently summed up under the name of folklore, that we have, for the first time, to depend more upon testimony or the statements of witnesses, than upon direct observation. The information has to be obtained by questioning members of the class about whom information is desired. and the replies of these witnesses must be weighed and compared in exactly the same manner as the depositions taken in a court of law. As regards

each witness, we must assure ourselves (1) that his testimony has been correctly recorded, (2) that he has the means of knowing the facts he asserts, and (3) that he is not influenced towards error by stupidity, want of care or bad faith. Contradictions and obscurities in the evidence must be cleared up by supplementary enquiries. In the sciences of pure observation, also, the testimony of skilled observers is largely made use of, because it is impossible for each and every student to investigate every detail of his science. This testimony is to be weighed in the manner described above and can always be tested in the last resort by a repetition of the experiments upon which it purports to rest. To the experimental method in science corresponds in some degree the opportunity which the student of folklore has to verify doubtful points by special enquiries.

Perhaps the most important service rendered to science by the modern German school lies in their insistence upon the doctrine that all available evidence must be collected before any judgment should be risked. Of course this dogma of thoroughness has its own dangers and its own limitations. On the one hand, a vast amount of time and labour may be spent in accumulating so great a mass of particulars, that, as the proverb has it, you cannot see the wood for the trees. On the other hand, while a German scholar will take infinite trouble to make himself acquainted with even the most fugitive German writing that has any connection with his subject, he is not unfrequently very imperfectly informed of the work done in other languages. Moreover, to him more particularly attaches the blame in the Indian field of ignoring the light which the Indian life of the present day can throw upon Indian history and literature. Still, as an ideal, thoroughness in the collection of all relevant evidence deserves all respect, and special note must be taken of all facts that seem to contradict or modify received views. The most learned of English historians (Lord Acton) reminds us[10] of "Darwin taking note only of those passages that raised difficulties in his way; the French philosopher complaining that his work stood still, because he found no more contradicting facts; Baer, who thinks error treated thoroughly nearly as remunerative as truth, by discovery of new objections; for as Sir Robt. Ball warns us, it is by considering objections that we often learn."

So far we have dealt chiefly with the collection of facts. The next and much more difficult process is their interpretation. It calls for extreme self-abnegation to limit our theories to what is warranted by the facts, when so wide a field lies open to imaginative conjecture. Yet such self-abnegation is necessary, if our most brilliant guesses are not to be a stumbling block in the way of further research. No better example of this can be chosen than the long controversy over the epoch of the Gupta era, in which certain scholars substituted their own conjectures for the available evidence. It was, I think, Burnell who said that, before research into Indian antiquities could make much progress, it would be necessary to jettison current theories and make a fresh start. Colebrooke's biographer, in comparing his subject with Sir William Jones, brings out very clearly the difference between the imaginative and the scientific scholar[11]: "The one class of writers, imaginative and inventive, powerful in illustration, always eager to trace analogies and to seek to throw light on the history of progress in one department by comparison with another. When these valuable qualities are united, as in the case of Jones, with great erudition, their works constitute the most attractive as well as instructive of compositions. The aim of the other school, of which Mr. Colebrooke may be regarded as the exponent, on the other hand, is to examine and record facts with the rigour of a student of physical science, and to lay down the results of their inquiries with a method necessarily dry, but affording a storehouse of important observations for future students." For all the attractiveness of his essays, Sir William Jones is remembered now chiefly as a translator, and as the first indentifier of Chandragupta with the Sandrokottos of the Greek historians: whereas Colebrooke's works remain to this day not only as models of method, but as storehouses of fact which have never been superseded.

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[10] *Lectures*, p. 21.

[11] Colebrooke, *Life*, p. 235.

The importance of sobriety in the use of conjecture is thus emphasized by Andrew Lang[12]:— "It is above all things needful that our science should be scientific. She must not blink facts, merely because they do not fit into her scheme or hypothesis of the nature of things, or of religion. She really must give as much prominence to the evidence which contradicts as to that which supports her theory in each instance, not only must she not shut her eyes to this evidence, but she must diligently search for it, must seek for what Bacon calls *instantiæ contradictoriæ*, since, if these exist, the theory which ignores them is useless. If she advances an hypothesis, it must not be contradictory of the whole mass of human experience. If science finds that her hypothesis contradicts experience she must seek for an hypothesis which is in accordance with experience, and if that cannot be found, she must wait till it is found. Again, science must not pile one unverified hypothesis upon another unverified hypothesis until the edifice rivals the Tower of Babel. She must not make a conjecture on p. 31 and on p. 210 treat the conjecture as a fact. Because if one story in the card castle is destroyed by being proved impossible, all the other stories will come tumbling after."

These remarks apply, not only to the sciences of observation and experiment, but also to the historical sciences to which the course of this survey now leads us. We have already seen that if Indian life is to be studied in a scientific spirit, the life of the present day has the same claim to our attention as the life of the past. It now remains to point out that a knowledge of the past is no less indispensable to the student of the present. Knowledge of the present only is maimed and imperfect knowledge of the surface of life, which gains new meaning and value when we trace it back through the ages to its humble beginnings. In this way only can the human spirit approach the insight of the Trikālajna. But the results of historical inquiry into the earlier phases of Indian life have not yet become part of the equipment of the ordinary well-educated man. The facts lie scattered in monographs and the proceedings of learned societies, and the task of making them known to the public in a connected form and in sufficient detail has but lately been taken up. Hence it is not uncommon to find that men, who have studied the religious beliefs, customs and social organisation of modern India, pay no heed to Indian history prior to the Mahomedan invasions, and are quite unaware of the light which it throws upon such disputed points as the origin of the caste system, the transition from the Vedic to the purāṇic ritual, the absorption of foreign tribes into the Hindu social system, and the rise of the vernacular languages. The popular writings of Prof. Max Müller have made his conception of the Vedic period fairly familiar, but to most ethnologists of modern India the period lying between Alexander the Great and Mahmud of Ghazni is an absolute blank. The natural consequence is that a web of more or less ingenious conjecture takes the place of historical fact, and that so much of their work as is not purely descriptive is almost without scientific value. In the linguistic field, matters are not quite so bad, but enough attention has not yet been paid to the evidence of inscriptions as to the history of the Prakrit dialects, and little has been done for the scientific study of the oldest works of vernacular literature, which deserve special attention by reason of the very close analogy between the history of the Gandian languages of India and that of the Romance languages of Europe. In the religious field, considerable knowledge of the *Purāṇas* is needed in order to distinguish those parts of the religion of the people which are of primitive origin from those which are of more recent introduction: while folklore can glean much valuable evidence of early date from the older Sanskrit religious books.

Let us then suppose we are agreed as to the need for studying Indian life in its historical aspect, even though our primary business may be with its most modern forms. We have next to consider the nature of the the evidence that is available for the history that we have to work out. Now, apart from inferences that we can draw as to religion, customs, and so on from the comparison of modern Indian conditions with those that prevail among races in other parts of the world, we find three main kinds of evidence—(1) written records, (2) material objects, and (3) traditions, about each of which it is necessary to say a few words. Written records range from inscriptions

[12] *Magic and Religion*, p. 4.

consisting of a letter or two to literary works of enormous extent, and may be preserved upon infinitely various materials, such as paper, birch bark, palm leaves, copper plates, stones or coins. The first step in dealing with a written record is to decipher the character in which it is composed. The majority of Indian MSS. of literary works are written in characters that differ so little from those now in use as to be read with ease. But the inscriptions upon stones, copper plates and coin, go back to much earlier dates, and modern Indian alphabets do not give much assistance in deciphering them. Our knowledge of the earlier Indian alphabets dates from Prinsep's success in deciphering with the aid of the Greek legends the Indian inscriptions upon the coins of some of the Greek kings of Bactria and the Punjab. But for these bilingual legends we might never have been able to penetrate the secrets of the oldest Indian writings. Prinsep's work was carried on and completed by many later scholars, and has been summed up by Bühler in his handy little treatise on Indian Palæography. In dealing with written records, the next step to reading the character is the interpretation of the language. In India the great bulk of our documents are written either in classical Sanskrit or in some one or other of the vernaculars perhaps of a somewhat archaic type, but not so much so as to be difficult to understand. The oldest inscriptions, those of Asoka, however, are in Prakrit, and are not yet satisfactorily explained in all details. The oldest monuments of the Vedic period are in part very difficult to interpret, and a whole literature has grown up around the question of their interpretation, which would require an entire series of lectures to itself. I can only say here that unless we can establish a continuity of linguistic tradition from Vedic to classical Sanskrit, the Vedic problem must remain for ever insoluble.

Assuming that we are able to decipher our written record and to understand its language, we have still to see whether it has reached us in its original form, or whether we can work back to an earlier version than that which is presented to us. This is the function of textual or diplomatic criticism. In the case of inscriptions, its value is limited, as a rule, by the fact that only one version of the inscription is available and improvement of the text is restricted to the correction of obvious errors in grammar and spelling. For this purpose the inscription should always, if possible, be studied in original but, when this cannot be done, the best available mechanical copies, such as photographs, rubbings or squeezes should be used. No trust should on any account be placed in eye copies. In the case of literary works however, we usually have a number of MSS. which differ from one another in detail, and the original words of the writer have to be recovered by carefully comparing together the different MS. versions. The principles which are followed by European scholars in this kind of criticism were originally laid down for their own guidance by those scholars who prepared the text of Greek and Latin works for the printing press at the time of the revival of learning. They are based upon a consideration of the mistakes that are observed to occur when books are preserved in hand-written copies. A half-educated scribe changes a rare word that he does not understand into one that is familiar to him. A careless writer omits a word, a sentence a line, even a whole chapter, or copies a marginal note as a part of the text. When writing from dictation, he confuses words of similar sound, and when copying from a MS. he confounds letters of similar form. These and other possibilities of the same kind have to be taken into account when the text does not read straightforwardly, or when there is great divergence between the different MS. copies. It will often be found that one MS. proves to be more carefully written and therefore more generally trustworthy than others. Such a MS. is to be given a certain preference even in doubtful cases by reason of its general correctness. It is important to classify the MSS. into families as they are called. When a number of MSS. agree in characteristic readings, and especially when they have numerous errors in common, it is likely that they all were derived from a common original, and they therefore form a family. The comparison of MSS. of the same family is of much less value than the collation of MSS. belonging to different families. It is by a process of inference from the indicationsof the MSS., that it is possible to arrive at what the author probably wrote. These inferences or conjectures may be of all degrees of probability, from practical certainty to pure guessing: and it is very unsafe to base far-reaching theories upon conjectural emendations as has sometimes been done.

The rules of diplomatic criticism were originally laid down for works, all the various versions of which can be traced back to a single original text. But Indian literary history knows a number of very early and important works which exist in several versions that are current in different parts of the country, and that appear to be independent of each other. As Weber says[13]: "the mutual relation of the MSS. is of itself such as to render any certain restoration of an original text for the most part hopeless. It is only in cases where ancient commentaries exist that the text is in some degree certain, for the time at least to which these commentaries belong. This is evidently owing to the fact that these works were originally preserved by oral tradition; their consignment to writing only took place later, and possibly in different localities at the same time, so that discrepancies of all sorts were inevitable." The best known examples of this class are the two great Sanskrit Epics, but many other works also really belong to it. For instance the different schools of the *Black Yajurveda* give in their *Saṁhitās* variant versions of the same matter, and the *Brāhmanas* of all schools have much in common. So also the *Purāṇas* have a common substratum which appears in many different guises.

Some European scholars have held that the text of Indian works is peculiarly untrustworthy, partly because they were handed down by oral tradition, partly because owing to the climate, MSS. had to be renewed more frequently than in Europe, so that transcriber's errors are more numerous, and partly because quotations, being made from memory, are of no assistance as regards textual details. Some have even gone so far as to hold that large intentional alterations have been made, and argue that we cannot say that any passage of a Sanskrit work has come down to us in its original form, unless we can produce positive evidence to that effect. Such evidence, of course, is rarely, if ever, forthcoming, and these principles of criticism make our researches barren of any conclusions whatever. It is to be borne in mind on the other side of the case that oral tradition, so far as it is fixed in the schools of the various technical *Śāstras*, is a positive and very valuable protection to the text of the works studied, and prevents any great divergence of the MSS. from the traditional reading. This same scholastic tradition goes far to guarantee the accuracy of quotations from technical works. Moreover, though it is true that some important works show traces of having been retouched by the adherent of some particular sect or school, there is little difficulty in detecting the existence and extent of such alterations. We are fully justified, therefore, in following with Sanskrit works the same principles that we apply to Greek and Latin writers in accepting the traditional text except where we have some definite indication of corruption or alteration.

Having thus fixed the text of our author, we have next to test his credit by the standards that have already been referred to. We can, as a rule, from the internal evidence of the work itself, form a fair idea of the intelligence, carefulness, and good faith of the writer. The question whether he had the means of knowing what he asserts is largely a question of date and place. We must know who he was, or at any rate where and when he lived, in order that we may know whether to treat him as an eyewitness or as a retailer of hearsay. Writers of the 7th and later centuries often give some account of themselves and of the kings under whom they wrote in the introductions or colophons of their works, but in earlier works such information is limited as a rule to the bare name of the author, who as often as not is a purely legendary person. In such cases it is no easy matter to fix even approximately the date of the real writer. As Weber says[14]: "an internal chronology, based on the character of the works themselves and on the quotations therein contained, is the only one possible." Some progress has been made in determining such a chronology, which can be relied upon as fairly exact, at least in the case of the chief Post-Vedic Works. The chronology of the Vedic period, and especially of its oldest works, is still in dispute, and no general agreement can be said to have been arrived at. When a relative internal chronology has been arrived at, it can sometimes be brought into relation with events

[13] *Ind. Lit.*, p. 181.

[14] *Ib.*, p. 7.

of known date, and thereby made nearly, if not quite, absolute. It was in this way that Dr. Bhandarkar fixed the date of the *Mahābhāshya* of Patanjali; which in turn supplies relative dates for Katyāyana, for Pānini, and ultimately for Yāska. The evidence for such a relative chronology is in general cumulative, consisting of a number of small details which while singly of little weight, all point in the same direction. The general chronological framework of Indian history into which we must fit our relative dates for literary works will be referred to again later.

It may perhaps be objected that, in laying down these elaborate principles for inquiry into the historical authority of Indian writers, we have overlooked the fact that India before the Muhammadan Conquest had no historical literature. But the criticism rests upon that narrow view of history as a mere relation of political events, which has long since ceased to be excepted by the learned world. Political history is only a part of that study of Indian life in its historical aspect which we have taken as another name for Indian archæology. Nearly a century ago, Colebrooke said in his address to the Royal Asiatic Society of London[15],—"In speaking of the history of Asiatic nations . . . I do not refer merely to the succession of political struggles, national conflicts, and warlike achievements; but rather to less conspicuous yet more important occurrences, which directly concern the structure of society, the civil institutions of nations, their internal, more than their external relations, and the yet less prominent but more momentous events, which affect society universally, and advance it in the scale of civilised life." In another place he explains his view more fully as follows[16]:—"The state of manners, and the prevalence of particular doctrines, at different periods, may be deduced from a diligent perusal of the writings of authors whose age is ascertained; and the contrast of different results, for various and distinct periods, may furnish a distinct outline of the progress of opinions. A brief history of the nation itself, rather than of its government, will be thus sketched; but, if unable to revive the memory of great political events, we may, at least, be content to know what has been the state of arts, of sciences, of manners in remote ages among this very ancient and early civilized people; and to learn what has been the succession of doctrines, religious and philosophical, which have prevailed in a nation ingenious, yet prone to superstition." More light upon these matters is to be gained from works of general literature than from professed writers of history in the old-fashioned sense of the word, and such evidence is the more valuable, because it is unconsciously given. The writers necessarily reflect the views and feelings of their own age and even the outward furniture and equipment of their stories is that of their own time, for, as Mr. Andrew Lang has shown in his work on Homer and His Age, "Poets of an uncritical age do not archaise." Weber's contrary opinion, which led him to explain the imperfect knowledge of Indian geography which appears in the *Rāmāyana*, as due to the fact "that the poet rightly apprehended and performed the task he had set himself, and so did not mix up later conditions, although familiar to him, with the earlier state of things[17]" cannot be sustained. There are of course elements of the traditional stories which were too vital to be dropped, although they clashed with later views, and had to be explained away as no longer of authority in the Kali age. But the very feeling that these points required explanation shows that the writers looked at things from the standpoint of their own day and did not try to carry themselves back to the outlook of the prehistoric or heroic age.

In testing the credit of an inscription, we have not, as a rule, much difficulty in fixing the text, but it is always needful to enquire whether the inscription is really of the date to which it professes to belong. The forgery of grants of land has always been common, and is referred to in an inscription of the early 7th century. It can often be detected by the alphabet used being of later date than the period to which the grant refers itself. But this is not an infallible guide, for on the one hand, old inscriptions have sometimes been copied at a later date to preserve them from decay, and, on the other hand, many forgeries are very nearly as old as they profess to be, and therefore cannot be detected with certainty by their alphabet. In these cases, forgery is inferred from the fact that the grants mis-state historical facts, give incorrect genealogies of the granting kings, or do not use the

15 *Life*, p. 391. 16 *Ib.*, p. 215. 17 *Ind. Lit* 193.., p.

regular official formulæ of the dynasty to which they purport to belong. Our authorities for these historical facts, these genealogies and these formulæ are other grants and inscriptions which are recognised as genuine, so that it may perhaps be asked how, when all the evidence is of the same kind, it is possible to say that some of it is genuine while some of it is forged. The answer is that the grants which we regard as genuine are consistent with one another, and with such other evidence as we have. For instance, the genuine grants of the Valabhī dynasty agree with one another in the genealogy which they give, and all of them, except the very earliest, begin with a fixed form of words. Moreover they agree with the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, and at least do not disagree with statements of the Arab historians. Forged grants, on the other hand, are, as a rule, isolated. They were composed in the interest of an individual grantee or body of grantees, very often in the troubled years following the fall of the dynasty to which they are attributed, and they commonly give a quite haphazard account of the genealogy of the granting king, and often do not follow the proper forms used in genuine grants. Even where a genuine grant is copied as regards the genealogy and the formulæ, forgery may betray itself in the date, through the forger erroneously reading a date, for instance, of the Chedi era as one of the Saka era. Of course, it is quite possible that a forgery, if copied from good models before the written characters had undergone much change, might remain undetected. But, as the falsity in such a case lies only in the name of the grantee and the description of the object granted, while the royal genealogy and the formulæ are perfectly correct, the value of the inscription as historical evidence is hardly impaired. Having said so much about the written evidence, we may now turn to the second class of witnesses, *viz.*, material objects. These are of all degrees from the structural or excavated stone temple to the smallest fragment of stamped gold leaf from a Buddhist relic mound. In India the objects that have been studied in any detail fall under the three heads of architecture, sculpture and coins. Pottery, which to European Archæologists "constitutes the essential alphabet of archæology in every land[18]" has hardly been studied at all, while even less attention has been paid to costume, ornaments, tools, weapons and metal vessels and images. This neglect of small objects other than coins arises chiefly from the want of materials of ascertained date, owing to the fact that scientific excavations have hardly been attempted on any early Indian site on any important scale. To remedy this defect must be a labour of many years. For excavation is not a task that can be entrusted to any casual person. It needs great care and patience, as well as considerable technical gifts, and perfect accuracy in recording results. As Prof. Petrie says[19]: "To suppose that excavating—one of the affairs which needs the widest knowledge, can be taken up by persons who are ignorant of most or all of the technical requirements, is a fatuity which has lead, and still leads, to the most miserable catastrophes. Far better let things lie a few centuries longer under the ground, if they can be let alone, than repeat the vandalism of past ages without the excuse of being a barbarian." The works of excavation then must be undertaken by experts. It is high time that some serious attempt were made to excavate scientifically and exhaustively the site of some deserted capital such as Taxila. The work would have to be begun by the experts of the Archæological Department, who alone at present have the necessary knowledge and experience. But there is no reason why their excavations should not become a school of training for men who would work thereafter in other parts of India, whether for Governments or for private societies or persons. Pending such arrangement, the progress of these branches of Indian archæology must be very slow.

In architecture and numismatics, the task of modern students is to fill in, and perhaps to correct in a few details, the outlines which Fergusson and Cunningham have drawn. The former was able, by a wide comparison of buildings in all parts of India, to establish a sequence of styles upon which he could confidently rely for dating any fresh example. His conclusions were only partly based upon the study of buildings with definite dates: with these as a starting point, he established his series of developments by close observation of details of construc-

[18] Petrie, *Methods and Aims in Archæology*, p. 13.

[19] *op. cit.*, p. 180.

tion, plan and ornament, which show a progressive growth, culmination and decay such as is observable in the other arts. In large parts of India the archæological surveys are still very incomplete, but it does not seem very likely that Fergusson's views, as to the characteristics and the order in time and place of the different styles of architecture, will be greatly modified. In numismatics, new material comes in almost every day, but most of it consists in variations of well-known types, and it is only occasionally that a new king or a new dynasty is disclosed. A catalogue of all the varieties of a well-known coinage, though a necessary work, is a dull one, whether to make or to read. The pursuit of numismatics for its own sake, is a hobby, like the collection of postage stamps or of the labels of match boxes. As a subject of rational study it must be followed for its human interest, as evidence for political or artistic history. It is more important in these respects in India than elsewhere, because of the comparative scarcity of other evidence. Forgeries of old coins are not so common in India as forged grants, as most varieties are not in such demand among coin collectors as to make the production of imitations a paying business. But there was not many years ago an enterprising person in Rawal Pindi who produced imitations of the Kushan gold coins which may be known by the badness of their Greek legends. In sculpture only the works of the Buddhist period have been seriously studied: the whole of the more modern period still awaits the enquiring archæologist. Material is abundant but is at present absolutely unclassified. The method here, as in the other arts, is one of comparison of style and details. Indian art has profoundly influenced the art of Central Asia, China and Japan, as well as that of further India and the Islands, but the subject has never yet been treated as a whole.

Tradition is the third and least trustworthy kind of evidence of historical facts. It is in reality an extreme case of what lawyers call hearsay evidence, handed down through an unlimited succession of witnesses as regards each of whom arises the same question of bias as in the case of the author of a literary work, while the means of testing his credit are wanting. It is only when a tradition is handed down in a fixed form of words that we can rely upon it as evidence. Verses are protected in this way by their form, but the case of the Sanskrit epics shows that the protection extends only to the general subject matter and not to details of wording. Religious traditions possess the greatest vitality, because superstition is a bulwark against change, and the repetition of ritual acts fixes in the memory the words that accompany them. This is the case with the tradition of Vedic works, which were further protected by the elaborate arrangements made in the Vedic schools for their accurate study and transmission. But the ordinary traditions that pass for history in India, such as the legends connected with the names of Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana, are entirely worthless from a critical point of view. So are many, perhaps most, of the so-called traditions of the separate castes regarding their origin and history, which are based more often than not upon some piece of popular etymology, the incorrectness of which is obvious at the first glance. Thus the Agarwāl Banias claim to belong, some of them to Agra and others to Agroha, while all alike ignore the ancient city of Āgar in Malwa which was probably their real home.

We have now seen of what the evidence for Indian history consists. It is next needful to say a few words as to the chronological framework into which the facts are to be fitted. To fix the date of any fact, it must be shown that it is either contemporary with, or separated by a definite interval of time from, some other event of known date. If we find its date recorded in some era that is still in use, we can fix it by counting back from the present day. The two fixed points in Indian chronology to one or other of which all dates have to be related are (1) the accession (c. 320 B.C.) of Chandragupta the Maurya, whom we know from Greek historians to have been a younger contemporary of Alexander the Great, and (2) the invasion of India by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1000 A.D. Attempts have been made to reach an earlier initial point by fixing the date of Buddha's death, but the results obtained are so far only approximate. The date of Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka, is fixed partly by his relationship and partly by the

mention in his edicts of certain Greek kings whose dates are known. From the dates of Mahmud's invasions we can work forward to the dates of Musalman conquests in various parts of India, and then reckon back again through the dynasties of Hindu kings who preceded them. Thus in Gujarat we begin with the conquest of Ulugh Khan (A.D. 1297) and work back to the middle of the 10th century, though a series of inscriptions dated in the Samvat era, and by means of a synchronism between the Samvat and Valabhi eras we can go further back to the beginning of the 6th century A.D. In the Deccan we have a continuous record with dates in the Saka era, counting back from the invasion of Alāuddin to the later years of the 6th century. The date of the Gupta dynasty was long in dispute, but it is now accepted that Alberūnī was right in identifying their era with that of the Valabhi kings. Before the Guptas we find in Western India the Kshatrapas, who used an era that is with great probability identified with Saka era, and their contemporaries, the Sātavāhanas. The dates of the Kshatrapa Chashṭana and of the Sītavāhana Pulumāyi are fixed to about 130 A.D. by their mention in the *Geography* of Ptolemy. The one great problem of Indian chronology as yet unsolved, is the position to be assigned to the Kushān kings of Mathurā, who used an era of their own, the epoch of which is not yet ascertained with certainty.

It remains to refer to certain kinds of mental bias that are apt to affect the judgment in questions of Indian history. There is, in the first place, what may be called the patriotic bias, though it is shared more or less by European as well as Indian scholars. It shows itself in a tendency to exaggerate the freedom of India from foreign influences, and to claim entire originality for such inventions as the Indian alphabet which bear their foreign origin on their face. This school loves to trace the leading castes of the present day to an Aryan origin, and to accentuate the Hindu orthodoxy of the kings and conquerors of old. When these are looked upon as Hindus from the beginning, the most important fact in Hindu history is overlooked. I mean the attractive power of Hindu civilisation, which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader except the Moslem and the European. Those Indians have indeed a poor idea of their country's greatness, who do not realise how it has tamed and civilised the nomads of Central Asia, so that wild Turkman tribes have been transformed into some of the most famous of the Rajput Royal races. There is on the other hand in Europe another school who are led by an opposite bias to exaggerate the influence upon India of foreign and especially Greek civilisation, and to undervalue the achievements of the Indian spirit. It is no easy matter to steer a straight course between these two opposite tendencies, but the task must be attempted if sound conclusions are to be reached. We can have no better guides in this matter than the acknowledged masters of method, which it has been truly said[20] "is only the reduplication of commonsense." In Indian antiquities you will need no better models than the works of Henry Thomas Colebrooke and of Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

In conclusion, we may borrow a few maxims from the most learned of modern historians[21]: "Learn as much by writing as by reading," for nothing clears the mind more than to have to express oneself on paper. "Be not content with the best book ; seek sidelights from the other," for nothing short of the whole evidence can be a safe basis for our conclusions. "Guard against the prestige of great names," for the views of no scholar, however famous, are to be accepted on the strength of his reputation, but only on account of the evidence and arguments that he may put forward. "See that your judgments are your own and do not shrink from disagreement," but before expressing them, make sure that you understand the views you criticise, and that your own theory is built on solid foundations. Lastly, "no trusting without testing." Take nothing for granted, trace every theory back to its origin so far as possible, and draw a sharp line between what is certainly known and what is more or less obscurely guessed. The lumber rooms of every science are filled with discarded theories, so we must always be ready to put our most cherished beliefs to the test of new evidence. Finality is not to be hoped for, but every advance of enquiry should bring us nearer to the truth.

20 Lord Acton, *Lectures*, p. 20.

21 *Ibid*, p. 24.

A SPECIMEN OF THE KUMAUNI LANGUAGE.

(Extracts from the Compositions of Kṛishṇâ Pâṇḍê.)

(Translated by Ganga Datt Upreti.

Communicated by G. A. Grierson.)

Introductory Note by G. A. Grierson.

THE three great administrators of Kumaun were Mr. Traill (1815-1835), Mr. Batten (1848-1856) and Captain (afterwards Major-General, Sir Henry) Ramsay, all of whom are remembered with affection by their whilom subjects. After the conquest of Kumaun by the English, there were several short settlements of the land-tenures, the first being in 1815-16, the second in 1817, and the third (for three years) in 1818. Kṛishṇâ Pâṇḍê, the author of the following verses, was a contemporary of Mr. Traill, and shared with his fellow-countrymen of those days a strong dissatisfaction at the new English regime. In some of his poems he fiercely attacked the new rulers and Mr. Traill, the first chief of the district. Mr. Traill, nevertheless, patronized him and, it is said, used to go unattended to the village assemblies and hear the songs sung in his presence. Kṛishṇâ Pâṇḍê's more political songs are not here printed. What are now given, are his verses lamenting the condition of his country, and attributing its state to the evil influence of the *Kali Yuga*, or Iron Age. They have been collected by Pandit Ganga Datt Upreti, and are published with his introduction and translations as taken down by him from the lips of villagers of the present day. A few notes on the grammar of the Kumauni language have been added by me and are enclosed in square brackets. Another poem by the same author will be found in *J. R. A. S.* for 1901, p. 475 ff.

Introduction by Pandit Ganga Datt Upreti.

A few verses of the poem of Kṛishṇâ Pâṇḍê, resident of village Patiyâ, Mallâ Syûnarâ, Zillah Almora, in the hill dialect known as Kumaun, have been collected by me from the lips of people, owing to my having been unable to obtain them from his descendants or the members of his family. The poet is said to have died some sixty years ago, but there are many people who still remember some fragments of his poem. When a boy, I saw him singing his *Pahâṛî Songs* (*Bairâs* and *Bhagnaulâs*) and these verses of his at fairs, in the company of hundreds of villagers. The villagers were very fond of him, and crowded round him wherever he went, owing to his being very dexterous and well-versed in extemporising new Pahâṛî songs of various sorts and descriptions. It is a pity that we cannot get them now from his family. He was a good Sanskrit scholar of his time, and was also of a very frolicsome disposition. He used to dance with the villagers to the beat of drums, sometimes beating drums himself, a conduct which did not behove a person of the Brâhmaṇa caste. I believe his talents, songs, and conduct were not unknown to the British officers of that time. In reality he did not seem to have ever intended his verses for sedition or dissatisfaction against Government, but sang them satirically to make his audience laugh. All his predictions are based on those in the Hindû Scriptures in regard to the whole world, and he translated them rhetorically into attractive Pahâṛî verses referring to the state of Kumaun only, to please the illiterate people of these hills.

1.

मुलकिया यारौ कलि युग देखौ ।
घर कुड़ि बेच्चि बेर [1] इस्तफा लेखौ ॥ १ ॥

O my countrymen, see the approach of the Kali Yuga. Sell off your houses and land. Write out deeds of relinquishment (and leave the country).

[1] *Bêr* is the suffix of the conjunctive participle. *Bêchi-bêr*=*bẽch-karkê*.

2.

(The fertility of the soil is decreasing day by day).

मुलक कुमाऊँ में बड़ो भारि चैन ।
नौ नालि ब्वे बेर छै नालि भैन [2] ॥ २ ॥

There are a good many agricultural operations going on in the land of Kumaun, the result of which is that if nine *nâḷis* (18 seers) are sown, the yield is but six *nâḷis* (12 seers).

3.

(Interest on a loan of grain, paid in kind, is exorbitant. The principal is increased at compound interest, by a third every year, so that after a few years a loan of a small amount of grain becomes an amount large enough to purchase a girl for marriage.)

द्वी माणा धान में धनुलि ऐँ छ ।
एक माणा मडुवा में मनुलि ऐँछ [3] ॥ ३ ॥

Two-half seers of paddy procure a (high-caste) Dhanuli, and a single half-seer of millet gets a (low-caste) Manuli.

[Dhanuli and Manuli are the names of castes. The former is high-caste, while a Manuli is a girl of the Ḍūm caste.]

4.

(The wretched poverty of the Brâhmaṇa caste, of which the poet was a member.)

बामण यारोँ को यो बड़ो ज्ञान ।
मडुवा मानिर विन घर घर चान [4] ॥ ४ ॥

The mighty knowledge of my friends, the Brâhmaṇas, has come to this, that they are begging and seeking for millet (a coarse and cheap grain) from every house.

5.

(The poet refers to the present bad times. The most unnatural and impossible things are taking place.)

तल घर खिमदा को बहड़ बिनार ।
मला घर गोपिदा कि ज्वे लागि धार ॥ ५ ॥

In the lower house the bullock of my elder brother Khimâ has become pregnant, and in the same way, in the upper house, the wife of my elder brother Gôpî has flown away to the mountain-ridge.

6.

(The poverty of the people is due to their sins.)

मुलक कुमाऊँ मैं बड़ो भयो पाप ।
घर कुड़ि बेचि बेर इष्टाम छापँ ॥ ६ ॥

There is much sin in the land of Kumaun, in consequence of which everyone has to sell his house and land on stamped paper.

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[2] *Bhain* is 3rd plur. masc. past of *hônâ*. [3] *Ãi-chh* = *âtî-hai*. [4] *Chân*=*dêkhtê haĩ*.

7.

(Indifference of people towards God and religion).

क्रिष्णा पाँड़े ज्यू कौलेखणा कौ काम ।
हर नाम लीणा की नै फ्नि फाम[5] ॥ ७ ॥

It is the duty of Kṛishṇâ Pâṇḍê to write down (exhortations), but no one cares to take the name of God.

8.

(The neglect of religion, virtue, and honesty, these being superseded by belief in the great shrines of Badarînâtha and Kêdâranâtha.)

बद्री केदार बड़ा भया[6] धाम ।
धर्म कर्म कि कै न्हाति 'फाम ॥ ८ ॥

Badarînâtha and Kêdâranâtha are (supposed to be) great shrines, but no one has any notion of virtuous deeds.

9.

बद्री केदार द्वी छन[7] धाम ।
कलि युग ऐ गौछ[3] कै[9] न्हाति फाम ॥ ९ ॥

Badarînâtha and Kêdâranâtha are two (famous) shrines, but no one knows that the Kali Yuga has come.

10.

(The selfishness of bad people.)

पातर भौजि कौ बड़ो भारि ज्ञान ।
घर कुड़ि ठगि बेर मुख नि बुलान [10] ॥ १० ॥

My elder brother's friend, the harlot, has great cleverness. She robs a man of his house and chattels, and then does not speak to him (*i. e.*, becomes cool and indifferent).

11.

(The perversion of the times.)

मुल्क कुमाऊँ में कपुवा [11] बासो ।
स्वै कन है-गयो खशम कौ साँसो ॥ ११ ॥

The cuckoo sang in the land of Kumaun, and the husband has become a nuisance to his wife.

12.

(The world is topsy-turvy, and there is no respect for elders.)

हौसिया[12] यारौ कलियुग आलो [12] ।
च्याला का हाथ ले बाप मार खालो[12] ॥ १२ ॥

My jolly friends, the father will be beaten by his own son when the Kali Yuga comes.

13.

(Family dissensions.)

भाइ बिरादर घर घर मार ।
मुल्क कुमाऊँ मैं पड़ि गयो छार ॥ १३ ॥

Brothers and kinsmen assault each other in every house. Ashes and dust are cast upon the land of Kumaun.

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5 *Phâm* = *fahm*. 6 *Bhayâ* = *huê*. *Nhâti* is the negative verb, substantive, 'is not.'
7 *Chhan* = *haĩ*. 8 *Ai gô-chh* = *â gayâ-hai* 9 *Kai* = *kisî kô*. 10 *Bulân*=*bulâtî-haĩ*.
11 The *kapuwâ* is a kind of pigeon. It is an omen of evil to hear its song.
12 *Hausiâ* seems to be a corruption of *ḥawâshî*. *Âlô* and *khâlô* are futures, equivalent to Hindî *âwêgâ* and *khâêgâ*.

14.

भाइ बिरादर घर घर मार ।
भन्याजि ली बेर ज्वे लागि धार ॥ १४ ॥

Brothers and kinsmen assault each other in every house. The wife has flown away to the mountain top, taking the iron pot (the only cooking-vessel of the family) with her.

15.

(Ruinous extravagance in dress.)

बिलैंति कपड़ा का बणाया कोट ।
रीण करि बेर घर कुड़ि चोंट ॥ १५ ॥

People get their coats made of English cloth, and thus they incur debts and lose their houses and lands.

16.

(Ingratitude for what is now done with toil and expense, contrasted with the simplicity of former times.)

सौक्याणा जै बेर[13] आयोछ[14] लूण ।
घागरि दी बेर ज्वे न्हाति गूण ॥ १६ ॥

The salt is brought all the way from the snowy hills (*i. e.*, Tibet), and the wife is not grateful for the skirt given to her (by her husband, though it cost him a good deal).

17.

मुलकिया लोगो कलि युग सूण ।
घागरि दी बेर ज्वे न्हाति गूण ॥ १७ ॥

My countrymen, listen to the effects of the Kali Yuga. The wife is not grateful for the skirt given to her.

18.

हौंसिया यारौ कलि युग सूण ।
लता सेर दी बेर ज्वे न्हाति गूण ॥ १८ ॥

My jolly friends listen to the effects of the Kali Yuga. The wife is not grateful for the food and clothing given to her.

19.

(Village officials neglect their duties.)

एक गाँव का नौ छिया[15] पधान ।
गाँव बजीगयो कै न्हाति फाम ॥ १९ ॥

There were nine head-men for a single village. The village has become barren, and no one heeds it.

20.

येक येक गौं का नौ नौ पधान ॥
ग्वाड़ बणौंणा कि कै न्हाति फाम ॥ २० ॥

There are nine head-men in each village, and no one takes care for building cowsheds.

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[13] *Jai-bêr=jâ-karkê.* [14] *Âyô-chh=âyâ-hai.* [15] *Chhiyâ=thê.* It is masc. plur. of *chhiyô.*

21.

गंगा मेँ है - गोछ तुमड़िया तार ।
भाइ बिरादर घर घर मार ॥ २१ ॥

The Ganges can be crossed with the help of gourds (used as floats for crossing narrow streams), and brothers and kinsmen assault each other in every house.

22.

भाइ बिरादर घर घर मार ।
खशम है[16] ज्वे है-गेछ[17] न्यार ॥ २२ ॥

Brothers and kinsmen assault each other in every house, and the wife has separated herself from her husband.

23.

धर्म कर्म मेँ पड़ि गोछ[18] छार ।
कौणि झुँगरो बिन ज्वे लागि धार ॥ २३ ॥

Religion and virtuous acts are buried in ashes, and, for want of *kauṇi* and *jhungarâ* (two coarse grains) the wife has flown away to the mountain top.

24.

क्रिष्णा पँड़े ले[21] कलि युग खोलो[19] ।
मुलक कुमाऊँ को ढुंगो ढुंगो होलो[19] ॥ २४ ॥

Kṛishṇâ Pâṇḍê has disclosed the effects of the Kali Yuga, and warned the people against them. The land of Kumaun will be reduced to a skeleton.

25.

(Exhortation to the people to become devotees.)

मुलकिया यारौ हर नाम लीयौ ।
ज्वे चेला बेचि बेर इष्टाम दीयौ ॥ २५ ॥

O my countrymen, remember the name of God. Sell your wives and children by means of giving a stamped document (and give up all desire for worldly prosperity).

26.

च्यार दिन मेरि भौजि भज राम राम ।
हर नाम आलो[20] परनाम काम ॥२६ ॥

O my brother's wife, repeat the name of God for a few days (while we are in this world). The name of God will help us in our next lives.

27.

मुलकिया लोगो हर नाम लीयो ।
क्रिष्णा पँड़े ले[21] कलि युग कीयो ॥ २७ ॥

O my countrymen, take the name of God. Kṛishṇâ Pâṇḍê has warned you against the effects of Kali Yuga.

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[16] *Khaśam-hai*=*khaṣam sê*.
[17] *Hai gê-chh*=*hô gaî hai*.
[18] *Gô-chh*=*gayâ-hai*.
[19] *Khôlô* = *khôlâ*, but *hôlô* = *hôêgâ*.
[20] *Âlô*=*âwêgâ*.
[21] *Lê* is the postposition of the agent case=*nê*.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V – XV),

Translated by
R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.,
Librarian, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.[51]

(*Continued from p. 63.*)

Chapter II.

Considerations about the troubles of the king and of his kingdom. (Râjarâjyayorvyasananachintâ).

The king and his kingdom are the primary elements of the State.

The troubles of the king may be either internal or external. Internal troubles are more serious than external troubles which are like the danger arising from a lurking snake. Troubles due to a minister are more serious than other kinds of internal troubles. Hence the king should keep under his own control the powers of finance and the army.

Of divided rule and foreign rule, divided rule or rule of a country by two kings, perishes owing to mutual hatred, partiality and rivalry. Foreign rule which comes into existence by seizing the country from its king still alive, thinks that the country is not its own, impoverishes it, and carries off its wealth, or treats it as a commercial article ; and when the country ceases to love it, it retires abandoning the country.

Which is better, a blind king, or a king erring against the science ?

My teacher says that a blind king, *i.e.*, a king who is not possessed of an eye in sciences, is indiscriminate in doing works, very obstinate, and is led by others ; such a king destroys the kingdom by his own mal-administration. But an erring king can be easily brought round when and where his mind goes astray from the procedure laid down in sciences.

No, says Kauṭilya, a blind king can be made by his supporters to adhere to whatever line of policy he ought to. But an erring king who is bent upon doing what is against the science, brings about destruction to himself and his kingdom by mal-administration.

Which is better, a diseased or a new king ?

My teacher says that a diseased king loses his kingdom owing to the intrigue of his ministers, or loses his life on account of the kingdom ; but a new king pleases the people by such popular deeds as the observance of his own duties and the act of bestowing favours, remissions (of taxes), gifts, and presents upon others.

No, says Kauṭilya, a diseased king continues to observe his duties as usual. But a new king begins to act as he pleases under the impression that the country, acquired by his own might, belongs to himself ; when pressed by combined kings (for plunder), he tolerates their oppression of the country. Or having no firm control over the elements of the State, he is easily removed. There is this difference among diseased kings : a king who is morally diseased, and a king who is suffering from physical disease ; there is also this difference among new kings : a high-born king and a base-born king.

Which is better, a weak but high-born king, or a strong but low-born king ?

My teacher says that a people, even if interested in having a weak king, hardly allow room for the intrigues of a weak, but high-born person to be their king ; but that if they desire power, they will easily yield themselves to the intrigues of a strong but base-born person to be their king.

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51 The first 4 Books have been published in the *Mysore Review* 1906-1908.

No, says Kauṭilya, a people will naturally obey a high-born king though he is weak, for the tendency of a prosperous people is to follow a high-born king. Also they render the intrigues of a strong but base-born person, unavailing, as the saying is, that possession of virtues makes for friendship.

The destruction of crops is worse than the destruction of handfuls (of grains), since it is the labour that is destroyed thereby; absence of rain is worse than too much rain.

The comparative seriousness or insignificance of any two kinds of troubles affecting the elements of sovereignty, in the order of enumeration of the several kinds of distress, is the cause of adopting offensive or defensive operations[52].

Chapter III.

The aggregate of the troubles of men (Purushavyasanavargah).

Ignorance and absence of discipline are the causes of a man's troubles. An untrained man does not perceive the injuries arising from vices. We are going to treat of them (vices) :—

Vices due to anger form a triad ; and those due to desire are four-fold. Of these two, anger is worse, for anger proceeds against all. In a majority of cases, kings given to anger are said to have fallen a prey to popular fury. But kings addicted to pleasures have perished in consequence of serious diseases brought about by deterioration and improverishment.

No, says Bhâradvâja, anger is the characteristic of a righteous man. It is the foundation of bravery ; it puts an end to despicable (persons) ; and it keeps the people under fear. Anger is always a necessary qualitv for the prevention of sin. But desire (accompanies) the enjoyment of results, reconciliation, generosity, and the act of endearing oneself to all. Possession of desire is always necessary for him who is inclined to enjoy the fruits of what he has accomplished.

No, says Kauṭilya, anger brings about enmity with, and troubles from, an enemy, and is always associated with pain. Addiction to pleasure (*kâma*) occasions contempt and loss of wealth, and throws the addicted person into the company of thieves, gamblers, hunters, singers, players on musical instruments, and other undesirable persons. Of these, enmity is more serious than contempt, for a despised person is caught hold of by his own people and by his enemies, whereas a hated person is destroyed. Troubles from an enemy are more serious than loss of wealth, for loss of wealth causes financial troubles, whereas troubles from an enemy are injurious to life. Suffering on account of vices is more serious than keeping company with undesirable persons, for the company of undesirable persons can be got rid of in a moment, whereas suffering from vices causes injury for a longtime. Hence anger is a more serious evil.

Which is worse ? abuse of language, or of money, or oppressive punishment ?

Viśâlâksha says that of abuse of language and of money, abuse of language is worse ; for when harshly spoken to, a brave man retaliates ; and bad language, like a nail piercing the heart, excites anger and gives pain to the senses,

No, says Kauṭilya, gift of money palliates the fury occasioned by abusive language, whereas abuse of money causes the loss of livelihood itself. Abuse of money means gifts, exaction, loss or abandonment of money.

The school of Parâśara say that of abuse of money and oppressive punishment, abuse of money is worse; for good deeds and enjoyments depend upon wealth ; the world itself is bound by wealth. Hence its abuse is a more serious evil.

[52] In *Śloka* metre.

No, says Kauṭilya: in preference to a large amount of wealth, no man desires the loss of his own life. Owing to oppressive punishment, one is liable to the same punishment at the hands of one's enemies.

Such is the nature of the triad of evils due to anger.

The four-fold vices due to desire, are hunting, gambling, women and drinking.

Piśuna says that of hunting and gambling, hunting is a worse vice; for falling into the hands of robbers, enemies and elephants, getting into wild fire, fear. inability to distinguish between the cardinal points, hunger, thirst and loss of life are evils consequent upon hunting, whereas in gambling, the expert gambler wins a victory like Jayatsena and Duryodhana.

No, says Kauṭilya: of the two parties, one has to suffer from defeat, as is well known from the history of Nala and Yudhishṭhira; the same wealth that is won like a piece of flesh in gambling, causes enmity. Lack of recognition of wealth properly acquired, acquisition of ill-gotten wealth, loss of wealth without enjoyment, staying away from answering the calls of nature, and contracting diseases from not taking timely meals, are the evils of gambling, whereas in hunting, exercise, the disappearance of phlegm, bile, fat, and sweat, the acquisition of skill in aiming at stationary and moving bodies, the ascertainment of the appearance of beasts when provoked, and occasional march (are its good characteristics.).

Kauṇapadanta says that of addiction to gambling and to women, gambling is a more serious evil; for gamblers always play, even at night by lamp light, and even when the mother (of one of the players) is dead; the gambler exhibits anger when spoken to in times of trouble; whereas in the case of addiction to women, it is possible to hold conversation about virtue and wealth, at the time of bathing, dressing, and eating. Also it is possible to make, by means of secret punishment, a woman to be so good as to secure the welfare of the king, or to get rid of her, or drive her out, under the plea of disease.

No, says Kauṭilya: it is possible to divert the attention from gambling, but not so from women. (The evils of the latter are) failure to see (what ought to be seen), violation of duty, the evil of postponing works that are to be immediately done, incapacity to deal with politics, and contracting the evil of drinking,

Vâtavyâdhi says that of addiction to women and to drinking, addiction to women is a more serious evil: there are various kinds of childishness among women, as explained in the chapter on 'The Harem[53],' whereas in drinking, the enjoyment of sound and other objects of the senses, pleasing other people, honouring the followers, and relaxation from the fatigue of work (are the advantages).

No, says Kauṭilya: in the case of addiction to women, the consequences are the birth of children, self-protection, change of wives in the harem, and absence of such consequences in the case of unworthy outside women. Both the above consequences follow from drinking. The auspicious effects of drinking are loss of money, lunacy in a sensate man, corpselike appearance while living, nakedness, the loss of the knowledge of the *Vedas*, loss of life, wealth, and friends, disassociation with the good, suffering from pain, and indulgence in playing on musical instruments and in singing at the expense of wealth.

Of gambling and drinking, gambling causes gain or loss of the stakes to one party or other. Even among dumb animals, it splits them into factions and causes provocation. It is specially due to gambling that assemblies and royal confederacies possessing the characteristics of assemblies are split into factions, and are consequently destroyed. The reception of what is condemned is the worst of all evils since it causes incapacity to deal with politics.

[53] Chapter 20, Book I.

(*a*) The reception of what is condemned is (due to) desire; and anger consists in oppressing the good; since both these are productive of many evils, both of them are held to be the worst evils.

(*b*) Hence he who is possessed of discretion should associate with the aged, and, after controlling his passions, abandon both anger and desire which are productive of other evils and destructive of the very basis (of life)[54].

Chapter IV.

The group of molestations, the group of obstructions, and the group of financial troubles. (Pīḍanavargah, stambhavargah, kośasanga vargaścha.)

Providential calamities are fire, floods, pestilence, famine, and (the epidemic disease called) *maraka*.

My teacher says that of fire and floods, destruction due to fire is irremediable; all kinds of troubles, except those due to fire, can be alleviated, and troubles due to floods can be passed over.

No, says Kauṭilya: fire destroys a village or part of a village, whereas floods carry off hundreds of villages.

My teacher says that of pestilence and famine, pestilence brings all kinds of business to a stop by causing obstruction to work on account of disease and death among men and owing to the flight of servants, whereas famine stops no work, but is productive of gold, cattle, and taxes.

No, says Kauṭilya: pestilence devastates only a part (of the country) and can be remedied, whereas famine causes troubles to the whole (of the country) and occasions dearth of livelihood to all creatures.

This explains the consequences of *maraka*.

My teacher says that of the loss of chief and vulgar men, the loss of vulgar men causes obstruction to work.

No, says Kauṭilya: it is possible to recruit vulgar men, since they form the majority of people; for the sake of vulgar men, nobles should not be allowed to perish; one in a thousand may or may not be a noble man; he it is who is possessed of excessive courage and wisdom and is the refuge of vulgar people.

My teacher says that of the troubles arising from one's own or one's enemy's Circle of States, those due to one's own Circle are doubly injurious and are irremediable, whereas an inimical Circle of States can be fought out or kept away by the intervention of an ally or by making peace.

No, says Kauṭilya: troubles due to one's own circle can be got rid of by arresting or destroying the leaders among the subjective people; or they may be injurious to a part of the country, whereas troubles due to an enemy's Circle of States cause oppression by inflicting loss and destruction and by burning, devastation, and plunder.

My teacher says that of the quarrels among the people and among kings, quarrel among the people brings about disunion and thereby enables an enemy to invade the country, whereas quarrel among kings is productive of double pay and wages and of remission of taxes to the people.

No, says Kautilya: it is possible to end the quarrel among the people by arresting the leaders, or by removing the cause of quarrel; and people quarrelling among themselves vie with each other and thereby help the country, whereas quarrel among kings causes trouble and destruction to the people and requires double the energy for its settlement.

My teacher says that of a sportive king and a sportive country, a sportive country is always ruinous to the results of work, whereas a sportive king is beneficial to artisans, carpenters, musicians, buffoons, and traders.

[54] *a* and *b* are in *śloka* metre.

No, says Kautilya : a sportive country, taking to sports for relaxation from labour, causes only a trifling loss; and after enjoyment, it resumes work, whereas a sportive king causes oppression by showing indulgence to his courtiers, by seizing and begging, and by obstructing work in the manufactories.

My teacher says that of a favourite wife and a prince, the prince causes oppression by showing indulgence to his followers, by seizing and begging, and by obstructing the work in manufactories whereas the favourite wife is addicted to her amorous sports.

No, says Kauṭilya : it is possible to prevent through the minister and the priest, the oppression caused by the prince, but not the oppression caused by the favourite wife, since she is usually stubborn and keeps company with wicked persons.

My teacher says that of the troubles due to a corporation of people and to a leader (a chief), the corporation of people cannot be put down since it consists of a number of men and causes oppression by theft and violence, whereas a leader causes troubles by obstruction to, and destruction of work.

No, says Kauṭilya : it is very easy to get rid of (the troubles from) a corporation, since it has to rise or fall with the king ; or it can be put down by arresting its leader or a part of the corporation itself, whereas a leader backed up with support, causes oppression by injuring the life and property of others.

My teacher says that of the chamberlain and the collector of revenue, the chamberlain causes oppression by spoiling works and by inflicting fines, whereas the collector of revenue makes use of the ascertained revenue in the department over which he presides.

No, says Kauṭilya : the chamberlain takes to himself what is presented by others to be entered into the treasury, whereas the collector makes his own revenue first and then the king's ; or he destroys the king's revenue and proceeds as he pleases to seize the property of others.

My teacher says that of the superintendent of the boundary and a trader, the superintendent of the boundary destroys traffic by allowing thieves and taking taxes more than he ought to whereas a trader renders the country prosperous by a favourable barter of commercial articles.

No, says Kauṭilya : the superintendent of the boundary increases commercial traffic by welcoming the arrival of merchandise, whereas traders unite in causing rise and fall in the value of articles, and live by making profits cent. per cent. in *Paṇas* or *Kumbhas* (measures of grain).

Which is more desirable, land occupied by a high-born person or land reserved for grazing a flock of cattle ?

My teacher says that the land occupied by a high-born person is very productive ; and it supplies men to the army ; hence it does not deserve to be confiscated lest the owner might cause troubles, whereas the land occupied for grazing a flock of cattle is cultivable and deserves therefore to be freed, for cultivable land is preferred to pasture land.

No, says Kauṭilya : though immensely useful, the land occupied by a high-born person deserves to be freed, lest he might cause troubles (otherwise), whereas the land held for grazing a flock of cattle is productive of money and beasts, and does not therefore deserve to be confiscated unless cultivation of crops is impeded thereby.

My teacher says that of robbers and wild tribes, robbers are ever bent on carrying off women at night, make assaults on persons, and take away hundreds and thousands of *paṇas*, whereas wild tribes, living under a leader and moving in the neighbouring forests can be seen here and there causing destruction only to a part.

No, says Kautilya : robbers carry off the property of the careless and can be put down as they are easily recognized and caught hold of, whereas wild tribes have their own strongholds, being numerous and brave, ready to fight in broad daylight, and seizing and destroying countries like kings.

Of the forests of beasts and of elephants,—beasts are numerous and productive of plenty of flesh and skins; they arrest the growth of grass and are easily controlled, whereas elephants are of the reverse nature and are seen to be destructive of countries even when they are captured and tamed.

Of benefits derived from one's own or a foreign country, benefits derived from one's own country consist of grains, cattle, gold, and raw products and are useful for the maintenance of the people in calamities, whereas benefits derived from a foreign country are of the reverse nature.

Such is the group of molestations.

Obstruction to movements caused by a chief is internal obstruction ; and obstruction to movements caused by an enemy or a wild tribe is external obstruction.

Such is the group of obstructions.

Financial troubles due to the two kinds of obstruction and to the molestations described above are stagnation of financial position, loss of wealth due to the allowance of remission of taxes in favour of leaders, scattered revenue, false account of revenue collected, and revenue left in the custody of a neighbouring king or of a wild tribe.

Thus the group of financial troubles.

In [53] the interests of the prosperity of the country, one should attempt to avoid the cause of troubles, remedy them when they happen, and avert obstructions and financial troubles.[55]

Chapter V.

The group of troubles of the army, and the group of troubles of a friend. (Balavyasanavargah Mitravyasanavargaścha).

The troubles of the army are :—That which is disrespected ; that which is mortified ; that which is not paid for; that which is diseased ; that which has freshly arrived ; that which has made a long journey ; that which is tired ; that which has sustained loss ; that which has been repelled ; that of which the front portion is destroyed ; that which is suffering from inclemency of weather ; that which has found itself in an unsuitable ground ; that which is displeased from disappointment; that which has run away ; that, of which the men are fond of their wives ; that which contains traitors ; that of which the prime portion is provoked ; that which has dissensions ; that which has come from a foreign state ; that which has served in many states ; that which is specially trained to a particular kind of manœuvre and encampment ; that which is trained to a particular movement in a particular place ; that which is obstructed ; that which is surrounded ; that which has its supply of grains cut off ; that which has its men and stores cut off ; that which is kept in one's own country ; that which is under the protection of an ally ; that which contains inimical persons ; that which is afraid of an enemy in the rear ; that which has lost its communication ; that which has lost its commander ; that which has lost its leader ; and that which is blind (*i. e.*, untrained).

Of the disrespected and the mortified among these, that which is disrespected may be taken to fight after being honoured, but not that which is suffering from its own mortification.

Of unpaid and diseased armies, the unpaid may be taken to fight after making full payment but not the diseased, which is unfit for work.

Of freshly arrived and long-travelled armies, that which has freshly arrived may be taken to fight after it has taken its position without mingling with any other new army, but not that which is tired from its long journey.

[55] In *śloka* metre.

Of tired and reduced armies, the army that is tired may be taken to fight after it has refreshed itself from bathing, eating, and sleeping, but not the reduced army, *i. e.*, the army, the leaders of which have been killed.

Of armies which have either been repelled or have their front destroyed, that which has been repelled may be taken to fight together with fresh men attached to it, but not the army which has lost many of its brave men in its frontal attack.

Of armies, either suffering from inclemency of weather or driven to an unsuitable ground, that which is suffering from inclemency of weather may be taken to fight after providing it with weapons and dress appropriate for the season, but not the army on an unfavourable ground obstructing its movements.

Of disappointed and renegade armies, that which is disappointed may be taken to fight after satisfying it but not the army which has (once) run away.

Of soldiers who are either fond of their wives or are under an enemy, those who are fond of their wives may be taken to fight after separating them from their wives, but not those who are under an enemy, and are, therefore, like internal enemies.

Of provoked and disunited armies, that, of which a part is provoked may be taken to fight after pacifying it by conciliation and other strategic means but not the disunited army, the members of which are estranged from each other.

Of armies which have left service either in one state or in many states, that, whose resignation of service in a foreign state is not due to instigation or conspiracy may be taken to fight under the leadership of spies and friends, but not the army which has resigned its service in many states and is, therefore, dangerous.

Of armies which are trained either to a particular kind of manœuvre and encampment or to a particular movement in a particular place, that which is taught a special kind of manœuvre and encampment may be taken to fight, but not the army whose way of making encampments and marches is only suited for a particular place.

Of obstructed and surrounded armies, that which is prevented from its movements in one direction may be taken to fight against the obstructor in another direction, but not the army whose movements are obstructed on all sides.

Of troops whose supply of grain is cut off or whose supply of men and stores is cut off, that which has lost its supply of grain may be taken to fight after providing it with grain brought from another quarter or after supplying to it moveable and immoveable food-stuffs (animal and vegetable food-stuffs), but not the army to which men and provisions cannot be supplied.

Of armies kept in one's own country or under the protection of an ally, that which is kept in one's own country can possibly be disbanded in time of danger, but not the army under the protection of an ally, as it is far removed in place and time.

Of armies either filled with traitors, or frightened by an enemy in the rear, that which is full of traitors may be taken to fight apart under the leadership of a trusted commander, but not the army which is afraid of an attack from the rear.

Of armies without communication or without leaders, that which has lost its communication with the base of operations may be taken to fight after restoring the communication and placing it under the protection of citizens and country people, but not the army which is without a leader, such as the king or any other persons.

Of troops which have lost their leader or which are not trained, those that have lost their leader may be taken to fight under the leadership of a different person but not the troops which are not trained.

(*a*) Removal of vices and troubles, recruitment (of new men), keeping away from places of an enemy's ambush, and harmony among the officers of the army, are the means of protecting the army from troubles.

(*b*) He (the king) should ever carefully guard his army from the troubles caused by an enemy, and should ever be ready to strike his enemy's army when the latter is under troubles.

(*c*) Whatever he may come to know as the source of trouble to his people, he should quickly and carefully apply antidotes against that cause.

(*d*) A friend who, by himself, or in combination with others or under the influence of another king, has marched against his own ally, a friend who is abandoned owing to inability to retain his friendship, or owing to greediness or indifference;

(*e & f*) a friend who is bought by another and who has withdrawn himself from fighting; a friend who following the policy of making peace with one and marching against another, has contracted friendship with one, who is going to march either singly or in combination with others against an ally;

(*g*) a friend who is not relieved from his troubles owing to fear, contempt, or indifference; a friend who is surrounded in his own place or who has run away owing to fear;

(*h*) a friend who is displeased owing to his having to pay much, or owing to his not having received his due, or owing to his dissatisfaction even after the receipt of his due;

(*i*) a friend who has voluntarily paid much or who is made by another to pay much (to his ally); a friend who is kept under pressure, or who, having broken the bond of friendship, sought friendship with another;

(*j*) a friend who is neglected owing to inability to retain his friendship; and a friend who has become an enemy in spite of his ally's entreaties to the contrary;——such friends are hardly acquired; and if acquired at all, they turn away.

(*k*) A friend who has realised the responsibilities of friendship, or who is honourable; or whose disappointment is due to want of information, or who, though excited, is unequal (to the task), or who is made to turn back owing to fear from another;

(*l*) or who is frightened at the destruction of another friend, or who is apprehensive of danger from the combination of enemies, or who is made by traitors to give up his friendship,—it is possible to acquire such a friend; and if acquired, he keeps up his friendship.

(*m*) Hence one should not give rise to those causes which are destructive of friendship; and when they arise, one should get rid of them by adopting such friendly attitude as can remove those causes.[56]

Book IX.

The work of an invader. (Abhiyâsyatkarma).

Chapter I.

The knowledge of power, place, time, strength, and weakness; the time of invasion. (Śaktideśakâlabalâbalajñânam; Yâtrâkâlâścha.)

The conqueror should know the comparative strength and weakness of himself and of his enemy; and having ascertained the power, place, time, the time of marching and of recruiting the army, the consequences, the loss of men and money, and profits and danger, he should march with his full force; otherwise he should keep quiet.

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[56] *a* to *m* are in *śloka* metre.

My teacher says that of enthusiasm and power, enthusiasm is better: a king, himself energetic, brave, strong, free from disease, skilful in wielding weapons, is able with his army as a secondary power to subdue a powerful king; his army, though small, will, when led by him, be capable of turning out any work. But a king who has no enthusiasm in himself, will perish though he is powerful and possessed of a strong army.

No, says Kauṭilya: he who is possessed of power over-reaches, by the sheer force of his power, another who is merely enthusiastic. Having acquired, captured, or bought another enthusiastic king as well as brave soldiers, he can make his enthusiastic army of horses, elephants, chariots, and others to move anywhere without obstruction. Powerful kings, whether women, young men, lame, or blind, conquered the earth by winning over or purchasing the aid of enthusiastic persons.

My teacher says that of power (money and army) and skill in intrigue, power is better; for a king, though possessed of skill for intrigue, (*mantraśakti*), becomes a man of barren mind if he has no power; for the work of intrigue is well defined. He who has no power loses his kingdom as sprouts of seeds in drought vomit their sap.

No, says Kauṭilya: skill for intrigue is better; he who has the eye of knowledge and is acquainted with the science of polity can with little effort make use of his skill for intrigue and can succeed by means of conciliation and other strategic means and by spies and chemical appliances in over-reaching even those kings who are possessed of enthusiasm and power. Thus of the three acquirements, *viz.*, enthusiasm, power, and skill for intrigue, he who possesses more of the quality mentioned later than the one mentioned first in the order of enumeration will be successful in over-reaching others.

Country (space) means the earth; in it the thousand *yojanas* of the northern portion of the country that stretches between the Himâlayas and the ocean form the dominion of no insignificant emperor; in it there are such varieties of land, as forests, villages, waterfalls, level plains, and uneven grounds. In such lands, he should undertake such works as he considers to be conducive to his power and prosperity. That part of the country, in which his army finds a convenient place for its manœuvre and which proves unfavourable to his enemy, is the best; that part of the country which is of the reverse nature, is the worst; and that which partakes of both the characteristics, is a country of middling quality.

Time consists of cold, hot, and rainy periods. The divisions of time are: the night, the day, the fortnight, the month, the season, solstices, the year, and the Yuga (cycle of 5 years). In these divisions of time he should undertake such works as are conducive to the growth of his power and prosperity. That time which is congenial for the manœuvre of his army, but which is of the reverse nature for his enemy is the best; that which is of the reverse nature is the worst; and that which possesses both the characteristics is of middling quality.

My teacher says that of strength, place, and time, strength is the best; for a man who is possessed of strength can overcome the difficulties due either to the unevenness of the ground or to the cold, hot, or rainy periods of time. Some say that place is the best for the reason that a dog, seated in a convenient place, can drag a crocodile and that a crocodile in low ground can drag a dog. Others say that time is the best for the reason that during the day-time the crow kills the owl and that at night the owl the crow.

No, says Kauṭilya: of strength, place, and time, each is helpful to the other; whoever is possessed of these three things should, after having placed one-third or one-fourth of his army to protect his base of operations against his rear-enemy and wild tribes in his vicinity and after having taken with him as much army and treasure as is sufficient to accomplish his work, march during the month of *Mârgaśîrsha* (December) against his enemy whose collection of food-stuffs is old and insipid and who has not only not gathered fresh food-stuffs, but also not repaired his fortifications,

in order to destroy the enemy's rainy crops and autumnal handfuls (*mushṭi*). He should march during the month of *Chaitra* (March), if he means to destroy the enemy's autumnal crops and vernal handfuls. He should march during the month of *Jyeshṭha* (May-June) against one whose storage of fodder, firewood and water has diminished and who has not repaired his fortifications, if he means to destroy the enemy's vernal crops and handfuls of the rainy season. Or he may march during the dewy season against a country which is of hot climate and in which fodder and water are obtained in little quantities. Or he may march during the summer against a country in which the sun is enshrouded by mist and which is full of deep valleys and thickets of trees and grass, or he may march during the rains against a country which is suitable for the manœuvre of his own army and which is of the reverse nature for his enemy's army. He has to undertake a long march between the months of *Mârgaśîrsha* (December) and *Taisha* (January), a march of mean length between March and April, and a short march between May and June; and one, afflicted with troubles, should keep quiet.[57]

Marching against an enemy under troubles has been explained in connection with "March after declaring war[58]."

My teacher says that one should almost invariably march against an enemy in troubles.

But Kauṭilya says: that when one's resources are sufficient, one should march, since the troubles of an enemy cannot be properly recognised; or whenever one finds it possible to reduce or destroy an enemy by marching against him, then one may undertake a march.

When the weather is free from heat, one should march with an army mostly composed of elephants. Elephants with profuse sweat in hot weather are attacked by leprosy; and when they have no water for bathing and drinking, they lose their quickness and become obstinate. Hence against a country containing plenty of water and during the rainy season, one should march with an army mostly composed of elephants. Against a country of the reverse description, *i. e.*, which has little rain and muddy water, one should march with an army mostly composed of asses, camels, and horses.

Against a desert, one should march during the rainy season with all the four constituents of the army (elephants, horses, chariots, and men). One should prepare a programme of short and long distances to be marched in accordance with the nature of the ground to be traversed, *viz.*, even ground, uneven ground, valleys, and plains.

When the work to be accomplished is small, march against all kinds of enemies should be of a short duration; and when it is great, it should also be of long duration; during the rains, encampment should be made abroad[59].

Chapter II.

The time of recruiting the army; the form of equipment; and the work of arraying a rival force. (Balopadânakâlâh, Sannâhâguṇâh, pratibalakarma cha).

The time of recruiting troops, such as hereditary troops (*maula*), hired troops, corporation of soldiers (*śreṇî*), troops belonging to a friend or to an enemy, and wild tribes.

When he (a king) thinks that his hereditary army is more than he requires for the defence of his own possessions; or when he thinks that as his hereditary army consists of more men than he requires, some of them may be disaffected; or when he thinks that his enemy has a strong hereditary army famous for its attachment, and is, therefore, to be fought out with much skill on his part; or when he thinks that though the roads are good and the weather favourable, it is still the hereditary army that can endure wear and tear; or when he thinks that though they are famous for their attachment, hired soldiers and other kinds of troops cannot be relied upon lest they might lend their ears to the intrigues of the enemy to be invaded; or when he thinks that other kinds of force are wanting in strength, then is the time for taking the hereditary army.

[57] The text here is faulty.

[58] See Chapter 4, Book VII.

[59] In *śloka* metre.

When he thinks that the army he has hired is greater than his hereditary army; that his enemy's hereditary army is small and disaffected, while the army his enemy has hired is insignificant and weak; that actual fight is less than treacherous fight; that the place to be traversed and the time required do not entail much loss; that his own army is little given to stupor, is beyond the fear of intrigue, and is reliable; or that little is the enemy's power which he has to put down, then is the time for leading the hired army.

When he thinks that the immense corporation of soldiers he possesses can be trusted both to defend his country and to march against his enemy; that he has to be absent only for a short time; or that his enemy's army consists mostly of soldiers of corporations, and consequently the enemy is desirous of carrying on treacherous fight rather than an actual war, then is the time for the enlistment of corporations of soldiers (*śreṇī*).

When he thinks that the strong help he has in his friend can be made use of both in his own country and in his marches; that he has to be absent only for a short time, and actual fight is more than treacherous fight; that having made his friend's army to occupy wild tracts, cities, or plains and to fight with the enemy's ally, he, himself, would lead his own army to fight with the enemy's army; that his work can be accomplished by his friend as well; that his success depends on his friend; that he has a friend near and deserving of obligation; or that he has to utilize the excessive force of his friend, then is the time for the enlistment of a friend's army.

When he thinks that he will have to make his strong enemy to fight against another enemy on account of a city, a plain, or a wild tract of land and that in that fight he will achieve one or the other of his objects, just like an outcaste person in the fight between a dog and a pig; that through the battle, he will have the mischievous power of his enemy's allies or of wild tribes destroyed; that he will have to make his immediate and powerful enemy to march elsewhere and thus get rid of internal rebellion which his enemy might have occasioned; and that the time of battle between enemies or between inferior kings has arrived, then is the time for the exercise of an enemy's forces.

This explains the time for the engagement of wild tribes.

When he thinks that the army of wild tribes is living by the same road (that his enemy has to traverse; that the road is unfavourable for the march of his enemy's army; that his enemy's army consists mostly of wild tribes; that just as a wood-apple (*bilva*) is broken by means of another wood-apple, the small army of his enemy is to be destroyed, then is the time for engaging the army of wild tribes.

That army which is vast and is composed of various kinds of men and is so enthusiastic as to rise even without provision and wages for plunder when told or untold; that which is capable of applying its own remedies against unfavourable rains; that which can be disbanded and which is invincible for enemies; and that, of which all the men are of the sane country, same caste, and same training, is (to be considered as) a compact body of vast power.

Such are the periods of time for recruiting the army.

Of these armies, one has to pay the army of wild tribes either with raw produce or with allowance for plunder.

When the time for the march of one's enemy's army has approached, one has to obstruct the enemy or send him far away, or make his movements fruitless, or, by false promise, cause him to delay the march, and then deceive him after the time for his march has passed away. One should ever be vigilant to increase one's own resources and frustrate the attempts of one's enemy to gain in strength.

Of these armies, that which is mentioned first is better than the one subsequently mentioned in the order of enumeration.

Hereditary army is better than hired army in as much as the former has its existence dependent on that of its master, and is constantly drilled.

That kind of hired army which is ever near, ready to rise quickly, and obedient, is better than a corporation of soldiers.

That corporation of soldiers which is native, which has the same end in view (as the king), and which is actuated with similar feelings of rivalry, anger, and expectation of success and gain, is better than the army of a friend. Even that corporation of soldiers which is further removed in place and time is, in virtue of its having the same end in view better than the army of a friend.

The army of an enemy under the leadership of an Ârya is better than the army of wild tribes. Both of them (the army of an enemy and of wild tribes) are anxious for plunder. In the absence of plunder and under troubles, they prove as dangerous as a lurking snake.

My teacher says that of the armies composed of Brâhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, or Śûdras, that which is mentioned first is, on account of bravery, better to be enlisted than the one subsequently mentioned in the order of enumeration.

No, says Kauṭilya: the enemy may win over to himself the army of Brâhmans by means of prostration. Hence the army of Kshattriyas trained in art of wielding weapons is better ; or the army of Vaiśiyas or Śûdras having great numerical strength (is better).

Hence one should recruit one's army, reflecting that "such is the army of my enemy ; and this is my army to oppose it."

The army which possesses elephants, machines, *Śakaṭūgarbha* (?), *Kunta* (a wooden rod), *prâsa*, (a weapon, 24 inches long, with two handles), *Kharvaṭaka* (?), bamboo sticks, and iron sticks is the army to oppose an army of elephants.

The same possessed of stones, clubs, armour, hooks, and spears in plenty is the army to oppose an army of chariots.

The same is the army to oppose cavalry.

Men, clad in armour, can oppose elephants.

Horses can oppose men, clad in armour.

Men, clad in armour, chariots, men possessing defensive weapons, and infantry, can oppose an army consisting of all the four constituents (elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry).

Thus considering the strength of the constituents of one's own quadripartite army, one should recruit men to it so as to oppose an enemy's army successfully[60].

[60] In *Śloka* metre.

Chapter III.

Consideration of annoyance in the rear ; and remedies against internal and external troubles (Paśchâtkopachintâ ; bahyâbhyantaraprakṛitikopapratîkâraścha).

Of the two things, slight annoyance in the rear, and considerable profit in the front, slight annoyance in the rear is more serious ; for traitors, enemies, and wild tribes augment on all sides the slight annoyance which one may have in the rear. The members of one's own state may be provoked about the acquisition of considerable profit in the front.

When one under the protection of another has come to such a condition *ie.*, slight annoyance in the rear and considerable profit in the front), then one should endeavour so as to cause to the rear enemy the loss and impoverishment of his servants and friends ; and in order to fetch the profit in the front, one should also employ the commander of the army or the heir-apparent to lead the army.

Or the king himself may go in person to receive the profit in the front, if he is able to ward off the annoyance in the rear. If he is apprehensive of internal troubles, he may take with him the suspected leaders. If he is apprehensive of external troubles, he should march after keeping inside his capital as hostages the sons and wives of suspected enemies and after having split into a number of divisions the troops of the officer in charge of waste lands (*śûnyapâla*) and having placed those divisions under the command of several chiefs, or he may abandon his march, for it has been already stated that internal troubles are more serious than external troubles.

The provocation of any one of the minister, the priest, the commander-in-chief, and the heir-apparent is what is termed internal trouble. The king should get rid of such an internal enemy either by giving up his own fault or by pointing out the danger arising from an external enemy. When the priest is guilty of the gravest treason, relief should be found either by confining him or by banishing him ; when the heir-apparent is so, confinement or death (*nigraha*), provided that there is another son of good character. From these, the case of the minister and the commander-in-chief is explained.

When a son, or a brother, or any other person of the royal family attempts to seize the kingdom, he should be won over by holding out hopes ; when this is not possible, he should be conciliated by allowing him to enjoy what he has already seized, or by making an agreement with him, or by means of intrigue through an enemy, or by securing to him land from an enemy, or any other person of inimical character. Or he may be sent out on a mission with an inimical force to receive the only punishment he deserves ; or a conspiracy may be made with a frontier king or wild tribes whose displeasure he has incurred ; or the same policy that is employed in securing[61] an imprisoned prince or in seizing[62] an enemy's villages may be resorted to.

The provocation of ministers other than the prime minister is what is called the internal ministerial trouble.[63] Even in this case, necessary strategic means should be employed.

The provocation of the chief of a district (*râshṭramukhya*), the officer in charge of the boundary, the chief of wild tribes, and a conquered king is what is termed external trouble. This should be overcome by setting one against the other. Whoever among these has strongly fortified himself should be caught hold of through the agency of a frontier king, or the chief of wild tribes, or a scion of his family, or an imprisoned prince ; or he may be captured through the agency of a friend, so that he may not combine with an enemy ; or a spy may prevent him from combining with an enemy by saying : " This enemy makes a cat's paw of you and causes you to fall upon your own lord ; when his aim is realised, he makes you to lead an army against enemies or wild tribes, or to sojourn in a troublesome place ; or he causes you to reside at a frontier station far from the company of your sons and wife. When you have lost all your strength, he sells you to your own lord ; or having made peace with you, he will please your own lord. Hence it is advisable for you to go to the best friend of your lord." When he agrees to the proposal, he is to be honoured ; but when he refuses to listen, he is to be told, " I am specially sent to separate you from the enemy."

61 See Chapter 18, Book I. 62 Chapter 1, Book XIV. 63 The text is a little faulty here.

The spy should however appoint some persons to murder him; or he may be killed by some concealed persons; or some persons pretending to be brave soldiers may be made to accompany him and may be told by a spy (to murder him). Thus the end of troubles. One should cause such troubles to one's enemy and ward off those of one's own.

In the case of a person who is capable of causing or alleviating troubles, intrigue should be made use of; and in the case of a person who is of reliable character, able to undertake works, and to favour his ally in his success, and to afford protection against calamities, counter intrigue (*pratijâpa*) should be made use of (to keep his friendship secure). It should also be considered whether the person is of good disposition or of obstinate temper (*śaṭha*).

The intrigue carried on by a foreigner of obstinate temper with local persons is of the following form:—"If after killing his own master, he comes to me, then I will secure these two objects, the destruction of my enemy and the acquisition of the enemy's lands; or else my enemy kills him, with the consequence that the partisans of the relations killed, and other persons who are equally guilty and are therefore apprehensive of similar punishment to themselves will perturb my enemy's peace when my enemy has no friends to count; or when my enemy fails to suspect any other person who is equally guilty, I shall be able to cause the death of this or that officer under my enemy's own command."

The intrigue carried on by a local person of obstinate temper with a foreigner is of the following form:—"I shall either plunder the treasury of this king or destroy his army; I shall murder my master by employing this man; if my master consents, I shall cause him to march against an external enemy or a wild tribe; let his circle of states be brought to confusion, let him incur enmity with them; then it is easy to keep him under my power, and conciliate him; or I myself shall seize the kingdom; or having bound him in chains, I shall obtain both my master's land and outside land; or having caused the enemy (of my master) to march out, I shall cause the enemy to be murdered in good faith; or I shall seize the enemy's capital when it is empty (of soldiers).

When a person of good disposition makes a conspiracy for the purpose of acquiring what is to be enjoyed by both, then an agreement should be made with him. But when a person of obstinate temper so conspires, he should be allowed to have his own way and then deceived. Thus the form of policy to be adopted should be considered.

Enemies from enemies, subjects from subjects, subjects from enemies, and enemies from subjects should ever be guarded; and both from his subjects and enemies, a learned man should ever guard his own person[64].

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

EARLY USE OF TOBACCO IN INDIA.

WITH reference to Mr. Ganapati Ray's note (*ante*, p. 176), I beg to ask him:—

(1) To be good enough to state the evidence for the use of the Sanskrit word ताम्रकूट (*tâmrakûṭa*), 'at a very early period, long before the reign of Akbar.' If he can prove such use, is it quite certain that the word meant 'tobacco'? The word looks like a Sanskritized rendering of the vernacular *tambâkû* etc., which is always assumed to represent an American word.

(2) At what depth and exactly in what circumstances were the Sârnâth 'hubble-bubbles' found? Everybody knows that excavations at ancient sites produce objects of all periods, and no inference can be drawn from finds of small objects, unless the exact particulars of their discovery are recorded accurately.

The subject is of interest sufficient to justify careful enquiry. There is no doubt that to Akbar himself the herb tobacco was an absolute novelty. The story of its introduction to him is told in von Noer's book.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

1st September, 1909.

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64 In *śloka* metre.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The places mentioned in the Pārḍī plates of A. D. 456 or 457.

THE record on the Pārḍī plates was brought to notice and edited, but without a lithograph, by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI, p. 346 ff. It is now being re-edited by Professor Hultzsch, with a facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The plates were found in 1884, in digging a tank at Pārḍī, the head-quarters town of the Pārḍī subdivision of the Surat District in Gujarāt, Bombay.

The charter contained on these plates was issued by the Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Dahrasēna from his "victorious camp" located at **Āmrakā.** It conveyed to a Brāhmaṇ named Naṇṇasvāmin, a resident of **Kāpura,** a village named **Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā,** "the smaller or younger (later) Taḍākāsārikā," situated in a territorial division known as the **Antarmaṇḍalī vishaya.** It is dated on Vaiśākha śukla 13, the year 207. The year is the year 207 of the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi era of A. D. 249 : and the date falls in 456 A. D. if the year is taken as current ; in 457 A. D. if it is taken as expired.

I identify **Kāpura** with a fairly large village on or near the southern bank of the River Miṇḍhōḷā, also called 'Madāo,' the ancient Mandākinī and Madāvi,[1] three miles south-south-west from Vyārā, the head-quarters town of the Vyārā sub-division of the Baroda State : the place is shown as '**Kapura**' in the Indian Atlas quarter-sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888), in lat. 21° 4′, long. 73° 25′, and in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 34 (1882) of Gujarāt. And, bearing in mind the great and sometimes apparently irregular changes which many place-names in Gujarāt have undergone, as is illustrated in some of my previous Notes of this series, we have no difficulty in identifying **Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā** with the '**Tarsari,**' '**Tarsári,**' of the maps, fifteen miles almost due west from 'Kapura,' and about half-way between the Miṇḍhōḷā and the Pūrṇā : there is another 'Tarsari,' 'Tarsári,' apparently a larger village, ten miles south-west-by-west from it, on the south bank of the Pūrṇā ; and the existence of this latter village may account for the village which was granted being known as "the smaller or younger (later) Taḍākāsārikā." I take the appellation **Antarmaṇḍalī vishaya** as meaning **"the district of the territory between" the Miṇḍhōḷā** on the north and **the Pūrṇā** on the south. From the mention of the **Kāpura āhāra** in the inscription dealt with in my next Note, we learn that Kāpura was the chief town of, and gave its name to, a subdivision of the Antarmaṇḍalī *vishaya.*

The place **Āmrakā,** at which Dahrasēna was encamped when he made the grant, may possibly be the '**Ambachh,**' '**Âmbáchh,**' of the maps, about two miles towards the south-west from 'Kapura.' But it would not necessarily be anywhere near the other places mentioned in the record.

The places mentioned in the Nāsik inscription of A. D. 120.

An inscription in Cave No. 10 on the so-called Pāṇḍulēṇa Hill, about five miles south-west of Nāsik, has been edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI, p. 573, by Professor Bühler in *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 102, No. 9, and by M. Senart in the *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 82, No. 12. It registers the fact that in the year 42, in the month Vaiśākha, Dīnīkaputra-Ushavadāta, son-in-law of the king the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna, presented the cave to the community of monks from all the four quarters. The year is the year 42 (expired) of the so-called Śaka era of A. D. 78 : and the given month falls in A. D. 120. Amongst the endowments of the cave, the record mentions

[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXI (1902), p. 254 f.

a sum of 8,000 *kāhāpaṇas* invested in cocoanut-trees at a village named **Chikhalapadra** in a territorial division known as the **Kāpura āhāra**:[2] and, at the rate of 1000 *kāhāpaṇas* for from 200 to 300 cocoanut-trees, indicated in another of the Nāsik inscriptions,[3] this endowment represents a plantation of from 1600 to 2400 trees, a fairly large one.

Now, there are no such names as Kāpura and Chikhalapadra anywhere in the Nāsik District: and I may add that any such name as Kāpura is not found anywhere except in the cases of the 'Kapura' mentioned above in my Note on the Pārḍī plates, and of a 'Kapurai' also in Baroda, and a 'Kapuria' in the Broach District. Also, it does not appear that the Nāsik District is adapted to the cultivation of the cocoanut-tree to any appreciable extent. On the other hand, the name Chikhalapadra is of common enough occurrence, in various corrupted forms, in Gujārat, where the cocoanut-tree is largely cultivated. In these circumstances, I identify the **Kāpura** which gave its name to the **Kāpura āhāra** of the Nāsik inscription with '**Kapura**' in the Vyārā subdivision of the Baroda State, the exact position of which is given on page 97 above. And we find **Chikhalapadra** in the '**Chikhalda**' of the maps, on the south bank of the Miṇḍhōḷā, two and a half miles east-north-east from 'Kapura': I have mentioned above that many place-names in Gujarāt have undergone great and sometimes apparently irregular changes; and we have a case which is closely analogous to the present one in the modern 'Wardla,' = the ancient Vaṭapadraka.[4]

This identification locates the plantation of cocoanut-trees about eighty miles north-north-west-half-north from the cave where the community of monks, to which it was granted, had its head-quarters. And the monks must of course have visited the property from time to time, to check the cultivation of it and collect the revenue. But no difficulty need be felt on that account. In the first place, the monks were always wandering about the country, except when they were in retreat during the rains. And secondly, there would be good access through a variety of ghauts from the Pāṇḍulēṇa Hill to Peint (Pēṭh), and thence to the open country of Gujarāt, along the route now followed by the road from Peint to Pārḍī, as far as a point about forty-five miles south-south-west from 'Kapura,' with easy travelling from that point up to 'Kapura' and 'Chikhalda': or, indeed, there may have been an almost direct way from the neighbourhood of Nāsik by the great trading-route between Broach and Tagara, the modern Tēr,[5] which, if it did not itself go *viâ* Peint, must have passed somewhere near to Vyārā.

[2] The words in the text, line 4, are:— Kāpur-āhārē cha gāmē Chikhalapadrē datāni nāḷigērāna mula sahasrāni aṭha 8000; where three of them stand for *dattāni nāḷigērānam mūlam*. This passage was taken by Bhagwanlal as indicating "eight thousand cocoanut palms," and by Senart as meaning "eight thousand stems of cocoanut trees." For reasons given in the next note, I follow Bühler, who, understanding *kāhāpaṇa* from other parts of the record, translated "eight thousand, 8000, have been given as the price for cocoanut trees."

[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 569; *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 99, No. 5; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 78, No. 10. The words here, in line 3 of the record, are:— grāmē Nānaṁgōlē dvātriśata-nāḷigēra-mūla-sahasra-pradēna; the instrumental being in apposition with *Ushavadātēna* in line 1. Taking *dvātriśata* as meaning 'thirty-two,'—(in which case, however, the text ought to have presented *dvātiṁsa* or *dvātisa*),—and understanding *kāhāpaṇa* from line 4 and similar indications elsewhere, Bühler translated "who has given, in the village of Nānaṁgola, one thousand as the price of thirty-two cocoanut trees." Taking *dvātriśata* in the same way, but observing that "the word *mūla* literally means 'a stem or trunk,' but according to local usage it seems to be used for 'tree,'" Bhagwanlal translated "who has bestowed in gift thirty-two thousand cocoanut trees in the village Nānaṁgola." And, following that, Senart has translated "who has given thirty-two thousand stems of cocoanut trees at the village Nānaṁgola."

Whereas, however, a grant of only 32 trees would be somewhat insignificant, a grant of 32,000 would be decidedly excessive: at the rate of 170 cocoanut-trees to one acre, which is indicated in the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIII, p. 298, such a plantation would require close on 190 acres, which would certainly be far in excess of the average size of such properties, even in Gujarāt. Moreover, there are various plain indications in the Nāsik inscriptions that the word *mūla* is there used, throughout, in the sense of 'a principal sum invested or to be invested.' The sense is perfectly reasonable, if we take *dvā-tri-śata* just as it stands, and understand it as meaning 'two or three hundred.'

[4] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXI (1902), p. 256.

[5] See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1901, p. 537 ff.

I may add that, for the identification of **Nānaṁgōla,** where another cocoanut-tree plantation was granted to the same community of monks (see note 3 above), Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed[6] the modern '**Nārgol,**' close to Sañjāṇ in the Ṭhāṇa District, about seventy miles towards west-by-north from the Pāṇḍulēna Hill. The identification seems probable enough, through such forms as Nāngōl, Nālgōl. At any rate, no better proposal can be made.

The places mentioned in the Harihar Plates of A. D. 694.

The record on these plates has been edited by me, with a lithograph, in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 300 ff., and since then by Mr. Rice, with another lithograph, in his *Epigraphia Carnatica,* Vol. XI (Chitaldroog), Dāvaṇgere No. 66. The plates appear to be in the possession of one of the Kuḷkarṇīs at Harihar in the Chitaldroog District, Mysore.

The charter contained on these plates was issued by the Western Chalukya King Vinayāditya from his "victorious camp" located at the village **Karañjapatra** near **Harēshapura** or **Harishapura.** It is dated in the Saka year 616 expired, and on the full-moon day of the month Kārttika, falling in A. D. 694. It conveyed to a Brāhmaṇ named Īśānavarman a village named **Kiṟu-Kāgāmāsi,** "the smaller or younger (later) Kāgāmāsi," which was situated in a territorial division known as the **Eḍevoḷal bhōga** in the **Vanavāsi maṇḍala** or province: also a field in the western part of the village **Per-Gāgāmasi,** "the larger or older Kāgāmāsi." In specifying the boundaries of the field, it presents various place-names, one of which, **Sirigōḍu,** can be identified as the name of a village: the others may denote villages or hamlets which do not now exist, or fields and tanks.

The **Eḍevoḷal bhōga** is mentioned again in the Sorab plates of A. D. 692,[7] where it is described as **a vishaya on the north-east in the neighbourhood of the city Vaijayantī.** It is well-known that **Vaijayantī** is another name of the place which is mentioned as **Vanavāsi** in the record with which we are dealing: it is the modern **Banawāsi,** in the Sirsi subdivision of the North Kanara District, Bombay, which is shown as 'Bannawassi,' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827), and as 'Banvasi' in the quarter-sheet No. 42, N. E. (1894), in lat. 14° 32′, long. 75° 4′. And with this guide we find **Kiṟu-Kāgāmāsi** in the modern '**Chik Kowsee**' of the Atlas sheet, and **Per-Gāgāmāsi** in the '**Heereh Kowsee**' of the full sheet, the '**Hire Kavasi**' of the quarter-sheet, one mile on the south-west of 'Chik Kowsee.' In the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879), these names are presented as '**Chikkānsi**' and '**Hirekāwsi.**' The second component of the name is, no doubt, really **Kāwuṁsi**; one which the ordinary official would naturally find it difficult to transliterate properly. The prefixes *hire* and *chik*, *i. e.*, *chikka*, are the modern substitutes for the ancient *per*, *pēr*, and *kiṟi*, *kiṟu*. **Sirigōḍu** is the '**Seergor**' of the Atlas sheet, = **Sirgōḍ,** one mile and a half north-by-west from 'Chik Kowsee.'[8] It may be added that later inscriptions in the Hāngal tāluka, from the ninth century onwards, including some at Kēsnūr, Kyāsanūr, the ancient Kēsalūr, two miles on the west of 'Chik Kowsee,' mention the Eḍevoḷal *bhōga* more specifically as the **Eḍevoḷal seventy,** marking it as a small district of seventy villages. In the name Eḍevoḷal, the second component is *poḷal*, *hoḷal*, *hoḷalu*, 'a town.' The place which bore this name, and gave the appellation to the district, does not seem to exist now, unless it can be found in 'Chik Hoolal,' or 'Heera Hoolal,' seven or eight miles east-by-south from Hāngal.

Harēshapura or **Harishapura** is supposed to be the modern Harihar, in Mysore, fifty-one miles nearly due east from Banawāsi. But there cannot at present be found in that neighbourhood any name answering to that of the village **Karañjapatra,** where Vinayāditya was encamped when he made the grant.

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6 *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 572, note 1.

7 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 149.

8 The quarter-sheet is practically confined to Mysore; and, though it shows 'Banvasi' and 'Hire Kavasi,' which are close on the frontier, it does not extend as far as the other two places.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V — XV).

Translated by

R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.

Librarian, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.[65]

(*Continued from p. 96.*)

Chapter IV.

Consideration about loss of men, wealth, and profit.

(Kshayavyayalâbhaviparimarśah.)

Loss of trained men is what is called *kshaya*, loss of men.

Diminution of gold and grains is loss of wealth.

When the expected profit overweighs both these, then one should march (against an enemy).

The characteristics of an expected profit are :—that which is receivable, that which is to be returned, that which pleases all, that which excites hatred, that which is realised in a short time, that which entails little loss of men to earn, that which entails little loss of wealth to earn, that which is vast, that which is productive, that which is harmless, that which is just, and that which comes first.

When a profit is easily acquired and secured without the necessity of returning it to others, it is termed 'receivable'; that which is of the reverse nature is 'repayable'; whoever goes to receive a repayable profit or is enjoying it gets destruction.

When he, however, thinks that "by taking a repayable profit, I shall cause my enemy's treasury, army and other defensive resources to dwindle; I shall exploit to impoverishment the mines, timber and elephant forests, irrigational works, and roads of traffic of my enemy; I shall impoverish his subjects, or cause them to migrate, or conspire against him; when they are reduced to this condition, my enemy inflames their hatred (by punishing them); or I shall set my enemy against another enemy; my enemy will give up his hopes and run away to one who has some blood-relationship with him; or having improved his lands, I shall return them to him, and when he is thus brought to ascendency, he will be a lasting friend of mine,"—then he may take even a repayable profit. Thus receivable and repayable profits are explained.

That profit which a virtuous king receives from a wicked king pleases both his own and other people; that which is of the reverse nature excites hatred; that profit which is received at the advice of ministers excites hatred, for they think, "This king has reduced our party and impoverished us." That profit which is received without caring for the opinion of treacherous ministers excites hatred, for they think, "Having made the profit, this king destroys us." But that which is of the reverse nature pleases. Thus pleasing and provoking profits are explained.

That which is acquired by mere marching is what is acquired soon.

That which is to be realised by negotiation (*mantrasâdhya*[66]) entails little loss of men.

That which requires merely the expenditure of provisions (for servants employed to earn it) entails little loss of wealth.

That which is immediately of considerable value is vast.

That which is the source of wealth is productive.

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[65] The first four books have been published in the *Mysore Review* 1906-1908.

[66] The word, '*mantra*,' is used in various shades of meaning : sometimes it means intrigue or treachery and sometimes negotiation.

That which is attained with no troubles is harmless.

That which is acquired best is just.

That which is acquired without any hindrance from allies is profit coming first.

When profits (from two sources) are equal, he should consider the place and time, the strength and means (required to acquire it), affection and disaffection (caused by it), intrigue and absence of intrigue (involving it), its nearness and distance, its present and future effects, its constant worth or worthlessness, and its plentifulness and usefulness; and he should accept only that profit which is possessed of most of the above good characteristics.

Obstructions to profit are:—passion, anger, timidity, mercy, bashfulness, living like one who is not an Ârya, haughtiness, pity, desire for the other world, strict adherence to virtuous life, deception, neediness, envy, negligence of what is at hand, generosity, want of faith, fear, inability to endure cold, heat, and rain, and faith in the auspiciousness of lunar days and stars.

(*a*) Wealth will pass away from that childish man who inquires most after the stars; for wealth is the star for wealth; what will the stars do?

(*b*) Capable men will certainly secure wealth at least after a hundred trials; and wealth is bound by wealth just as elephants are bound by counter-elephants.[67]

Chapter V.

External and internal dangers (Bahyâbhyantarâśchâpadah).

The formation of a treaty and other settlements otherwise than they ought to have been made is impolicy. From it arise dangers.

The various kinds of dangers are:—that which is of external origin and of internal abetment; that which is of internal origin and of external abetment; that which is of external origin and of external abetment; and that which is of internal origin and of internal abetment.

Where foreigners carry on an intrigue with local men or local men with foreigners, there the consequences of the intrigue carried on by the combination of local and foreign persons will be very serious. Abettors of an intrigue have a better chance of success than its originators; for when the originators of an intrigue are put down, others will hardly succeed in undertaking any other intrigue. Foreigners can hardly win over local persons by intrigue; nor can local men seduce foreigners. Foreigners will find their vast efforts after all unavailing, and only conducive to the prosperity of the king (against whom they want to conspire).

When local persons are abetting (with foreigners), the means to be employed to suppress them are conciliation (*sâma*) and gifts (*dâna*).

The act of pleasing a man with a high rank and honour is conciliation; favour and remission of taxes or employment to conduct State-works is what is termed gifts.

When foreigners are abetting, the king should employ the policy of dissension and coercion. Spies under the guise of friends may inform foreigners, "Mind, this man is desirous of deceiving you with the help of his own spies who are disguised as traitors." Spies under the garb of traitors may mix with traitors and separate them from foreigners, or foreigners from local traitors. Fiery spies may make friendship with traitors and kill them with weapons or poison; or having invited the plotting foreigners, they may murder the latter.

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[67] *a* and *b* are in *śloka* metre.

Where foreigners carry on an intrigue with foreigners, or local men with local men, there the consequences of the intrigue, unanimously carried on with a set purpose, will be very serious. When guilt is got rid of, there will be no guilty persons; but when a guilty person is got rid of, the guilt will contaminate others. Hence, when foreigners carry on an intrigue, the king should employ the policy of dissension and coercion. Spies under the guise of friends may inform foreign conspirators, " Mind, this your king, with the desire of enriching himself, is naturally provoked against you all." Then fiery spies may mix with the servants and soldiers of the abettor (of foreign conspirators) and kill them with weapons, poison, and other means. Other spies may then expose or betray the abettor.

When local men carry on an intrigue with local men, the king should employ necessary strategic means to put it down. He may employ the policy of conciliation with regard to those who keep the appearance of contentment, or who are naturally discontented or otherwise. Gifts may be given under the pretext of having been satisfied with a favoured man's steadfastness in maintaining the purity of his character, or under the plea of anxious care about his weal and woe. A spy under the garb of a friend may tell the local persons, " Your king is attempting to find your heart; you should tell him the truth." Or local men may be separated from each other, by telling them, " This man carries such a tale to the king against you." And coercive measures may be employed as described in the Chapter on " Awards of punishments[68]."

Of these four kinds of danger, internal danger should first be got rid of; for it has been already stated that internal troubles like the fear from a lurking snake are more serious than external troubles.

" One must consider that of these four kinds of danger, that which is mentioned first is less grave than the one subsequently mentioned, whether or not it is caused by powerful persons; otherwise (*i. e.*, when the danger is caused by insignificant persons), simple means may be used to get rid of it.[69]

Chapter VI.

Persons associated with traitors and enemies (Dûshyaśatrusamyuktâh.)

There are two kinds of innocent persons, those who have disassociated themselves from traitors and those who have kept themselves away from enemies.

In order to separate citizens and country-people from traitors, the king should employ all the strategic means, except coercion. It is very difficult to inflict punishment on an assembly of influential men; and if inflicted at all, it may not produce the desired effect, but may give rise to undesirable consequences. He may, however, take steps against the leaders of the seditious as shown in the chapter on " Awards of punishments". [70]

In order to separate his people from an enemy, he should employ conciliation and other strategic means to frustrate the attempt of those who are the enemy's principal agents or by whom the enemy's work is to be carried out.

Success in securing the services of capable agents depends upon the king; success of efforts depends upon ministers; and success to be achieved through capable agents is, therefore, dependent both upon the king and his ministers.

When, in spite of the combination of traitors and loyal persons, success is achieved, it is mixed success; when people are thus mixed, success is to be achieved through the agency of loyal persons; for in the absence of a support, nothing that requires a support for its existence can exist. When success is involved in the union of friends and enemies, it is termed a success contaminated by an enemy; when success is contaminated by an enemy, it is to be achieved through the agency of a friend; for it is easy to attain success through a friend, but not through an enemy.

[68] Chapter 1, Book V. [69] In *śloka* metre. [70] Chapter 1, Book V.

When a friend does not come to terms, intrigue should be frequently resorted to. Through the agency of spies, the friend should be won over after separating him from the enemy. Or attempts may be made to win him over who is the last among combined friends; for when he who is the last among combined friends is secured, those who occupy the middle rank will be separated from each other; or attempts may be made to win over a friend who occupies middle rank; for when a friend occupying middle rank among combined kings is secured, friends, occupying the extreme ranks cannot keep the union. (In brief), all those measures which tend to break their combination should be employed.

A virtuous king may be conciliated by praising his birth, family, learning, and character, and by pointing out the relationship which his ancestors had (with the proposer of peace), or by describing the benefits and absence of enmity shown to him.

Or a king who is of good intentions, or who has lost his enthusiastic spirits, or whose strategic means are all exhausted and thwarted in a number of wars, or who has lost his men and wealth, or who has suffered from sojourning abroad, or who is desirous of gaining a friend in good faith, or who is apprehensive of danger from another, or who cares more for friendship than anything else, may be won over by conciliation.

Or a king who is greedy or who has lost his men may be won over by giving gifts through the medium of ascetics and chiefs who have been previously kept with him for the purpose.

Gifts are of five kinds :— abandonment of what is to be paid; continuance of what is being given; repayment of what is received; payment of one's own wealth; and help for a voluntary raid on the property of others.

When any two kings are apprehensive of enmity and seizure of land from each other, seeds of dissension may be sown between them. The timid of the two may be threatened with destruction and may be told, "Having made peace with you, this king works against you; the friend of this other king is permitted to make an open peace."

When from one's own country or from another's country merchandise or commodities for manufacture in a manufactory are going to an enemy's country, spies may spread the information that those commodities are obtained from one whom the enemy wanted to march against. When commodities are thus gathered in abundance (the owner of the articles) may send a message to the enemy, "these commodities and merchandise are sent by me to you; please declare war against the combined kings or desert them; you will then get the rest of the tribute." Then spies may inform the other kings of the combination, "these articles are given to him by your enemy".

The conqueror may gather some merchandise peculiar to his enemy's country and unknown elsewhere. Spies, under the garb of merchants, may sell that merchandise to other important enemies and tell them that that merchandise was given (to the conqueror) by the enemy (whose country's product it is).

Or having pleased with wealth and honour those who are highly treacherous (among an enemy's people), the conqueror may cause them to live with the enemy, armed with weapons, poison, and fire. One of the ministers of the enemy may be killed. His sons and wife may be induced to say that the minister was killed at night (by such and such a person). Then the enemy's minister may ask every one of the family of the murdered minister (as to the cause of the death). If they say in reply as they are told they may be caused to be set free; if they do not do so, they may be caused to be caught hold of. Whoever has gained the confidence of the king may tell the king (the enemy) that he (the enemy) has to guard his own person from such and such a minister. Then the recipient of salaries from the two States (the conqueror's and the enemy's State) may inform the suspected minister to destroy (the king).

Or such kings as are possessed of enthusiasm and power may be told, " seize the country of this king, our treaty of peace standing as before ". Then spies should inform the particular king of the attempt of these kings and cause the destruction of the commissariat and of the followers of one of these kings. Other spies, pretending to be friends, should inform these kings of the necessity of destroying the particular king.

When an enemy's brave soldier, elephant, or horse dies, or is killed, or carried off by spies, other spies may tell the enemy that the death is due to mutual conflict among his followers. The man who is employed to commit such murders may be asked to repeat his work again on the condition of his receiving the balance due to him. He should receive the amount from the recipient of salaries from two States ; when the king's party is thus divided, some may be won over (to the side of the conqueror).

This explains the case of the commander-in-chief, the prince, and the officers of the army (of the enemy).

Likewise seeds of dissension may be sown among combined States. Thus the work of sowing the seeds of dissension.

Spies under concealment may, without the help of a fiery spy, murder by means of weapons, poison or other things a fortified enemy who is of mean character or who is under troubles ; any one of hidden spies may do the work when it is found easy; or a fiery spy alone may do the work by means of weapons, poison, or fire ; for a fiery spy can do what others require all the necessary aids to do.

Thus the four forms of strategic means.

Of these means, that which comes first in the order of enumeration is, as stated in connection with " invaders ", easier than the rest. Conciliation is of single quality ; gift is two-fold, since conciliation precedes it; dissension is threefold, since conciliation and gift precede it; and conciliatory coercion is fourfold, since conciliation, gift, and dissension precede it.

The same means are employed in the case of local enemies, too ; the difference is this :— the chief messengers known to the manufactories may be sent to any one of the local enemies in order to employ him for the purpose of making a treaty or for the purpose of destroying another person. When he agrees to the proposal, the messengers should inform (their master) of their success. Then recipients of salaries from two States should inform the people or enemies concerned in the local enemy's work,—" This person (the local enemy) is your wicked king. " When a person has reason to fear or hate another, spies may augment dissension between them by telling one of them, " This man is making an agreement with your enemy, and will soon deceive you ; hence make peace (with the king) soon and attempt to put down this man." Or by bringing about friendship or marriage connection between persons who have not been hitherto connected, spies may separate them from others ; or through the aid of a neighbouring king, a wild chief, a scion of an enemy's family, or an imprisoned prince, local enemies may be destroyed outside the kingdom ; or through the agency of a caravan or wild tribes, a local enemy may be killed along with his army ; or persons, pretending to be the supporters of a local enemy and who are of the same caste, may under favourable opportunities kill him ; or spies under concealment may kill local enemies with fire, poison, and weapons.

When the country is full of local enemies, they may be got rid of by making them drink poisonous (liquids) ; an obstinate (clever) enemy may be destroyed by spies or by means of (poisoned) flesh given to him in good faith.[71]

[71] In *śloka* metre.

Chapter VII.

Doubts about wealth and harm; and success to be obtained by the employment of alternative strategic means. (Arthânartha-samśayayuktâh ; tâsâmupâyavikalpajâssiddhayaścha).

Intensity of desire and other passions provoke one's own people; impolicy provokes external enemies. Both these are the characteristics of demoniac life. Anger disturbs the feelings of one's own men. Those causes which are conducive to the prosperity of one's enemy are dangerous wealth, provocative wealth, and wealth of doubtful consequences.

Wealth which, when obtained, increases the enemy's prosperity, or which, though obtained, is repayable to the enemy, or which causes loss of men and money, is dangerous wealth; for example, wealth which is enjoyed in common by neighbouring kings and which is acquired at their expense; or wealth which is asked for by an enemy; or wealth which is seized like one's own property; or wealth which is acquired in the front and which causes future troubles or provokes an enemy in the rear; or wealth which is obtained by destroying a friend or by breaking a treaty and which is therefore detested by the Circle of States,—all these are the varieties of dangerous wealth.

Wealth which causes fear from one's own people or from an enemy is provocative wealth.

When, in connection with these two kinds of wealth, there arise doubts, such as, "Is it provocative wealth or not? Harmless wealth or provocative wealth? First provocative and then harmless? Is it profitable to encourage an enemy or a friend? Would the bestowal of wealth and honour on an enemy's army excite hatred or not?"

Of these doubts, doubt regarding the acquirement of wealth is preferable to (doubts regarding harm or provocation).

Wealth productive of wealth; wealth productive of nothing; wealth productive of harm; loss or harm productive of wealth; sustenance of harm for no profit; harm productive of harm,—these are the six varieties of harmful wealth.

Destruction of an enemy in the front resulting in the destruction of an enemy in the rear is what is termed "wealth productive of wealth".

Wealth acquired by helping a neutral king with the army is what is called "wealth productive of nothing."

The reduction of the internal strength of an enemy is "wealth productive of harm."

Helping the neighbouring king of an enemy with men and money is "harm productive of wealth."

Withdrawal after encouraging or setting a king of poor resources (against another) is "harm productive of nothing."

Inactivity after causing excitement to a superior king is "harm productive of harm."

Of these, it is better to pursue that which is mentioned first in the order of enumeration than that which is subsequently mentioned. Thus the procedure of setting to work.

When the surrounding circumstances are conducive to wealth, it is known as wealth from all sides.

When the acquirement of wealth from all sides is obstructed by an enemy in the rear, it takes the form of dangerous wealth involved in doubts.

In these two cases, success can be achieved by securing the help of a friend and the enemy of the rear-enemy.

When there is reason to apprehend fear from enemies on all sides, it is a dangerous trouble; when a friend comes forward to avert this fear, that trouble becomes involved in doubt. In these two cases, success can be achieved by securing the support of a nomadic enemy and the enemy of the rear-enemy.

When the prospect of acquiring profit from one or the other side is irremediably obstructed by enemies, it is called "dangerous wealth." In this case as well as in the case of profit from all sides, one should undertake to march for acquiring profitable wealth. When the prospects of getting wealth (from two sides) are equal, one should march to secure that which is important, near, unfailing, and obtainable by easy means.

When there is the apprehension of harm from one quarter as well as from another, it is wealth beset with danger from two sides. In this case as well as in the case of wealth involved in danger from all sides, success is to be desired with the help of friends. In the absence of friends, he should attempt to ward off harm from one side with the help of an ally who can be easily won over; he should ward off harm from two sides with help of an ally of superior power; and he should ward off harm from all sides with all the resources he can command. When it is impossible to do this, he should run away, leaving all that belongs to him; for if he lives, his return to power is certain as in the case of *Suyâtra* and *Udayana*.

When there is the prospect of wealth from one side and the apprehension of an attack from another, it is termed a situation beset with wealth and harm. In this case he should march to acquire that wealth which will enable him to ward off the attack; otherwise he should attempt to avert the attack. This explains the situation which is beset with wealth and harm on all sides.

When there is the apprehension of harm from one side and when the prospect of acquiring wealth from another side is involved in doubt, it is termed doubt of harm and wealth from two sides. In this, he should ward off the harm first; when this is done, he should attempt to acquire the doubtful wealth. This explains the doubtful situation of harm and wealth from all sides.

When there is the prospect of wealth from one side and the apprehension of doubtful harm from another, it is a doubtful situation of harm and wealth from two sides. This explains the situation of doubtful harm and wealth from all sides. In this he should attempt to ward off the doubts of harm against each of the elements of his sovereignty in order; for it is better to leave a friend under circumstances of doubtful harm than the army; also the army may be left under circumstances of doubtful harm, but not the treasury. When all the elements of his sovereignty cannot be relieved from harm, he should attempt to relieve some of them at least. Among the elements, he should attempt to relieve first those animate elements which are most loyal, and free from firebrands and greedy men; of inanimate elements (he should relieve) that which is most precious and useful. Such elements as are capable of easy relief may be relieved by such means as an agreement of peace, observance of neutrality, and making peace with one and waging war with another. Those which require greater efforts may be relieved by other means.

Of deterioration, stagnation and progress, he should attempt to secure that which is mentioned later in the order of enumeration; or in the reverse order, if he finds that deterioration and other stages are conducive to future prosperity. Thus the determination of situations. This explains the situation of doubtful harm and wealth in the middle or at the close of a march.

Since doubts of wealth and harm are constantly associated with all expeditions, it is better to secure wealth by which it is easy to destroy an enemy in the rear and his allies, to recoup the loss of men and money, to make provisions during the time of sojourning abroad, to make good what is repayable, and to defend the State. Also harm or doubtful prospects of wealth in one's own State are always intolerable.

This explains the situation of doubtful harm in the middle of an expedition. But at the close of an expedition, it is better to acquire wealth either by reducing or destroying a reducible or assailable enemy than to get into a situation of doubtful harm, lest enemies might cause troubles. But, for one who is not the leader of combination of states, it is better to risk the situation of doubtful wealth or harm in the middle or at the close of an expedition, since one is not obliged to continue the expedition.

Wealth, virtue, and enjoyment form the aggregate of the three kinds of wealth. Of these, it is better to secure that which is mentioned first than that which is subsequently mentioned in the order of enumeration.

Harm, sin and grief form the aggregate of the three kinds of harm. Of these it is better to provide against that which is mentioned first than that which is subsequently mentioned.

Wealth or harm, virtue or sin, and enjoyment or grief, are the aggregate of the three kinds of doubts. Of these, it is better to try that which is mentioned first than that which is mentioned later in the order of enumeration, and which it is certain to shake off. Thus the determination of opportunities. Thus ends the discourse on danger.

Regarding success in these dangerous situations and times :—in the case of troubles from sons, brothers or relatives, it is better to secure relief by means of conciliation and gifts; in the case of troubles from citizens, country people, or chiefs of the army, it is by means of gifts and sowing the seeds of dissension; in the case of troubles from a neighbouring king or wild tribes, it is by means of sowing the seeds of dissension and coercion. This is following the order of the means. In other kinds of situations the same means may be employed in the reverse order.

Success against friends and enemies is always achieved by complicated means; for strategic means help each other. In the case of suspected ministers of an enemy, the employment of conciliation does not need the use of the other means; in the case of treacherous ministers it is by means of gifts; in the case of combination of States, it is by means of sowing the seeds of dissension; and in the case of the powerful, it is by means of coercion.

When grave and light dangers are together apprehended, a particular means, or alternative means or all the means may be employed.

By this alone, but not by any other means, is what is meant by a particular means.

By this or that, is what is meant by alternative means.

By this as well as by that, is what is meant by all the means.

Of these, the single means as well as the combination of any three means are four; the combinations of any two means are six; and the combination of all the four is one. Thus there are fifteen kinds of strategic means. Of the same number are the means in the reverse order.

When a king attains success by only one means among these various means, he is called one of single success; when by two, one of double success; when by three, one of treble success; and when by four, one of four-fold success.

As virtue is the basis of wealth and as enjoyment is the end of wealth, success in achieving that kind of wealth which promotes virtue, wealth and enjoyment is termed success in all (*sarvârthasiddhi*). Thus varieties of success.

Such providential visitations as fire, floods, disease, pestilence (*pramara*), fever (*vidrava*), famine, and demoniac troubles are dangerous.

Success in averting these is to be sought by worshipping gods and Brâhmans.

Whether demoniacal troubles are absent, or are too many, or normal, the rites prescribed in the *Atharvaveda* as well as the rites undertaken by accomplished ascetics are to be performed for success.[72]

[72] In *śloka* metre.

Book X.

Relating to war (Sângrâmikam).

Chapter I.

Encampment (Skandhâvaraniveśah).

On a site declared to be the best according to the science of buildings, the leader (Nâyaka), the carpenter (Vardhaki), and the astrologer (Mauhûrtika) should measure a circular, rectangular, or square spot for the camp which should, in accordance with the available space, consist of four gates, six roads, and nine divisions.

Provided with ditches, parapets, walls, doors, and watch towers for defence against fear, the quarters of the king, 1,000 bows (900 feet) long and half as broad, should be situated in one of the nine divisions to the north from the centre, while to the west of it his harem, and at its extremity the army of the harem are to be situated. In his front, the place for worshipping gods; to his right the departments of finance and accounts; and to his left the quarters of elephants and horses mounted by the king himself. Outside this and at a distance of 100 bows from each other, there should be fixed four cart-poles (*śakaṭamedi*), pillars and walls. In the first (of these four divisions), the prime minister and the priest (should have their quarters); to its right the store-house and the kitchen; to its left the store of raw products and weapons; in the second division the quarters of the hereditary army and of horses and chariots; outside this, hunters and keepers of dogs with their trumpets and with fire; also spies and sentinels; also to prevent the attack of enemies, wells, mounds and thorns should be arranged. The eighteen divisions of sentinels employed for the purpose of securing the safety of the king should be changing their watches in turn. In order to ascertain the movements of spies, a time-table of business should also be prepared during the day. Disputes, drinking, social gatherings, and gambling should also be prohibited. The system of passports should also be observed. The officer in charge of the boundary (of the camp) should supervise the conduct of the commander-in-chief and the observance of the instructions given to the army.

The instructor (*praśâstâ*) with his retinue and with carpenters and free labourers should carefully march in front on the road, and should dig wells of water.[73]

Chapter II.

March of the camp; and protection of the army in times of distress and attack: (Skandhâvâraprayâṇam; balavyasanâvaskandakâlarakshaṇam).

Having prepared a list of the villages and forests situated on the road with reference to their capacity to supply grass, firewood and water, march of the army should be regulated according to the programme of short and long halts. Food-stuffs and provisions should be carried in double the quantity that may be required in any emergency. In the absence of separate means to carry food-stuffs, the army itself should be entrusted with the business of carrying them; or they may be stored in a central place.

In front the leader (Nâyaka); in the centre the harem and the master (the king); on the sides horses and body-guards (*bâhûtsâra*); at the extremity of the (marching) circular array, elephants and the surplus army; on all sides the army habituated to forest-life; and other troops following the camp, the commissariat, the army of an ally, and his followers should select their own road; for armies who have secured suitable positions will prove superior in fight to those who are in bad positions.

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[73] In *śloka* metre.

The army of the lowest quality can march a *yojana* ($6\frac{9}{11}$ miles a day); that of the middle quality a *yojana* and a half; and the best army two *yojanas*. Hence it is easy to ascertain the rate of march. The commander should march behind and put up his camp in the front.

In case of any obstruction, the army should march in crocodile array in the front, in cart-like array behind, and on the sides in diamond-like array (*i. e.*, in four or five rows, each having its front, rear and sides); and in a compact array on all sides. When the army is marching on a path passable by a single man, it should march in pin-like array. When peace is made with one and war is to be waged with another, steps should be taken to protect the friends who are bringing help against enemies, such as an enemy in the rear, his ally, a *madhyama* king, or a neutral king. Roads with obstructions should be examined and cleared. Finance, the army, the strength of the armies of friends, enemies, and wild tribes, the prospect of rains, and the seasons should be thoroughly examined.

When the protective power of fortifications and stores (of the enemies) is on its decay, when it is thought that distress of the hired army or of a friend's army (of the enemy) is impending; when intriguers are not for a quick march; or when the enemy is likely to come to terms (with the invader), slow march should be made; otherwise quick march should be made.

Waters may be crossed by means of elephants, planks spread over pillars erected, bridges, boats, timber and mass of bamboos, as well as by means of dry sour gourds, big baskets covered with skins, rafts, *gaṇḍikâ* (?), and *vaṇikâ* (?).

When the crossing of a river is obstructed by the enemy, the invader may cross it elsewhere togther with his elephants and horses, and entangle the enemy in an ambuscade (*sattra*).

He should protect his army when it has to pass a long desert without water; when it is without grass, firewood and water; when it has to traverse a difficult road; when it is harassed by an enemy's attacks; when it is suffering from hunger and thirst after a journey; when it is ascending or descending a mountainous country full of mire, water-pools, rivers and cataracts; when it finds itself crowded in a narrow and difficult path; when it is halting, starting or eating; when it is tired from a long march; when it is sleepy; when it is suffering from a disease, pestilence or famine; when a great portion of its infantry, cavalry and elephants is diseased; when it is not sufficiently strong; or when it is under troubles. He should destroy the enemy's army under such circumstances.

When the enemy's army is marching through a path traversable by a single man, the commander (of the invader's army) should ascertain its strength by estimating the quantity of food-stuffs, grass, bedding, and other requisites, fire pots (*agninidhâna*), flags and weapons. He should also conceal those of his own army.

Keeping a mountainous or river fortress with all its resources at his back in his own country, he should fight or put up his camp.[73]

Chapter III.

Forms of treacherous fights; encouragement to one's own army; and fight between one's own and enemy's armies. (Kûṭayuddhavikalpâh; svasainyotsâhanam; svabalânyabalavyâyogaścha.)

He who is possessed of a strong army, who has succeeded in his intrigues, and who has applied remedies against dangers may undertake an open fight, if he has secured a position favourable to himself; otherwise a treacherous fight.

[73] In *śloka* metre.

He should strike the enemy when the latter's army is under troubles or is furiously attacked; or he who has secured a favourable position may strike the enemy entangled in an unfavourable position. Or he who possesses control over the elements of his own State may, through the aid of the enemy's traitors, enemies, and inimical wild tribes, make a false impression of his own defeat on the mind of the enemy who is entrenched in a favourable position, and having thus dragged the enemy into an unfavourable position, he may strike the latter. When the enemy's army is in a compact body, he should break it by means of his elephants; when the enemy has come down from its favourable position, following the false impression of the invader's defeat, the invader may turn back and strike the enemy's army, broken or unbroken. Having struck the front of the enemy's army, he may strike it again by means of his elephants and horses when it has shown its back and is running away. When frontal attack is unfavourable, he should strike it from behind; when attack on the rear is unfavourable, he should strike it in front; when attack on one side is unfavourable, he should strike it on the other.

Or having caused the enemy to fight with his own army of traitors, enemies and wild tribes, the invader should with his fresh army strike the enemy when tired. Or having through the aid of the army of traitors given to the enemy the impression of defeat, the invader with full confidence in his own strength may allure and strike the over-confident enemy. Or the invader, if he is vigilant, may strike the careless enemy when the latter is deluded with the thought that the invader's merchants, camp and carriers have been destroyed. Or having made his strong force look like a weak force, he may strike the enemy's brave men when falling against him. Or having captured the enemy's cattle or having destroyed the enemy's dogs (*śvâpadavadha?*), he may induce the enemy's brave men to come out and may slay them. Or having made the enemy's men sleepless by harassing them at night, he may strike them during the day, when they are weary from want of sleep and are parched by heat, himself being under the shade. Or with his army of elephants enshrouded with cotton and leather dress, he may offer a night-battle to his enemy. Or he may strike the enemy's men during the afternoon when they are tired by making preparations during the forenoon; or he may strike the whole of the enemy's army when it is facing the sun.

A desert, a dangerous spot, marshy places, mountains, valleys, uneven boats, cows, cart-like array of the army, mist, and night are *sattras* (temptations alluring the enemy against the invader).

The beginning of an attack is the time for treacherous fights.

As to an open or fair fight:—a virtuous king should call his army together, and, specifying the place and time of battle, address them thus:—"I am a paid servant like yourselves; this country is to be enjoyed (by me) together with you; you have to strike the enemy specified by me."

His minister and priest should encourage the army by saying thus:—

"It is declared in the *Vedas* that the goal which is reached by sacrificers after performing the final ablutions in sacrifices in which the priests have been duly paid for is the very goal which brave men are destined to attain" About this there are the two verses:—

Beyond those places which Brâhmans, desirous of getting into heaven, attain together with their sacrificial instruments by performing a number of sacrifices, or by practising penance are the places which brave men, losing life in good battles, are destined to attain immediately.

Let not a new vessel filled with water, consecrated and covered over with *darbha* grass be the acquisition of that man who does not fight in return for the subsistence received by him from his master, and who is therefore destined to go to hell.

Astrologers and other followers of the king should infuse spirit into his army by pointing out the impregnable nature of the array of his army, his power to associate with Gods, and his omnisciency; and they should at the same time frighten the enemy. The day before the battle, the king should fast and lie down on his chariot with weapons. He should also make oblations into the fire,

pronouncing the *mantras* of the *Atharvaveda*, and cause prayers to be offered for the good of the victors as well as of those who attain to heaven by dying in the battlefield. He should also submit his person to Brâhmans; he should make the central portion of his army consist of such men as are noted for their bravery, skill, high birth, and loyalty and as are not displeased with the rewards and honours bestowed on them. The place that is to be occupied by the king is that portion of the army which is composed of his father, sons, brothers, and other men, skilled in using weapons, and having no flags and head-dress. He should mount an elephant or a chariot, if the army consists mostly of horses; or he may mount that kind of animal, of which the army is mostly composed or which is the most skilfully trained. One who is disguised like the king should attend to the work of arraying the army.

Sooth-sayers and court-bards should describe heaven as the goal for the brave and hell for the timid; and also extol the caste, corporation, family, deeds, and character of his men. The followers of the priest should proclaim the auspicious aspects of the witchcraft performed. Spies, carpenters and astrologers should also declare the success of their own operations and the failure of those of the enemy.

After having pleased the army with rewards and honours, the commander-in-chief should address it and say:—

A hundred thousand (*paṇas*) for slaying the king (the enemy); fifty thousand for slaying the commander-in-chief, and the heir-apparent; ten thousand for slaying the chief of the brave; five thousand for destroying an elephant, or a chariot; a thousand for killing a horse; a hundred (*paṇas*) for slaying the chief of the infantry; twenty for bringing a head; and twice the pay in addition to whatever is seized. This information should be made known to the leaders of every group of ten (men).

Physicians with surgical instruments (*śastra*), machines, remedial oils, and cloth in their hands; and women with prepared food and beverage should stand behind, uttering encouraging words to fighting men.

The army should be arrayed on a favourable position, facing other than the south quarter, with its back turned to the sun, and capable to rush as it stands. If the array is made on an unfavourable spot, horses should be run. If the army arrayed on an unfavourable position is confined or is made to run away from it (by the enemy), it will be subjugated either as standing or running away; otherwise it will conquer the enemy when standing or running away. The even, uneven, and complex nature of the ground in the front or on the sides or in the rear should be examined. On an even site, staff-like or circular array should be made; and on an uneven ground, arrays of compact movement or of detached bodies should be made.

Having broken the whole army (of the enemy), (the invader) should seek for peace, if the armies are of equal strength, he should make peace when requested for it; and if the enemy's army is inferior, he should attempt to destroy it, but not that which has secured a favourable position and is reckless of life.

When a broken army, reckless of life, resumes its attack, its fury becomes irresistible, hence, he should not harass a broken army (of the enemy)[75].

Chapter IV.

Battlefields; the work of infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants. (Yuddhabhûmayah; pattyaśvarathahastikarmâṇi cha).

Favourable positions for infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants are desirable both for war and camp.

For men who are trained to fight in desert tracts, forests, valleys, or plains, and for those who are trained to fight from ditches or heights, during the day or night, and for elephants which are bred in countries with rivers, mountains, marshy lands, or lakes, as well as for horses, such battlefields as they would find suitble (are to be secured).

[75] In *śloka* metre.

That which is even, splendidly firm, free from mounds and pits made by wheels and foot-prints of beasts, not offering obstructions to the axle, free from trees, plants, creepers and trunks of trees, not wet, and free from pits, ant-hills, sand, and thorns is the ground for chariots.

For elephants, horses and men, even or uneven grounds are good either for war or for camp.

That which contains small stones, trees and pits that can be jumped over and which is almost free from thorns is the ground for horses.

That which contains big stones, dry or green trees, and ant-hills is the ground for the infantry.

That which is uneven with assailable hills and valleys, which has trees that can be pulled down and plants that can be torn, and which is full of muddy soil free from thorns is the ground for elephants.

That which is free from thorns, not very uneven, but very expansive, is an excellent ground for the infantry.

That which is doubly expansive, free from mud, water and roots of trees, and which is devoid of piercing gravel is an excellent ground for horses.

That which possesses dust, muddy soil, water, grass and weeds, and which is free from thorns (known as dog's teeth) and obstructions from the branches of big trees is an excellent ground for elephants.

That which contains lakes, which is free from mounds and wet lands, and which affords space for turning is an excellent ground for chariots.

Positions suitable for all the constituents of the army have been treated of. This explains the nature of the ground which is fit for the camp or battle of all kinds of the army.

Concentration on occupied positions, in camps and forests; holding the ropes (of beasts and other things) while crossing the rivers or when the wind is blowing hard; destruction or protection of the commissariat and of troops arriving afresh; supervision of the discipline of the army; lengthening the line of the army; protecting the sides of the army; first attack; dispersion (of the enemy's arrmy); trampling it down; defence; seizing; letting it out; causing the army to take a different direction; carrying the treasury and the princes; falling against the rear of the enemy; chasing the timid; pursuit; and concentration;—these constitute the work of horses.

Marching in the front; preparing the roads, camping grounds and path for bringing water; protecting the sides; firm standing, fording and entering into water while crossing pools of water and ascending from them; forced entrance into impregnable places; setting or quenching the fire; the subjugation of one of the four constituents of the army; gathering the dispersed army; breaking a compact army; protection against dangers; trampling down (the enemy's army); frightening and driving it; magnificence; seizing; abandoning; destruction of walls, gates and towers; and carrying the treasury;—these constitute the work of elephants.

Protection of the army; repelling the attack made by all the four constituents of the enemy's army; seizing and abandoning (positions) during the time of battle; gathering a dispersed army; breaking the compact array of the enemy's army; frightening it; magnificence; and fearful noise;—these constitute the work of chariots.

Always carrying the weapons to all places; and fighting;—these constitute the work of the infantry.

The examination of camps, roads, bridges, wells and rivers ; carrying the machines, weapons, armours, instruments and provisions ; carrying away the men that are knocked down, along with their weapons and armours ;—these constitute the work of free labourers.

The king who has a small number of horses may combine bulls with horses ; likewise when he is deficient in elephants, he may fill up the centre of his army with mules, camels and carts.[76]

Châpter V.

The distinctive array of troops in respect of wings, flanks, and front; distinction between strong and weak troops ; and battle with infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants. (Pakshakakshorasyânâm balâgrato vyûhavibhâgah ; sâraphalgubalavibhâgah ; patyaśvarathahastiyuddhâni cha).

Having fortified a camp at the distance of five hundred bows (5,000 feet), he should begin to fight. Having detached the flower of the army and kept it on a favourable position not visible (to the enemy), the commander-in-chief and the leader should array the rest of the army. The infantry should be arrayed such that the space between any two men is a *śama* (14 *angulas* or inches); cavalry with three *śamas* ; chariots with four *śamas* ; and elephants with twice or thrice as much space (as between any two chariots). With such an array free to move and having no confusion, one should fight. A bow means five *aratnis* ($5\times24=120$ *angulas*). Archers should be stationed at the distance of five bows (from one line to another) ; the cavalry at the distance of three bows ; and chariots or elephants at the distance of five bows.

The intervening space (*anîkasandhi*) between wings, flanks and front of the army should be five bows. There must be three men to oppose a horse (*pratiyoddhâ*) ; fifteen men or five horses to oppose a chariot or an elephant ; and as many (fifteen) servants (*pâdagopa*) for a horse, a chariot and an elephant should be maintained.

Three groups (*anîka*) of three chariots each should be stationed in front ; the same number on the two flanks and the two wings. Thus, in an array of chariots, the number of chariots amounts to forty-five, two hundred and twenty-five horses, six hundred and seventy-five men, and as many servants to attend upon the horses, chariots and elephants ;— this is called an even array of troops. The number of chariots in this array (of three groups of three chariots each) may be increased by two and two till the increased number amounts to twenty-one. Thus, this array of odd numbers of chariots gives rise to ten odd varieties. Thus the surplus of the army may therefore be distributed in the above manner. Two-thirds of the (surplus) chariots may be added to the flanks and the wings, the rest being put in front. Thus the added surplus of chariots should be one-third less (than the number added to the flanks and wings). This explains the distribution of surplus elephants and horses. As many horses, chariots and elephants may be added as occasion no confusion in fighting.

Excess of the army is called surplus (*âvâpa*) ; deficiency in infantry is called absence of surplus (*pratyâvâpa*) ; excess of any one of the four constituents of the army is akin to surplus (*anvâvâpa*) ; excess of traitors is far from surplus (*atyâvâpa*) ; in accordance with one's own resources, one should increase one's army from four to eight times the excess of the enemy's army or the deficiency in the enemy's infantry.

The array of elephants is explained by the array of chariots. An array of elephants, chariots, and horses mixed together may also be made : at the extremities of the circle (array), elephants ; and on the flanks, horses and principal chariots. The array in which the front is occupied by elephants

[76] In *śloka* metre.

the flanks by chariots, and the wings by horses is an array which can break the centre of the enemy's army; the reverse of this can harass the extremities of the enemy's army. An array of elephants may also be made: the front by such elephants as are trained for war; the flanks by such as are trained for riding; and the wings by rogue elephants. In an array of horses, the front by horses with mail armour; and the flanks and wings by horses without armour. In an array of infantry, men dressed in mail armour in front, archers in the rear, and men without armour on the wings; or horses on the wings, elephants on the flanks, and chariots in front; other changes may also be made so as to oppose the enemy's army successfully.

The best army is that which consists of strong infantry and of such elephants and horses as are noted for their breed, birth, strength, youth, vitality, capacity to run even in old age, fury, skill, firmness, magnanimity, obedience, and good habits.

One-third of the best of infantry, cavalry and elephants should be kept in front; two-thirds on both the flanks and wings; the array of the army according to the strength of its constituents is in the direct order; that which is arrayed mixing one-third of strong and weak troops is in the reverse order. Thus, one should know all the varieties of arraying the army.

Having stationed the weak troops at the extremities, one would be liable to the force of the enemy's onslaught. Having stationed the flower of the army in front, one should make the wings equally strong. One-third of the best in the rear, and weak troops in the centre, — this array is able to resist the enemy; having made an array, he should strike the enemy with one or two of the divisions on the wings, flanks, and front, and capture the enemy by means of the rest of the troops.

When the enemy's force is weak, with few horses and elephants, and is contaminated with the intrigue of treacherous ministers, the conqueror should strike it with most of his best troops. He should increase the numerical strength of that constituent of the army which is physically weak. He should array his troops on that side on which the enemy is weak or from which danger is apprehended.

Running against; running round; running beyond; running back; disturbing the enemy's halt; gathering the troops; curving; circling; miscellaneous operations; removal of the rear;, pursuit of the line from the front, flanks and rear; protection of the broken army; and falling upon the broken army, — these are the forms of waging war with horses.

The same varieties with the exception of (what is called) miscellaneous operations; the destruction of the four constituents of the army, either single or combined; the dispersion of the flanks, wings and front; trampling down; and attacking the army when it is asleep,—these are the varieties of waging war with elephants.

The same varieties with the exception of disturbing the enemy's halt; running against; running back; and fighting from where it stands on its own ground,—these are the varieties of waging war with chariots.

Striking in all places and at all times, and striking by surprise are varieties of waging war with infantry.

(*a*) In this way, he should make odd or even arrays, keeping the strength of the four constituents of the army equal.

(*b*) Having gone to a distance of 200 bows, the king should take his position together with the reserve of his army; and without a reserve, he should never attempt to fight, for it is by the reserved force that dispersed troops are collected together.[77]

[77] *a* and *b* are in *śloka* metre.

Chapter VI.

The array of the Army like a staff, a snake, a circle, or in detached order; the array of the army against that of an enemy. (Daṇḍabhoga-maṇḍalâsamhatavyûhanam; tasya prativyûhasthâpanam cha).

Wings and front, capable to turn (against an enemy is what is called) a snake-like array (*bhoga*); the two wings, the two flanks, the front, and the reserve (forms an array) according to the school of Bṛihaspati. The principal forms of the array of the army, such as that like a staff, like a snake, like a circle, and in detached order, are varieties of the above two forms of the array consisting of wings, flanks and front.

Stationing the army so as to stand abreast, is called a staff-like array (*daṇḍa*).

Stationing the army in a line so that one may follow the other, is called a snake-like array (*bhoga*).

Stationing the army so as to face all the directions, is called a circle-like array (*maṇḍala*).

Detached arrangement of the army into small bodies so as to enable each to act for itself, is termed an array in detached order (*asamhata*).

That which is of equal strength on its wings, flanks and front, is a staff-like array.

The same array is called *pradara* (breaking the enemy's array) when its flanks are made to project in front.

The same is called *dṛiḍhaka* (firm) when its wings and flanks are stretched back.

The same is called *asahya* (irresistible) when its wings are lengthened.

When, having formed the wings, the front is made to bulge out, it is called an eagle-like array

The same four varieties are called "a bow," "the centre of a bow," "a hold," and "a strong hold," when they are arranged in a reverse form.

That, of which the wings are arrayed like a bow, is called *sanjaya* (victory).

The same with projected front is called *vijaya* (conqueror); that which has its flanks and wings formed like a staff is called *sthûlakarṇa* (big ear); the same with its front made twice as strong as the conqueror, is called *viśâlavijaya* (vast victory); that which has its wings stretched forward is called *chamûmukha* (face of the army); and the same is called *ghashâsya* (face of the fish) when it is arrayed in the reverse form.

The staff-like array in which one (constituent of the army) is made to stand behind the other is called a pin-like array.

When this array consists of two such lines, it is called an aggregate (*valaya*); and when of four lines, it is called an invincible array;—these are the varieties of the staff-like array.

The snake-like array in which the wings, flanks and front are of unequal depth is called *sarpasâri* (serpentine movement), or *gomûtrikâ* (the course of a cow's urine).

When it consists of two lines in front and has its wings arranged as in the staff-like array, it is called a cart-like array; the reverse of this is called a crocodile-like array; the cart-like array which consists of elephants, horses and chariots is called *vâripatantaka* (?);—these are the varieties of the snake-like array.

The circle-like array in which the distinction of wings, flanks and front is lost is called *sarvatomukha* (facing all directions), or *sarvatobhadra* (all auspicious), *ashṭânîka* (one of eight divisions), or *vijaya* (victory); —these are the varieties of the circle-like array.

That, of which the wings, flanks and front are stationed apart is called array in detached order; when five divisions of the army are arranged in detached order, it is called *vajra* (diamond), or *godhâ* (alligator); when four divisions, it is called *udyânaka* (park), or *kâkapadi* (crow's foot); when three divisions, it is called *ardhachandrikâ* (half-moon), or *karkâṭakaśṛingi* (?);—these are the varieties of the array in detached order.

The array in which chariots form the front, elephants the wings, and horses the rear, is called *arishṭa* (auspicious).

The array in which infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants stand one behind the other is called *achala* (immoveable).

The array in which elephants, horses, chariots and infantry stand in order one behind the other is called *apratihata* (invincible).

Of these, the conqueror should assail the *pradara* by means of the *dṛiḍhaka*; *dṛiḍhaka* by means of the *asahya*; *śyena* (eagle-like array) by means of *châpa* (an array like a bow); a hold by means of a strong-hold; *sanjaya* by means of *vijaya*; *sthûlakarṇa* by means of *viśâlavijaya*; *vâripatantaka* by means of *sarvatobhadra*. He may assail all kinds of arrays by means of the *durjaya*.

Of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, he should strike the first-mentioned with that which is subsequently mentioned; and a small constituent of the army with a big one.

For every ten members of each of the constituents of the army, there must be one commander, called *padika*; ten *padikas* under a *senâpati*; ten *senâpatis* under a Nâyaka (leader).

The constituents of the array of the army should be called after the names of trumpet sounds, flags and ensigns. Achievement of success in arranging the constituents of the army, in gathering the forces, in camping, in marching, in turning back, in making onslaughts, and in the array of equal strength depends upon the place and time of action.

(*a*) By the display of the army, by secret contrivances, by fiery spies employed to strike the enemy engaged otherwise, by witchcraft, by proclaiming the conqueror's association with gods, by carts, by the ornaments of elephants;

(*b*) by inciting traitors, by herds of cattle, by setting fire to the camp, by destroying the wings and the rear of the enemy's army, by sowing the seeds of dissension through the agency of men under the guise of servants;

(*c*) or by telling the enemy that his fort was burnt, stormed, or that some one of his family, or an enemy or a wild chief rose in rebellion,—by these and other means the conqueror should cause excitement to the enemy.

(*d*) The arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill a single man; but skilful intrigue devised by a wise man can kill even those who are in the womb.[78]

Book XI.

The Conduct of Corporations. (Sanghavṛittam).

Chapter I.

Causes of dissension, and secret punishment. (Bhedopadânâni, upâmśudaṇḍaścha).

The acquisition of the help of corporations is better than the acquisition of an army, a friend, or profits. By means of conciliation and gifts, the conqueror should secure and enjoy the services of such corporations as are invincible to the enemy and are favourably disposed towards himself. But those who are opposed to him, he should put down by sowing the seeds of dissension among them and by secretly punishing them.

[78] *a* — *d* are in *śloka* metre.

The corporations of warriors (*kshattriyaśreṇi*) of Kâmbhoja, and Surâshṭra, and other countries live by agriculture, trade and wielding weapons.

The corporations of Lichchhivika, Vṛijika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru, Pânchâla and others live by the title of a Râja.

Spies, gaining access to all these corporations and finding out jealousy, hatred and other causes of quarrel among them, should sow the seeds of a well-planned dissension among them, and tell one of them, "This man decries you". Spies, under the guise of teachers (*âchârya*) should cause childish embroils among those of mutual enmity on occasions of disputations about certain points of science, arts, gambling or sports. Fiery spies may occasion qaurrel among the leaders of corporations by praising inferior leaders in taverns and theatres ; or pretending to be friends, they may excite ambition in the minds of princes by praising their high birth, though they (the princes) are low-born ; they may prevent the superiors from interdining and intermarriage with others ; they may persuade the superiors to interdine or to intermarry with inferiors ; or they may give publicity to the consideration of priority shown to inferior persons in social intercourse in the face of the established custom of recognising the status of other persons by birth, bravery and social position ; or fiery spies may bring about quarrel among them at night by destroying the things, beasts, or persons concerned in some legal disputes. In all these disputes, the conqueror should help the inferior party with men and money and set them against the superior party. When they are divided, he should remove them (from their country) ; or he may gather them together and cause them to settle in a cultivable part of their own country, under the designation of "five households," and "ten households" ; for when living together, they can be trained in the art of wielding weapons. Specified fines should also be prescribed against any treacherous combinations among them. He may instal as the heir-apparent a prince born of a high family, but dethroned or imprisoned. Spies, under the guise of astrologers and others, should bring to the notice of the corporations the royal characteristics of the prince, and should induce the virtuous leaders of the corporations to acknowledge their duty to the prince who is the son of such and such a king and who is the hearer of their complaints. To those who are thus prevailed upon, the conqueror should send men and money for the purpose of winning over other partisans. On occasions of any affray spies, under the guise of vintners, should under the plea of the birth of a son, of marriage or of the death of a man distribute as toast (*naishechanika*) hundreds of vessels of liquour adulterated with the juice of *madana* plant. Near the gates of altars (*chaitya*), temples, and other places under the watch of sentinels, spies should pretend to declare their agreement (with the enemy of the corporations), their mission, their rewards, and bags of money with the golden seals of the enemy ; when the corporations appear before the spies, they may tell the corporations that they (the spies) have sold themselves to the enemy, and challenge the corporations for war. Or having seized the draught animals and golden articles belonging to the corporations, they may give the most important of those animals and articles to the chief of the corporations, and tell the corporations, when asked for, that it was given to the chief (for the purpose of causing quarrel among them).

This explains the method of sowing the seeds of dissension in camps and among wild tribes.

Or a spy may tell a self-confident son of the chief of corporations, "You are the son of such and such a king and are kept here under the apprehension of danger from enemies." When he is deluded with this belief, the conqueror may help him with men and money and set him against the corporations. When the object in view is realised, the conqueror may also banish him.

Keepers of harlots or dancers, players, and actors may, after gaining access, excite love in the minds of the chiefs of corporations by exhibiting women endowed with bewitching youth and beauty. By causing the woman to go to another person or by pretending that another person has violently carried her off, they may bring about quarrel among those who love that woman ; in the ensuing affray, fiery spies may do their work and declare, "Thus has he been killed in consequence of his love."

A woman who has disappointed her lover and has been forgiven, may approach a chief and say, " This chief is troubling me when my mind is set upon you; when he is alive I cannot stay here," and thus induce the former to slay the latter.

A woman who has been violently carried off at night may cause the death of her violator in the vicinity of a park or in a pleasure house, by means of fiery spies or with poison administered by herself. Then she may declare, " This beloved person of mine has been killed by such and such a person."

A spy, under the garb of an ascetic, may apply to a lover such medical ointments as are declared to be capable of captivating the beloved woman and as are adulterated with poison; and then he may disappear. Other spies may ascribe the incident to an enenemy's action.

Widows or women, employed as spies with secret instructions, may dispute among themselves about the claim for a deposit kept with the king, and attract the chiefs of the corporations (by their beauty when they present themselves before the king).

Harlots, or a dancing woman, or a songstress may make an appointment to meet a lover in some secret house; and when the lover comes to the house with the desire of meeting her there, fiery spies may kill him or carry him off bound (in chains).

A spy may tell the chief of a corporation who is fond of women, " In this village, the family of a poor man is bereaved (of the householder); his wife deserves to be the wife of a king; seize her." Half a month after she has been seized, an ascetic spy may accuse the chief in the midst of the corporation by saying, " This man has illegally kept my chief wife, or sister-in-law, or sister, or daughter." If the corporation punishes the chief, the conqueror may take the side of the corporation and set it against wicked persons. Fiery spies should always cause an ascetic spy to go abroad at night. Spies, selected suitably, should accuse (the chiefs) by saying, " This man is the slayer of a Brâhman, and also the adulterer of a Brâhman woman."

A spy, under the guise of an astrologer, may describe to a chief the destiny of a maiden who is at the point of being married to another, and say, " This man's daughter deserves to be the wife of a king and will bring forth a son, destined to be a king; purchase her with all your wealth, or seize her by force." When it is not possible to secure her, spies should enrage the parties; but when she is secured, quarrel will necessarily ensue.

A mendicant woman may tell a chief who is fond of his wife, " This (another) chief, proud of his youth, has sent me to entice your wife; being afraid of him, I have taken with me his letter and jewellery (for your wife); your wife is free from sin; secret steps should be taken against him; and I am very anxious (about your success)."

Thus in these and other kinds of brawl which has originated of itself or which has been brought about by spies, the conqueror should help the inferior party with men and money and set them against the wicked or cause them to migrate (to other parts of the country).

Thus he should live as the only monarch of all the corporations; the corporations also under the protection of such a single monarch, should guard themselves against all kinds of treachery.

The chief of corporations should endear himself to all the people by leading a virtuous life, by controlling his passions, and by pursuing that course of action which is liked by all those who are his followers.[79]

(To be continued.)

[79] In *śloka* metre.

SARMAD: HIS LIFE AND EXECUTION.

BY MAULAVI 'ABDU'L WALI, M.R.A.S.

Mīrza Muḥsin-i-Fānī, author of the *Dābastān*, met Sarmad in 1057 A. H. (1647 A. D.) at Haidarabad (Deccan). Other facts about him can be gleaned from the chronicles of the reign of Āurangzīb and from tradition. **Sa'īd**, whose *takhallus* or *nom-de-plume* was **Sarmad** (*everlasting*), was born at Kāshān in Persia, of Jewish parents, and brought up as a Rabbi, but went over to Islam. He read science and metaphysics in Irān with Mullā Ṣadrā[1] and Mīrzā Ābu'l Qāsim Fandarsaki[1] and other eminent scholars of the time, and came to India by sea as a trader. He set up in business at the town of Ṭhaṭh, (Tatta) in Sindh, where he contracted a close friendship with a Bania by name **Abhai Chand**, gave up all clothing and developed peculiar opinions. The following distich by Abhai Chand is quoted regarding the views of the two friends:—

هم مطیع فرقانم هم کشیش ورهبانم ∴ ربّی یهودانم کافرم مسلمانم

"As I am a follower of the Forqān, so am I a priest and a monk. A Rabbi of the Jews, an infidel and a Musalman."

Sarmad and Abhai Chand came to Delhi, during the reign of Shāhjahān, and **Prince Dārā Shikōh** was one of their constant visitors.

It was Dārā Shikōh who brought to the notice of the Emperor the miraculous powers of the saint. The prudent Emperor deputed 'Ināyat Khān, one of the 'Omarā of his court, to ascertain the real facts. 'Ināyat Khān visited the naked saint, and while reporting, recited the following Persian distich to the Emperor by way of illustration:—

بر سرمد برهنه کرامات تهمت است ∴ کشفي که ظاهرست ازو کشف عورت است

"To ascribe miracles to naked Sarmad is to accuse him. The only miracle (*kashf*) which is visible is the nudity (*kashf*) of his private person."

When **Āurangzīb-'Ālamgīr** seized the reins of Government, and Dārā Shikōh was executed, he ordered Mullā Shaykh 'Ābdu'l Qavī, a scholar holding the rank of Panjhazārī with the title of I'timād Khan, to direct Sarmad to cover his nakedness. The Mullā said to him "'*Uryān chirā mibashi?* Why do you remain nude?" Sarmad gave a witty reply: "*Shaitān qavist*, Satan is powerful (*qavi*)" and recited the following *rubāi*:—

"بالای خوشی کرده چنین پست مرا ∴ چشمی بدو جام برده از دست مرا"
او در بغل من است و من در طلبش ∴ دزدی عجبی برهنه کردست مرا

A lovely height (figure) has made me so low.
A two-cupped eye has taken me out of hands.
He is at my armpit and I in quest of him.
A wondrous thief has made me naked."

In order to understand Āurangzīb's conduct, one must go back to the time of his great grandfather. The religious toleration inaugurated by Akbar—call it by whatever name you please—was, according to the opinion of the public, quite antagonistic to the established church of Islam. Akbar's son and grandson did not pay any attention, while on the throne, to those questions; but their indifference produced very bad effects on the *morale* of their Courts and of the public. Prince Dārā Shikōh openly countenanced those beliefs. The fire of disgust and

dissatisfaction were smouldering in the breast of the Indian Muslims, when the 'great puritan of India' mounted the throne. A strong reaction set in over the empire, and the party of Shar' encouraged by the Pādshāh, were bent upon wreaking their vengeance upon those who sided with Dārā in his godless beliefs.

Āurangzīb tried to reintroduce that Puritanism, which three of his immediate predecessors were instrumental in undermining. His whole energy was directed towards the eradication of those evils, which in the opinion of the orthodox, were eating into the vitals of the *Constitution.* While Āurangzīb was tolerant to all in other respects, he was firm against the infringement of religious ordinances. In this he did not spare his relatives, or even care for those on whose countenance and support the empire rested. The stupendous fabric of the mighty empire of the Mughuls fell rapidly into pieces, after his death, not because of Aurangzīb's intolerance, but because of his sons' and grandsons' impotency and inability to support it.

When Āurangzīb seized the reins of Government, and Dārā Shikōh was executed, Sarmad was called before a council of 'Olamā,' who gave the opinion that he was worthy of death. This *fatwa* was ratified by Āurangzīb and Sarmad was executed.

His nakedness, his refusal to utter any but the negative part of the Islamic creed, and his pantheistic view of the deity caused him to be regarded as a heretic, while his friendship for Dārā Shikōh, whose succession to the Empire he is said to have foretold, made him politically a suspect. **Various quatrains** are said to have been improvised by Sarmad when he was led out to execution. Of these the finest are :—

رسیدہ یارِ عُریان تیغ ایندم ∴ بهر رنگي که آئي مي شناسم

"The Friend of the naked sword has now arrived.
In whatever disguise thou mayst come I recognise Thee.[2]"

And

شوري شد و از خوابِ عدم چشم گشودیم ∴ دیدیم که باقي ست شبِ فتنهٔ غنودیم

"There was an uproar, and I opened my eyes from the eternal sleep.
Saw that the night of wickedness remained, and slept again."

Sarmad died valiantly. The following **epistle which Dārā Shikōh wrote to** Sarmad and the latter's reply thereto have come down to us :—

Text.

نامۂ دارا شکوہ به سرمد

پیرو مرشد من—

اگر من منم ارادۂ من کجاست—وگر من نیستم پس چه خطاست

رسولِ مختار بجنگ کفّار مي رفت—شکست بر لشکر اسلام مي افتاد—سبب چیست

جواب سرمد

هرچه خواندیم فراموش کردیم ∴ الاّ حدیثِ دوست که تکرار مي کنیم

Translation.

Dārā Shikōh to Sarmad[3].

My Pir and Guide, If I be I— where is my will? If not I— what is the fault? The powerful Prophet used to go to fight with the infidel, the soldiers of Islam were defeated. What's the cause?

Sarmad's reply.

" Whatever I have read, I have forgotten;

Except the word of the Friend I am repeating."

Sarmad was executed in 1071 H. (1661-1662 A.D.) and Dārā Shikōh in 1069 H. (1659 A.D.). Sarmad lies buried near the Dehli Jāmi'Masjid. His tomb is still visited and venerated by the public, who make offerings of flowers and light candles there.

Āurangzīb, in this as in other matters, is to be looked upon as the leader of an orthodox Musalmān reaction against the laxity of Akbar and his successors.

Sarmad's poems consist, mostly, if not entirely, of quatrains, of which no complete collection has been published, though a few of them have been lithographed at Bombay and Delhi. A *fard* and a *ghazal* and a few *ruba'iyāt* are given below. Rieu notes that more than 400 of his quatrains are preserved in MS. in the British Museum.

Text.

فرد

درکعبه وبتخانه سنگ اوشد وچوب اوشد ∴ یکجا حجرالاسود یکجا بتِ هندو شد

غزل

سوخت بی وجهم تماشارا به بین ∴ کُشت بي جرمم مسیحارا به بین

زندهٔ کشِ جان نباشد دیدهٔ ∴ گر ندیدستي بیا مارا به بین

اي که از دیدارِ یوسف غافلي ∴ داغِ یعقوب و زلیخا را به بین

اي که از روزِ بدم در حیرتي ∴ یکزمان این رويِ زیبا را به بین

شاه و درویش و قلندر دیدهٔ ∴ سرمد سرمستِ رسوا را به بین

رباعیات

۱

کردي توعَلَم بدلربائي خود را ∴ هم در فنِ مهرو آشنائي خود را

این دیده که بیناست تماشائيِ تست ∴ هرلحظه به صد رنگ نمائي خود را

۲

گر متّقیم کار بیارست مرا ∴ با سبحه وزنار چه کار است مرا

این خرقه پشمینه که صد فتنه دروست ∴ بازش نکشم بدوش—عارست مرا

۳

این فسق وفجور کار هر روزهٔ ما ∴ پر شد زگناه کاسه وکوزهٔ ما

میخندد روزگار ومیگرید عمر ∴ بر طاعت وبر نماز وبر روزهٔ ما

۴

سرمد جسمیست جانش دردست کسیست ∴ تیریست ولي کمانش دردست کسیست

میخواست که آدم شده از دست جهد ∴ گاوی شد و ریسمانش دردست کسیست

۵

تنها نه همین دیرو حَرم خانه اوست ∴ این ارض و سما تمام کاشانه اوست

عالم همه دیوانه افسانه اوست ∴ عاقل بود آنکسی که دیوانه اوست

۶

این نفسِ ستمگار به بین شیطان است ∴ پیوسته عیان بود ولی پنهان است

ابلیس خودي چرا به ابلیس بدی ∴ در پیشِ خیالات تو او حیران است

۷

سرمد اگرش وفاست خود می آید ∴ گر آمدنش رواست خود می آید
بیهوده چرا در پی او میگردی ∴ بنشین اگر او خداست خود می آید

۸

سرمد غم عشق بوالهوس را ندهند ∴ سوزِ دلِ پروانه مگس را ندهند
عمری باید که یار آید بکنار ∴ این دولتِ سرمد همه کس را ندهند

۹

هر چند که صد دوست بمن دشمن شد ∴ از دوستئی یکی دلم ایمن شد
وحدت بگزیدیم وزکثرت رستیم ∴ آخر من ازو شدم و او ازمن شد

۱۰

الکس که ترا کارِ جهانبانی داد ∴ مارا همه اسبابِ پریشانی داد
پوشاند لباس هرکه را عیبی بود ∴ بی عیبان را لباسِ عریانی داد

۱۱

سرمد گله اختصار می باید کرد ∴ یک کار ازین دو کار می باید کرد
یا تن برضاي دوست می باید داد ∴ یا جان بر هش نثار می باید کرد

۱۲

از وهم و خیال و فکر دنیا بگذر ∴ چون بادصبا ز باغ صحرا بگذر
دیوانه مشو برنگ و بوي گل و مل ∴ هشیار بشو ازین هواها بگذر

۱۳

اعتبارِ وعدهاي مردمِ دنیا غلط ∴ هان غلط آري غلط امشب غلط فردا غلط
نسخهٔ بینائیِ دیوانِ عمرِ ما مپرس ∴ خط غلط معني غلط انشا غلط املا غلط

۱۴

با فکرو خیال کس نباشد کارم ∴ در طورِ غزل طریقِ حافظ دارم
امّا برباعي‌ام مریدِ خیّام ∴ نه جرعه کشِ بادهٔ او بسیارم

۱۵

سرمد تو حدیثِ کعبه و دیر مکن ∴ در وادئي شک چو گمرهان سیر مکن
روشیوهٔ بندگی زشیطان آمرز ∴ یک قبله گزین سجده بهر غیر مکن

۱۶

ناکرده گناه درجهان کیست بگو ∴ آنکس که گنه نکرد چون زیست بگو
من بد کنم وتو بدمکافات دهی ∴ پس فرق میان من و تو چیست بگو

۱۷

گه سروگهی سنبل وگه یا سمنی ∴ گه کوه و بیابانی وگاهی چمنی
گه نورِ چراغی وگهی بوی گُلی ∴ گه در چمنی وگاه در انجمنی

۱۸

سرمد دردین عجب شکستی کردی ∴ ایمان بفدای چشم مستی کردی
با عجز و نیاز جمله نقدِ خود را ∴ رفتی ونثارِ بت پرستی کردی

Translation.

Fard.

In the Ka'ba and the idol temple He became the stone, and He became the wood.
In one place He became the Hajru'l Āswad, and in the other a Hindu idol.[4]

Ghazal.

He burnt me without cause, behold the spectacle.
He slew me without guilt, behold the Messiah.
A living being who has no soul, thou hast seen ;
If thou hast not seen, come and see me.
Ye, who care not to have sight of Joseph,
Behold the agony of Jacob and Zulaikhā !
Ye, who wonder at my hapless days,
Behold for a moment this charming face.
Thou hast seen a Shāh, a *darwish* and a *qalandar*.
Behold Sarmad, the drunken and dishonoured.

Ruba'iyāt (Quatrains).

1

Thou hast made thyself famous in winning hearts,
Also in the art of friendship and affection.
These eyes which are vigilant are observant of thyself ;
Every moment thou showest thyself in a hundred colours.

2

If I am a devotee, my object is the Friend,
What have I to do with the rosary and the (sacerdotal) thread !
This woollen garment wherein lie a hundred evils
Never shall I put on my shoulder : it is disgusting to me.

3

Our every-day avocation is villainy and wickedness.
Our platters and vessels have been filled with sins.
Creation is laughing and life is wailing
At our prayers, genuflexions and fastings.

4

Sarmad is a body, his soul is in the hand of another :
An arrow, but its bow is in the hand of another.
He wished to be a man in order to jump out of the net :
He became a cow whose tether is in the hand of another.

5

Not only are these temples and sanctuaries His house,
This earth and this sky are entirely His abode.
The whole world is mad about His fictions.
He is truly wise who is mad about Him.

6

This tyrannous passion, lo ! is Satan :—
Always visible, yet hidden.
Thou art thyself the Devil, why art thou ill-disposed to the Devi ?
Before thy thoughts, he is bewildered.

7

Sarmad ! if He is true to his word, He Himself will come:
If His coming is permissible, He Himself will come.
Why shouldst thou wander aimlessly after Him ?
Sit down: if He be the Khud-ā, He Himself will come.

8

Sarmad ! the pang of Love is not given to the self-seeking:
The fire in the heart of the moth, is not given to the fly.
It takes a life-time for the beloved to come to the lap:
This everlasting wealth is not given to every One.

9

Although a hundred friends have turned mine enemies,
Owing to the friendship of the One, my mind has become contented.
I have accepted Unity and been freed from multiplicity.
At last I became of Him, and He of me.

10

He who gave thee the soverignty of the world,
Gave me all the causes of anxiety.
He covered with a garment those with whom He found fault.
To the faultless He gave the robe of nudity.

11

Sarmad ! thou shouldst shorten thy murmurings.
Thou shouldst adopt one course out of these two courses—
Either, thou shouldst give thy body for the pleasure of the Friend ;
Or, thou shouldst sacrifice thy life in His way.

12

Pass on from the worldly fancy, thought, and care.
Like the breeze of morn pass on from the garden and field.
Be not mad on the colour and smell of the rose and wine.
Be wise, pass on from these hallucinations.

13

To put trust in the promises of the men of the world is wrong :—
Yea wrong, verily wrong, to-night wrong, to-morrow wrong.
Of the copy of the inquiry of our Book of life do not ask.
Its transcriptions are wrong, meaning wrong, composition wrong, and spellings wrong.

14

I have no business with the fancy and thought of others.
In composing a *ghazal* I adopt the manner of Hāfiẓ.
But in a *rubā'ī* I am the disciple of Khayyām,
But do not quaff much of his wine.

15

Sarmad ! speak not of the Ka'ba and of the temple.
In the valley of doubt do not wander like the strayed wayfarer.
Go and learn from Satan how to worship.
Accept one Qebla and do not bow before every stranger.

16

Say; who is in the world that has not committed a sin ?
He who has sinned not: say; how could he live ?
I do evil and thou requitest with evil:
Then say; what is the difference between me and thee ?

17

Sometimes thou art a cypress, sometimes a hyacinth and sometimes a jasmine,
Now a mountain, a wilderness, and at another time a flower-garden.
Now thou art the light of a candle, now the scent of the rose,
Sometimes thou art in a garden, and sometimes in an assembly.

18

Sarmad! thou hast done strange injury to the religion.
Thou hast bartered thy faith for one with an intoxicating eye.
With supplication and belief—thy entire wealth—
Thou didst go and squander on an idol-worshipper.

Notes.

1. Mullā Ṣadru'ddīn Shīrāzī was a great scholar, who flourished during the reign of Shāh 'Ābbās I. His books are still taught to advanced Arabic students. Mīrzā Ābu'l Qāsim was of Fandarsak in Astarabad, in Persia. He, too, flourished at the time of 'Ābbās I. He travelled extensively in India. He was asked why he did not go on pilgrimage to Mecca. He replied that there goats were sacrificed, and he did not like to take the life of a living being. It would be interesting to study the life and teachings of these two scholars, which exerted, no doubt, powerful influences in moulding the future character of their pupil, Sarmad.

2. *Cf.* S'ādi—

ندانی که چون من رسیدم بدوست ∴ که هرکس که پیش آمدم گفتم اوست

"Do you not know that when I reached the Friend,
Of anyone that came before me, I said 'It is He.' ?"

3. I have not seen this letter in any book, but it is remembered for the beauty of *its* style. I am afraid that some passages of the letter have escaped my memory.

Cf. the following in Jāmī's *Salāmān and Absāl* in Fitz-Gerald's translation:—

If I — this Dignity and Wisdom whence ?
If thou — then what this abject Impotence ?

Also—

Whether I be I or no:
If I — the pumpkin why on you ?
If you — then where am I, and who ?

4. *Ka'ba*—the inner part of the temple at Mecca. *Hajru'l Aswad*, or the black stone, has come down from the time of heathenism, and is venerated by the Mecca pilgrims.

Quatrain 7. *Khuda* is used in a double sense. *Khuda* = God, and *Khud-ā* = self-comer.

Quatrain 10. Sarmad's '*Sartor resartus*', or clothes philosophy, has been very beautifully expressed in this quatrain.

Quatrain 14. Sarmad, who was himself a great poet, pays a well-deserved compliment to two of the greatest poets of Irān — Khwāja Hāfiẓ of Shīrāz, a master of the *ghazal*, and Hakīm 'Omar-al-Khayyām of Nishāpūr, whose quatrains are the delight of both East and West.

Quatrain 15. The Devil fell for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of God.

Quatrain 18. In this, Sarmad apparently mentions his prosperous days at Tatta, his love for Abhai Chand, his neglect of business, and his renunciation of the exoteric religion of Islām.

General.

Sarmad composed the following verse in praise of Abhai Chand :—

نمیدانم درین چرخ کهن دیر .·. خدائی من ابهی چندست یا غیر

"I do not know if, in the whole universe,
My God is Abhai Chand or any other beside him."

Cf. the following verses quoted by Prince Dārā Shikōh in the *Risala-i-Haqnuma*, the first from the *Lam'āt*.

معشوق و عشق و عاشق هر سه یکی‌ست اینجا .·. چون وصل در نگنجد هجران چه کاردارد

"The Beloved, the Love, and the Lover all three are One here.
When there can be no union, what is the use of separation?"

ای آنکه خدای را بجوئی هرجا .·. توعین خدائي نه جدائي بخدا
این جستن تو همین بآن می ماند .·. قطره بمیانِ آب وجوید دریا

"Thou who seekest God everywhere :
Thou art the very God, not apart from God, by God.
This thy search is just like that
(When) the drop is in the water and is seeking the river."

BOOK-NOTICE.

BHUVANEŚALAUKIKANYĀYASĀHASRI, by PANDIT ṬHĀKURA DATTA SETUPĀLA, of Multān ; revised by Śāstrīs, and published at Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, Saṃvat 1965.

THIS book has a somewhat pathetic history. It was commenced with the aid, and for the sake, of the author's son, Bhuvaneśa, a young man of great promise, who was suddenly cut off at the early age of twenty-six. To perpetuate his memory his name was prefixed to the title. In an introductory notice of him we read :—"यस्योद्योगेन यस्यार्थमयं ग्रन्थ आरब्धः स भूतले नास्ति । किं कुर्मः परिश्रमम् । अथवा सदाशिवलोके तस्यात्मसंतोषार्थमारभामहे । तस्योद्योगसाफल्येहया ' भुवनेशन्यायसाहस्री ' नाम्ना तस्य स्मरणे प्रकाश्यते ग्रन्थः" ॥

As its name implies, it consists, professedly, of 1000 nyāyas, or, as Dr. Bühler called them, 'inferences from familiar instances.' But even a cursory inspection makes it clear that a large number of them are, strictly speaking, *subhāṣitas* rather than nyāyas; whilst a closer examination reduces the number of the latter still further by revealing the fact that many of them are duplicates. Here is a list of such:

{ 8. जलतुंबिकान्यायः ॥
{ 704. व्यपगतलेपालाबुन्यायः ॥

The latter is simply a description of the former, and not a separate nyāya at all.

{ 99. संसर्गजा दोषगुणा भवन्ति ॥
{ 635. संगगुणदोषन्यायः ॥

These are not only identical but are also illustrated by the same example, *viz*, "सन्तप्तायास संस्थितस्य पयसः &c." No reference is given in either case, but the verse is found in Bhartṛihari's *Nītiśataka* (67), and as *Pañcatantra*, i, 250.

{ 139. यत्रोभयोः समो दोषः परिहारोऽपि वा समः ॥
{ 140. यत्रोभयोः समो दोषो न तत्रैकोऽनुयोज्यः ॥

The author tells us that the former is सांख्यप्रवचनभाष्यधृतः and that the latter is पूर्वन्यायमूलकः Both statements are wrong. Aniruddha's comment on sūtra, i, 6 contains the former, and the source of both is *Mahābhāṣya*, 6, 1, 9 (vārt. 2).

{ 148. एकाकिनी प्रतिज्ञा हि प्रतिज्ञातं न साधयेत् ॥
{ 149. न हि प्रतिज्ञामात्रेणार्थसिद्धिः ॥

{ 153. वरघाताय कन्यावरणम् ॥
{ 154. न हि वरघाताय कन्यामुद्वाहयन्ति ॥

{ 187. नाज्ञातविशेषणविशिष्टबुद्धिर्विशेषणमुपसंक्रामाति ॥
{ 461. नागृहीतविशेषणा बुद्धिर्विशेष्यमुपसंक्रामति ॥

These two are meant to be identical in meaning, but the former is manifestly wrong.

{ 237. शाब्दी ह्याकांक्षा शब्देनैव पूर्यते ॥
{ 238. न हि शाब्दमशब्देन ॥

{ 256. अर्द्धवेशन्यायः ॥
{ 773. अर्द्धकुक्कुटीन्यायः ॥
{ 876. अर्द्धवैशसन्यायः ॥

The first of these three must have been invented by the author. But, though meaningless, the explanation assigned to it by him is practically the same as that of the other two.

{ 273. स्वभावोदुरतिक्रमः ॥
{ 808. स्वजातिर्दुरतिक्रमा ॥

{ 323. }
{ 324. } The भ्रमरन्याय does duty for the three.
{ 325. }

{ 339. वैशेष्यात्तु तद्वादः ॥
{ 759. भूयस्त्वात्तद्वादः ॥

The former of these is *Brahmasūtra* 2, 4, 22, in explaining which Śaṅkarāchārya says, "विशेषस्य भावो वैशेष्यं भूयस्त्वमिति यावत्."

{ 342. प्रक्षालनाद्धि पंकस्य, &c. ॥
{ 343. पंकप्रक्षालनन्यायः ॥

{ 365. बहूनामनुग्रहो न्याय्यः ॥
{ 567. बहूनामनुरोधो न्याय्यः ॥

{ 414 & 415. घटीयन्त्रन्यायः ॥
{ 726. घटीयन्त्रस्थितघटभ्रमणन्यायः ॥
{ 727. आरघट्टघटीभ्रान्तिन्यायः ॥

{ 418. तत्स्थानापन्नस्तत्कार्यं लभते ॥
{ 615. अतिदेशन्यायः ॥
{ 833. यो यस्य प्रसंगे लभतेऽसौ तत्कृतानि कार्याणि ॥

The three are explained in the same way. The last, taken from *Mahābhāṣya*, 1, 1, 56 (vārt. 1) has two mistakes!

{ 426. न चान्यार्थं प्रकृतमन्यार्थं भवति ॥
{ 427. अन्यार्थं प्रकृतमन्यार्थं भवति ॥

{ 445. अभ्यन्तरे हि समुदायेऽवयवः ॥
{ 828. अभ्यन्तराश्च समुदायेऽवयवाः ॥

{ 458. मणिप्रदीपप्रभान्यायः ॥
{ 921. संवादिभ्रमन्यायः ॥

For the connection between these two, see Part ii of my *Laukikanyāyāñjali* (second edition) under मणिप्रभामणिमतिन्याय.

{ 474. कान्तारोत्तरणाय सार्थः ॥
{ 834. कान्तारन्यायः ॥

{ 514. गोश्रृंगग्राहिकान्यायः ॥
{ 748. श्रृंगग्राहिकान्यायः ॥

The latter is *invariably* the form in which the nyāya is quoted.

{ 658. अशक्तोऽहं गृहारंभे, &c. ॥
{ 803. सूचीमुखीन्यायः ॥

The author quotes the following verse under 658, and tells us that it was addressed by the monkey to the *caṭakā* in the well-known story in *Pañcatantra* :—" सूचीमुखि दुराचारे रण्डे पण्डितमानिनि । असमर्थो गृहारंभे समर्थो गृहभंजने " ॥ This is by no means borne out by the Bombay edition, where verse i. 392 stands thus :— " सूचीमुखि दुराचारे रे रे पण्डितवादिनि । नाशंकसे प्रजल्पन्तीं तत्किमेनां न हन्म्यहम्" ॥

{ 711. अनन्यलभ्यः शास्त्रार्थः ॥
{ 712. अनन्यलभ्यः शब्दार्थः ॥

{ 777. भूतं भव्याय कल्पते ॥
{ 852. भूतं भव्याय दिदृश्यते ॥

We get no explanation of the former, but are told that the latter is taken from the *Mīmāṃsānyāyāprakāśa*. It is found on page 16 of Prof. Gaṅgānāth Jhā's edition, but the verb is neither कल्पते nor दिदृश्यते, but उपदिश्यते. So, too, on pp. 377 and 427 of *Tattvadīpana* (Benares Sanskrit Series). What explanation can be given of दिदृश्यते? It beats me altogether.

{ 812. यत्प्रायः श्रूयत इति न्यायः ॥
{ 813. यत्प्राये यच्च यादृक्च तत्तादृगवगम्यतं ॥

These are regarded by the author as too clear to need elucidation; but I doubt if even Sarasvatī herself could get much meaning out of them. The nyāya of which they are a perversion is quoted correctly by Raghunāthavarma (on p. 60 of the Benares edition of his smaller work) and agrees with the first line of the following verse in *Bhāmatī*, 1, 1, 4 :—" यत्प्राये श्रूयते यच्च तत्तादृगवगम्यते ॥ भाक्तप्राये श्रुतमिदमतो भाक्तं प्रतीयते " ॥ In the preface to the first edition of my *Second Handful of Popular Maxims*, I gave a short description of Raghunātha's two treatises, and stated that " the general plan in both is, first a disquisition on the tenets of some school of philosophy, in which a great many maxims are incorporated, and then a recapitulation of the latter alone, numbered consecutively." When thus repeated it is often in a shortened form. It was so in this case, the nyāya being quoted on page 100 as " यत्प्राये शूयत इति. " It is not unreasonable to suppose that this, though marred by the Pandit, was the source of his 812. That he has been a *borrower on a large scale* is undeniable. In itself that is no crime, for all of us make use of good material when we come upon it; but *to do so without acknowledgment*, is, in my opinion, at any rate, most reprehensible. And this is what Pandit Ṭhākur Datta has done. All but 38 of the 404 nyāyas contained in the *Laukikanyāya saṅgraha* are reproduced in his pages, in much

the same order in which Raghunāthavarma grouped them, and generally accompanied by his explanatory matter; but *without a syllable of acknowledgment!*

We are informed on the title-page that the book was revised by Śāstrīs; but their संशोधन must have lacked thoroughness, judging by the incorrect form in which several of the nyāyas are found. The following is a list of the worst of them :—

28. अम्रवणं° for आम्रवण°

59. यौजनप्रायायाँ for योजनप्राप्यायां

93. उपनयन्नपनयन्धर्मः &c., for उपयन्नपयन्धर्मः

As pointed out in the second edition of Part ii of my *Laukikanyāyāñjali*, this is the 2nd line of *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, ii, 35; and I have since traced it to the expression " न ह्यविकृत्य संयोगि द्रव्यं गुणः कश्चिदुपयन्नपयन्वा दृष्टः क्वचित् ", in Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on *Bṛihadāraṇy-a kopaniṣad*, 1, 4, 7.

135. पतन्तमनुधावतोऽपि गतः should be पतन्तमनुधावतो बद्धोऽपि गतः ॥

165. आभणक° should be आभाणक°

194. दधित्रपुषं should be दधित्रपुसं

230. The example from Vāsiṣṭha is wrongly quoted. It should read बभूवाराजकं in the second line, not बभूव राजकं. The verse is *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, 5, 37, 7.

263. विशिष्टधर्मे वृत्तस्य should be विशिष्टवृत्तेर्धर्मस्य.

382. बालाग्रशतभागोऽपि, &c. See my remarks on this incorrect quotation of Raghunātha's under प्रमाणवन्त्यदृष्टानि, &c., on page 118 of Part iii of my collection. The verse is from *Tantravārtika*, 2, 1, 5 (p. 374).

383. This is quite wrong. The nyāya is "परस्परविरोधे हि न प्रकारान्तरस्थितिः" See page 53 of my work quoted above. Important as this and 382 are, each is dismissed with the one word "स्फुटः" Why include a nyāya which needs neither explanation nor illustration? Yet there are scores of such in this volume. In contrast to these two, such a mis-called nyāya as "गतानुगतिको लोको न लोकः पारमार्थिकः" has 15 lines of explanatory matter, and even such rubbish as गृहस्थः क्रियमुद्वहेत् is allowed three. But these are thrown into the shade by the उपसर्गन्याय to which, though utterly out of place in a work of this kind, no less than ten and-a-half pages are allotted!

446. The author maintains that the form उभयतःपाशा रज्जुः, in which this is *invariably* found, is wrong, and that it ought to be उभयतस्पाशारज्जुः One of his reasons is that पाश is masculine. But what of that? रज्जु is feminine, and उभयतःपाशा is an adjective in agreement with it. According to Ṭhākur Datta, स्पाशा is a feminine noun from the root स्पश् बाधनस्पर्शनयोः The root is correct enough, but can the Pandit quote a passage in which the feminine noun स्पाशा occurs?

477. मत्तकाशिन्यादृष्टा तिर्यक्षु कामिता is nonsense, and so is the explanation of it. The real form of the nyāya as quoted by Udayana is "अलाभे मत्तकाशिन्या दृष्टा तिर्यक्षु कामिता." Yet the author says अयं न्यायो यत्राधिकार्थलाभेऽल्पार्थे वृत्तिरिति विवक्षा तत्र प्रवर्तते ॥ This is exactly *the opposite* of what the nyāya teaches! Both the nyāya and the comment on it were transferred from Raghunātha's treatise, but were transfigured *en route!*

531. बहुभ्यः श्रोतव्य (!) बहुधेति न्यायः ॥

It goes without saying that this ungrammatical sentence was not taken from Raghunātha. It is said by its author to teach that a man should *not* learn from numerous teachers, but should select *one* competent guru only! What were the learned Śāstrīs about, in allowing this to pass?

But अलं परिभाषाभिः ॥ Let me close with a word of thanks to the author for his nyāya 755, "अचिन्त्याः खलु ये भावा न तांस्तर्केण साधयेत्." with the reference to *Bhīṣma Parva*, v. 12. This line (with योजयेत् for साधयेत्) is quoted in the Śaṅkara-bhāṣya on *Brahmasûtra*, 2, 1, 6, and the complete verse in that on sûtra, 2, 1, 27; but I tried in vain some years ago to trace them to their source. Dr. Thibaut and Dr. Deussen were apparently in the same predicament, since no reference accompanies it in their well-known translations of the bhāṣya. The second line of the verse in *Bhīṣma Parva* and in the bhāṣya is "प्रकृतिभ्यः परं यत्तु तदचिन्त्यस्य लक्षणम्", but under nyāya 756 of this volume it is quoted as "नाप्रतिष्ठिततर्केण गंभीरार्थस्य निश्चयः" and it is in that form that it appears in Vidyāraṇya's *Anubhūtiprakāśa*, xiii, 73, in *Advaitabrahmasiddhi*, page 56, and in the *Vācaspatyam*, s. v. तर्क.

I would add that although the volume under review was published early in the year, it came into my hands only three weeks ago.

G. A. JACOB.

Redhill, 30th Nov. 1909.

ACCOUNT OF A COLLECTION OF COPPER-PLATES BELONGING TO PALITANA STATE.

BY THE LATE A. M. T. JACKSON, I.C.S.

EARLY in 1909 I received from Mr. W. C. Tudor Owen, I.C.S., Administrator of Palitânâ, a collection of twelve copper-plates and a seal, as to which Mr. Tudor Owen writes, "I am told that the twelve plates were found fastened together by it (the seal) and suspendel by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank in the city (Palitânâ) underneath a large stone. They were found some 40 years ago, but kept secretly in the Palace here. It is said an old Brahman told the Chief of their existence and that he dug them up."

The twelve plates make up five complete grants and the first halves of two others. The most interesting is the Grant numbered I, below, which belongs to a hitherto **unknown dynasty, the Gārulakas.** All the rest, including the two fragments, belong to the **Valabhi dynasty** and all but one of them (the fragment marked VII) follow the earlier form of Valabhi grants, in which the genealogy is given in full. In the later grants of this family (from Śīlāditya I, downwards) all the successions between Bhaṭārka and Guhasena are omitted.

The standard forms are printed as Nos. 38 and 39 of Fleet's Gupta inscriptions.

I hope to publish elsewhere the full text of No. I, together with a collation of the others with the standard Valabhi grants. The chief points of interest as regards each grant are noted below:—

No. I.—Two plates $7\frac{3}{8}' \times 9\frac{7}{8}'$ carefully engraved on one side only in 6th century characters of the southern type, measuring about $\frac{3}{16}'$. Each plate bears fourteen lines of writing. Dated in figures the year 255 of an unspecified **era** (doubtless **the Valabhi**) on the 13th day of the bright half of Aśvayuja. The thing granted is (the field) Bhondaka Badhira Kuṭumbi with a well in Darbhacara village. The recipient is the Brahman Bappasvāmi, a Maitrāyaṇīya student of the Krisṇātreya *gotra*, and a resident of the village of Valāpadra. The grantor is **Sāmanta-Mahārāja Siṁhāditya,** son of Sāmanta-Mahārāja Varāhadāsa, who was younger brother of Sāmanta-Mahārāja Bhaṭṭisūra who was son of Senāpati Varāhadāsa of the warlike Gārulaka family. The grant is made from Phankapusuvarna (?) and there is no *dūtaka*. The general scheme and phraseology are very similar to those of Valabhi grants, and no definite historical information is given except as to **Varāhadāsa II,** who is compared to Krisṇa in that he attacked with irresistible valour the lord of Dvārakā, and is described as a great builder. There is no seal or ring.

No. II.—Two plates $7' \times 10'$ engraved on one side only in 6th century characters of the southern type, measuring $\frac{1}{4}'$. There are fifteen lines of writing on the first plate and sixteen on the second. Dated in figures the year 205 of an unspecified **era (the Valabhi)** on the 10th day of the bright half of Bhādrapada. The things granted are:—(*a*) 140 pādāvarttas (of land) in Madkaṇa village of Hastavapra (Hathab) district: (*b*) 140 pādāvarttas in Tāpasiya village: and (*c*) 100 pādāvarttas in Tinishaka village. The grantees are Kumāraśarman and Jarabhajyi, two Brahman students of the Sāmaveda and Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, living at Śaṅkara Vaṭaka. The grantor is the **Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Dhruvasena,** younger brother of Mahārāja Droṇasiṁha, who was younger brother of Senāpati Dharasena, who was son of Senāpati Bhaṭakka of the Maitraka family. The grant is made from Valabhi. The *dūtaka* is the chamberlain **Mammaka** and the writer is Kikkaka. There is no seal or ring.

No. III.—Two plates $6\frac{1}{2}'$ × $10\frac{1}{2}'$ carefully engraved on one side only in 6th century characters of the southern type, measuring about $\frac{1}{4}'$. Each plate bears fourteen lines of writing. Dated in figures in the year 210 of an unspecified **era (the Valabhi)** on the 15th of the bright half of Śrāvana. The place at which the grant was issued is Valabhi. The things granted are:—(*a*) field and well in the south-west of Bhallara village in Hastavapra district: and (*b*) 50 pādāvarttas in the north of Vasukiya village. The grantee is Viṣṇuśarman, a Brahman student of the Vājasaneya, who belonged to the Jābāli *gotra* and lived at Siṁhapura. The grantor is the **Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Dhruvasena**, younger brother of the Mahārāja Droṇasiṁha, who was younger brother of the Senāpati Dharasena, who was the son of Senāpati Śrī Bhaṭakka of the Maitraka family. The *dūtaka* is the chamberlain Mammaka, and the writer is Kikkaka.

No. IV.—Two plates $7\frac{1}{4}'$ × $10\frac{3}{8}'$ engraved on one side only in 6th century characters of the southern type, measuring about $\frac{1}{4}'$. The first plate bears fifteen and the second twelve lines of writing. Dated in figures in the year 210 of an unspecified **era** (that of **Valabhi**) on the 5th of the bright (?) half of Aśvayuja. The grant was issued from Valabhi. The things granted are a field and a well in the village of Krolaka. The grantee is Skanda, a Brahman student of the Vājasaneya, who belonged to the Aupasvasti *gotra* and lived at Krolaka itself. The grantor was the **Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Dhruvasena**, who was younger brother of the Mahārāja Droṇasiṁha who was the younger brother of the Senāpati Dharasena, who was son of the Senāpati Śrī Bhaṭakka of the Maitraka family. The *dūtaka* is Rudradhara and the writer Kikkaka. There is no seal or ring.

No. V.—Two plates $8'$ × $11\frac{1}{4}'$ engraved on one side only in 6th century characters of the southern type, measuring about $\frac{3}{16}'$. Each plate bears eighteen lines of writing. Dated in figures in the year 252 of an unspecified **era** (that of **Valabhi**) on the 15th of the bright half of Vaiśākha. The grant was issued from Valabhi. The things granted are lands in the villages of Nāṭyoṭaka Yakalika and Derakshita-pāṭaka, on both banks of the Vatsa stream, in the bed of the Khaṇḍabhedaka tank, in Citra-sthalya village and in Kadamba-padra village with all rights thereto appertaining. The grantees are Rogha and Śyena, Brahman students of the Vājasaneya Mādhyandina school and the Kauśika *gotra*. The grantor is **Śrī Mahārāja Dharasena**, son of Śrī Mahārāja Guhasena, son of Śrī Mahārāja Dharapata who was younger brother of Śrī Mahārāja Dhruvasena who was younger brother of Mahārāja Śrī Droṇasiṁha who was younger brother of Śrī Senāpati Dharasena, who was son of Śrī Senāpati Bhaṭakka. There is no *dūtaka*. The writer is Skandabhaṭa, minister of peace and war. There is no seal or ring.

No. VI.—A single plate $6\frac{1}{4}'$ × $11\frac{1}{8}'$ engraved on one side only in 6th century characters of the southern type, measuring about $\frac{1}{4}'$, in thirteen lines. The date, the thing granted, and the names of the grantee, *dūtaka* and writer are lost. But the grant was made from **Valabhi** by the **Mahārāja Dhruvasena**, younger brother of the Mahārāja Droṇasiṁha, who was the younger brother of the Senāpati Dharasena, who was the son of Śrī Senāpati Bhaṭakka of the Maitraka family.

No. VII.—A single plate $8\frac{1}{2}'$ × $11\frac{3}{4}'$ engraved on one side only in **6th or 7th century characters** of the southern type, measuring about $\frac{1}{4}'$, in eighteen lines. The date, the thing granted, and the names of grantee, grantor, *dūtaka* and writer are lost. But the plate gives the genealogy in the later standard form, breaking off in the middle of the description of **Śīlāditya I**, who was very probably the grantor. There is no seal or ring.

The seal above referred to is of the usual **Valabhi type** showing in relief a humped bull lying facing to the proper right, and below it a line under which is the legend "**Sri Bhaṭakka**" in 6th century characters. As it gives the name of the king in the older form, it may have belonged to any one of the grants numbered II to V above.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V—XV).

Translated by

R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.,

Librarian, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.[77]

(Continued from p. 118.)

Book XI.

Concerning a powerful enemy (Âbalîyasam).

Chapter I.

The duties of a messenger (Dûtakarmâṇi).

When a king of poor resources is attacked by a powerful enemy, he should surrender himself together with his sons to the enemy and live like a reed (in the midst of a current of water).

Bhâradvâja says that he who surrenders himself to the strong, bows down before Indra (the god of rain).

But Viśâlâksha says that a weak king should rather fight with all his resources, for bravery destroys all troubles; this (fighting) is the natural duty of a Kshattriya, no matter whether he achieves victory or sustains defeat in battle.

No, says Kauṭilya: he who bows down to all like a crab on the banks (of a river) lives in despair; whoever goes with his small army to fight perishes like a man attempting to cross the sea without a boat. Hence a weak king should either seek the protection of a powerful king or maintain himself in an impregnable fort.

Invaders are of three kinds: a just conqueror, a demon-like conqueror, and a greedy conqueror.

Of these, the just conqueror is satisfied with mere obeisance. Hence a weak king should seek his protection.

Fearing his own enemies, the greedy conqueror is satisfied with what he can safely gain in land or money. Hence a weak king should satisfy such a conqueror with wealth.

The demon-like conqueror satisfies himself not merely by seizing the land, treasure, sons and wives of the conquered, but by taking the life of the latter. Hence a weak king should keep such a conqueror at a distance by offering him land and wealth.

When any one of these is on the point of rising against a weak king, the latter should avert the invasion by making a treaty of peace, or by taking recourse to the battle of intrigue (*mantra-yuddha*), or by a treacherous fight in the battle-field. He may seduce the enemy's men either by conciliation or by giving gifts, and should prevent the treacherous proceedings of his own men either by sowing the seeds of dissension among them or by punishing them. Spies, under concealment, may capture the enemy's fort, country, or camp with the aid of weapons, poison, or fire. He may harass the enemy's rear on all sides; and he may devastate the enemy's country through the help of wild tribes. Or he may set up a scion of the enemy's family or an imprisoned prince to seize the enemy's territory. When all this mischief has been perpetrated, a messenger may be sent to the enemy (to sue for peace); or he may make peace with the enemy without offending the latter. If the enemy still continues the march, the weak king may sue for peace by offering more than one-fourth of his wealth and army, the payment being made after the lapse of a day and night.

[77] The first four books have been published in the *Mysore Review*, 1906—1909.

If the enemy desires to make peace on condition of the weak king surrendering a portion of his army, he may give the enemy such of his elephants and cavalry as are uncontrolable or as are provided with poison; if the enemy desires to make peace on condition of his surrendering his chief men, he may send over to the enemy such portion of his army as is full of traitors, enemies and wild tribes under the command of a trusted officer, so that both his enemy and his own undesirable army may perish; or he may provide the enemy with an army composed of fiery spies, taking care to satisfy his own disappointed men (before sending them over to the enemy); or he may transfer to the enemy his own faithful and hereditary army that is capable to hurt the enemy on occasions of trouble; if the enemy desires to make peace on condition of his paying certain amount of wealth, he may give the enemy such precious articles as do not find a purchaser or such raw products as are of no use in war; if the enemy desires to make peace on condition of his ceding a part of his land, he should provide the enemy with that kind of land which he can recover, which is always at the mercy of another enemy, which possesses no protective defences, or which can be colonised at considerable cost of men and money; or he may make peace surrendering his whole State except his capital.

He should so contrive as to make the enemy accept that which another enemy is likely to carry off by force; and he should take care more of his person than of his wealth, for of what interest is perishing wealth? [78]

Chapter II.

Battle of intrigue (Mantrayuddham).

If the enemy does not keep peace, he should be told:—

"These kings perished by surrendering themselves to the Aggregate of the six Enemies; it is not worthy of you to follow the lead of these unwise kings; be mindful of Virtue and Wealth; those who advise you to brave danger, sin and violation of wealth, are enemies under the guise of friends; it is danger to fight with men who are reckless of their own lives; it is sin to cause the loss of life on both sides; it is violation of wealth to abandon the wealth at hand and the friend of no mean character (meaning the addresser himself); that king has many friends whom he will set against you with the same wealth (that is acquired with your help at my expense), and who will fall upon you from all sides; that king has not lost his influence over the Circle of the *madhyama* and neutral States; but you have lost that power over them who are, therefore, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon you; patiently bear the loss of men and money again; break peace with that friend; then we shall be able to remove him from that stronghold over which he has lost his influence. Hence it is not worthy of you to lend your ear to those enemies with the face of friends, to expose your real friends to trouble, to help your enemies to attain success, and to involve yourself in dangers costing life and wealth."

If without caring for the advice, the enemy proceeds on his own way, the weak king should create disaffection among the enemy's people by adopting such measures as are explained in the chapters, "The Conduct of Corporations[79]," and "Enticement of the enemy by secret contrivances[80]." He should also make use of fiery spies and poison. Against what is described as deserving protection in the chapter, "Safety of his own person[81]," fiery spies and poisoners should be employed (in the enemy's court). Keepers of harlots should excite love in the minds of the leaders of the enemy's army by exhibiting women endowed with youth and beauty. Fiery spies should bring about quarrels among them when one or two of them have fallen in love. In the affray that ensues, they should prevail upon the defeated party to migrate elsewhere or to proceed to help the master (of the spies) in the invasion undertaken by the latter.

[78] In *sloka* metre. [79] Chapter 1, Book X. [80] Chapter 2, Book XIII. [81] Chapter 21, Book I.

Or to those who have fallen in love, spies, under the guise of ascetics, may administer poison under the plea that the medical drugs given to them are capable of securing the object of love.

A spy, under the guise of a merchant, may, under the plea of winning the love of an immediate maid-servant of the beautiful queen (of the enemy), shower wealth upon her and then give her up. A spy in the service of the merchant may give to another spy, employed as a servant of the maid-servant, some medical drug, telling the latter that (in order to regain the love of the merchant), the drug may be applied to the person of the merchant (by the maid-servant). On her attaining success (the maid-servant) may inform the queen that the same drug may be applied to the person of the king (to secure his love), and then change the drug for poison.

A spy, under the guise of an astrologer, may gradually delude the enemy's prime minister with the belief that he is possessed of all the physiognomical characteristics of a king; a mendicant woman may tell the minister's wife that she has the characteristics of a queen and that she will bring forth a prince; or a woman, disguised as the minister's wife, may tell him that "the king is troubling me; and an ascetic woman has brought to me this letter and jewelry."

Spies, under the guise of cooks, may, under the pretence of the king's (the enemy's) order, take some covetable wealth (to the minister) meant for use in an immediate expedition. A spy under the guise of a merchant may, by some contrivance or other, take possession of that wealth and inform the minister of the readiness of all the preparations (for the expedition). Thus by the employment of one, two, or three of the strategic means, the ministers of each of the combined enemies may be induced to set out on the expedition and thus to be away from the inimical kings.

Spies, under the service of the officer in charge of the enemy's waste lands may inform the citizens and country people residing in the enemy's fortified towns of the condition of the officer's friendship with the people, and say. "The officer in charge of the waste lands tells the warriors and departmental officers thus :—'The king has hardly escaped from danger and scarcely returns with life. Do not hoard up your wealth and thereby create enemies; if so, you will all be put to death.'—" When all the people are collected together, fiery spies may take the citizens out of the town and kill their leaders, saying, "Thus will be treated those who do not hear the officer in charge of the waste lands." On the waste lands under the charge of the officer, the spies may throw down weapons, money and ropes bespattered with blood. Then other spies may spread the news that the officer in charge of the waste lands destroys the people and plunders them. Similarly spies may cause disagreement between the enemy's collector-general and the people. Addressing the servants of the collector-general in the centre of the village at night, fiery spies may say, "Thus will be treated those who subject the people to unjust oppression." When the fault of the collector-general or of the officer in charge of the waste lands is widely known, the spies may cause the people to slay either of them, and employ in his place one of his family or one who is imprisoned.

Spreading the false news of the danger of the enemy, they (spies) may set fire to the harem, the gates of the town and the store-house of grains and other things, and slay the sentinels who are kept to guard them.[82]

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[82] In *śloka* metre.

Chapter III.

Slaying the commander-in-chief and inciting a Circle of States.

(Senâmukhyavadhah; maṇḍalaprotsahanam cha.)

Spies in the service of the king (the enemy) or of his courtiers may, under the pretence of friendship, say in the presence of other friends that the king is angry with the chiefs of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants. When their men are collected together, fiery spies, having guarded themselves against night watches, may, under the pretence of the king's (the enemy's) order, invite the chiefs to a certain house and slay the chiefs when returning from the house. Other spies in the vicinity may say that it has been the king's (the enemy's) order to slay them. Spies may also tell those who have been banished from the country, "this is just what we foretold; for personal safety, you may go elsewhere."

Spies may also tell those who have not received what they requested of the king (the enemy) that the officer in charge of waste lands has been told by the king, "such and such a person has begged of me what he should not demand; I refused to grant his request; he is in conspiracy with my enemy. So make attempts to put him down." Then the spies may proceed in their usual way.

Spies may also tell those who have been granted their request by the king (the enemy) that the officer in charge of waste lands has been told by the king, "such and such persons have demanded their due from me; I have granted them all their requests in order to gain their confidence. But they are conspiring with my enemy. So make attempts to put them down." Then the spies may proceed in their usual way.

Spies may also tell those who do not demand their due from the king that the officer in charge of waste lands has been told, "such and such persons do not demand their due from me. What else can be the reason than their suspicion about my knowledge of their guilt? So make attempts to put them down." Then the spies may proceed in their usual way.

This explains the treatment of partisans.

A spy employed as the personal servant of the king (the enemy) may inform him that such and such ministers of his are being interviewed by the enemy's servants. When he comes to believe this, some treacherous persons may be represented as the messengers of the enemy, specifying as "this is that."

The chief officers of the army may be induced by offering land and gold to fall against their own men and secede from the enemy (their king). If one of the sons of the commander-in-chief is living near or inside the fort, a spy may tell him, "you are the most worthy son; still you are neglected; why are you indifferent? Seize your position by force; otherwise the heir-apparent will destroy you."

Or some one of the family (of the commander-in-chief or the king), or one who is imprisoned may be bribed in gold and told, "destroy the internal strength of the enemy, or a portion of his force in the border of his country."

Or having seduced wild tribes with rewards of wealth and honour, they may be incited to devastate the enemy's country. Or the enemy's rear-enemy may be told, "I am, as it were, a bridge to you all; if I am broken like rafter, this king will drown you all; let us, therefore, combine and thwart the enemy in his march." Accordingly, a message may be sent to individual or combined states to the effect, "after having done with me, this king will do his work of you; beware of it. I am the best man to be relied upon."

In order to escape from the danger from an immediate enemy, a king should frequently send to a *madhyama* or a neutral king (whatever would please him); or one may put one's whole property at the enemy's disposal.[83]

Chapter IV.

Spies with weapons, fire, and poison; and destruction of supply, stores and granaries. (Sastrâgnirasapraṇidhayah; vîvadhâsârapraśâravadhaścha.)

The conqueror's spies who are residing as traders in the enemy's forts, and those who are living as cultivators in the enemy's villages, as well as those who are living as cowherds or ascetics in the district borders of the enemy's country may send through merchants, information to another neighbouring enemy, or a wild chief, or a scion of the enemy's family, or an imprisoned prince that the enemy's country is to be captured. When their secret emissaries come as invited, they are to be pleased with rewards of wealth and honour and shewn the enemy's weak points; and with the help of the emissaries, the spies should strike the enemy at his weak points.

Or having put a banished prince in the enemy's camp, a spy, disguised as a vintner in the service of the enemy, may distribute as a toast hundreds of vessels of liquor mixed with the juice of the *madana* plant; or, for the first day, he may distribute a mild or intoxicating variety of liquor, and on the following days such liquor as is mixed with poison; or having given pure liquor to the officers of the enemy's army, he may give them poisoned liquor when they are in intoxication.

A spy, employed as a chief officer of the enemy's army, may adopt the same measures as those employed by the vintner.

Spies, disguised as experts in trading in cooked flesh, cooked rice, liquor, and cakes, may vie with each other in proclaiming in public the sale of a fresh supply of their special articles at cheap price and may sell the articles mixed with poison to the attracted customers of the enemy.

Women and children may receive in their poisoned vessels, liquor, milk, curd, ghee, or oil from traders in those articles, and pour those fluids back into the vessels of the traders, saying that at a specified rate the whole may be sold to them. Spies, disguised as merchants, may purchase the above articles, and may so contrive that servants, attending upon the elephants and horses of the enemy, may make use of the same articles in giving rations and grass to those animals. Spies, under the garb of servants, may sell poisoned grass and water.

Spies, let off as traders in cattle for a long time, may leave herds of cattle, sheep, or goats in tempting places so as to divert the attention of the enemy from the attack which they (the enemy) intend to make; spies as cowherds may let off such animals as are ferocious among horses, mules, camels, buffaloes and other beasts, having smeared the eyes of those animals with the blood of

[83] In *śloka* metre.

a musk rat (*chuchundarī*); spies as hunters may let off cruel beasts from traps; spies as snake-charmers may let off highly poisonous snakes; those who keep elephants may let off elephants (near the enemy's camp); those who live by making use of fire may set fire (to the camp, &c.). Secret spies may slay from behind the chiefs of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, or they may set fire to the chief residences of the enemy. Traitors, enemies and wild tribes, employed for the purpose, may destroy the enemy's rear or obstruct his reinforcement; or spies, concealed in forests, may enter into the border of the enemy's country, and devastate it; or they may destroy the enemy's supply, stores, and other things, when those things are being conveyed on a narrow path passable by a single man.

Or in accordance with a preconcerted plan, they may, on the occasion of a night-battle, go to the enemy's capital, and blowing a large number of trumpets, cry aloud,—"we have entered into the capital, and the country has been conquered." After entering into the king's (the enemy's) palace, they may kill the king in the tumult; when the king begins to run from one direction to another, Mlechchhas, wild tribes, or chiefs of the army, lying in ambush (*sattra*), or concealed near a pillar or a fence, may slay him; or spies, under the guise of hunters, may slay the king when he is directing his attack, or in the tumult of attack following the plan of treacherous fights. Or occupying an advantageous position, they may slay the enemy when he is marching in a narrow path passable by a single man, or on a mountain, or near the trunk of a tree, or under the branches of a banian tree, or in water; or they may cause him to be carried off by the force of a current of water let off by the destruction of a dam across a river, or of a lake or pond; or they may destroy him by means of an explosive fire or poisonous snake when he has entrenched himself in a fort, in a desert, in a forest, or in a valley. He should be destroyed with fire when he is under a thicket; with smoke when he is in a desert; with poison when he is in a comfortable place; with crocodile and other cruel beasts when he is in water; or they may slay him when he is going out of his burning house.

By means of such measures as are narrated in the chapter, "enticement of the enemy by secret means[84]", or by any other measures, the enemy should be caught hold of in places to which he is confined or from which he is attempting to escape.[85]

Chapter V.

Capture of the enemy by means of secret contrivances or by means of the army; and complete victory (Yogâtisandhânam, daṇḍâtisandhânam, ekavijayaścha).

Contrivances to kill the enemy may be formed in those places of worship and visit, which the enemy, under the influence of faith, frequents on occasions of worshipping gods, and of pilgrimage.

A wall or a stone, kept by mechanical contrivance, may, by loosening the fastenings, be let to fall on the head of the enemy when he has entered into a temple; stones and weapons may be showered over his head from the topmost storey; or a door-panel may be let to fall; or a huge rod kept over a wall or partly attached to a wall may be made to fall over him; or weapons kept inside the body of an idol may be thrown over his head; or the floor of those places where he usually stands, sits, or walks may be besprinkled with poison mixed with cow-dung or with pure

[84] Chapter 1, Book XIII.

[85] In *śloka* metre.

water; or under the plea of giving him flowers, scented powders, or of causing scented smoke, he may be poisoned; or by removing the fastenings made under a cot or a seat, he may be made to fall into a pit containing pointed spears; or when he is eager to escape from impending imprisonment in his own country, he may be led away to fall into the hands of a wild tribe or an enemy waiting for him not far from his country; or when he is eager to get out of his castle, he may be likewise misled or made to enter an enemy's country which is to be restored (to the conqueror); the enemy's people should also be kept under the protection of sons and brothers (of the conqueror) in some forts on a mountain, or in a forest, or in the midst of a river separated from the enemy's country by wild tracts of lands.

Measures to obstruct the movements of the enemy are explained in the chapter, "The conduct of a conquered king[86]."

Grass and firewood should be set on fire as far as a *yojana* ($6\frac{2}{11}$ miles); water should be vitiated and caused to flow away; mounds, wells, pits and thorns (outside the fort wall) should be destroyed; having widened the mouth of the underground tunnel of the enemy's fort, his stores and leaders may be removed; the enemy may also be likewise carried off; when the underground tunnel has been made by the enemy for his own use, the water in the ditch outside the fort may be made to flow into it; in suspicious places along the parapet (of the enemy's fort) and in the house containing a well outside the fort, empty pots or bronze vessels may be placed in order to find out the direction of the wind (blowing from the underground tunnel); when the direction of the tunnel is found out, a counter-tunnel may be formed; or having opened the tunnel, it may be filled with smoke or water.

Having arranged for the defence of the fort by a scion of his family, the enemy may run in an opposite direction where it is possible for him to meet with friends, relatives, or wild tribes, or with his enemy's treacherous friends of vast resources, or where he may separate his enemy from the latter's friends, or where he may capture the enemy's rear, or country, or where he may prevent the transport of supplies to his enemy, or whence he may strike his enemy by throwing down trees at hand, or where he can find means to defend his own country or to gather reinforcements for his hereditary army; or he may go to any other country whence he can obtain peace on his own terms.

His enemy's (the conqueror's) allies may send a mission to him, saying, "This man, your enemy, has fallen into our hands; under the plea of merchandise or some presentation, send gold and a strong force; we shall either hand over to you your enemy bound in chains, or banish him." If he approves of it, the gold and the army he may send may be received (by the conqueror).

Having access to the enemy's castle, the officer in charge of the boundaries (of the enemy's country) may lead a part of his force and slay the enemy in good faith; under the plea of destroying a people in some place, he may take the enemy to an inimical army; and having led the enemy to the surrounded place, he may slay the enemy in good faith.

A pretending friend may send information to an outsider, "Grains, oil, jaggery, and salt stored in the fort (of the enemy) have been exhausted; a fresh supply of them is expected to reach the fort at such and such a place and time; seize it by force." Then traitors, enemies, or wild tribes, or some other persons, specially appointed for the purpose, may send a supply of poisoned grains, oil, jaggery, and salt to the fort. This explains the seizure of all kinds of supply.

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86 Chapter 15, Book VII.

Having made peace with the conqueror, he may give the conqueror part of the gold promised and the rest gradually. Thus he may cause the conqueror's defensive forces to be slackened and then strike them down with fire, poison or sword; or he may win the confidence of the conqueror's courtiers deputed to take the tribute.

Or if his resources are exhausted, he may run away abandoning his fort; he may escape through a tunnel or through a hole newly made or by breaking the parapet.

Or having challenged the conqueror at night, he may successfully confront the attack; if he cannot do this, he may run away by a side path; or disguised as a heretic, he may escape with a small retinue; or he may be carried off by spies as a corpse; or disguised as a woman, he may follow a corpse (as it were, of her husband to the cremation ground); or on the occasion of feeding the people in honour of gods or of ancestors or in some festival, he may make use of poisoned rice and water, and having conspired with his enemy's traitors, he may strike the enemy with his concealed army; or when he is surrounded in his fort, he may lie concealed in a hole bored into the body of an idol after eating sacramental food and setting up an altar; or he may lie in a secret hole in a wall, or in a hole made in the body of an idol in an underground chamber; and when he is forgotten, he may get out of his concealment through a tunnel, and, entering into the palace, slay his enemy while sleeping, or loosening the fastenings of a machine (*yantra*), he may let it fall on his enemy; or when his enemy is lying in a chamber which is besmeared with poisonous and explosive substances or which is made of lac, he may set fire to it. Fiery spies, hidden in an underground chamber, or in a tunnel, or inside a secret wall, may slay the enemy when the latter is carelessly amusing himself in a pleasure park or any other place of recreation; or spies under concealment may poison him; or women under concealment may throw a snake, or poison, or fire or poisonous smoke over his person when he is asleep in a confined place; or spies, having access to the enemy's harem, may, when opportunities occur, do to the enemy whatever is found possible on the occasion, and then get out unknown. On such occasions, they should make use of the signs indicative of the purpose of their society.

Having by means of trumpet sounds called together the sentinels at the gate as well as aged men and other spies stationed by others, the enemy may completely carry out the rest of his work.[87]

Book XIII.

Strategic means to capture a fortress (Durgalambhopâyah).

Chapter I.

Sowing the seeds of dissension (Upajâpah).

When the conqueror is desirous of seizing an enemy's village, he should infuse enthusiastic spirit among his own men and frighten his enemy's people by giving publicity to his power of omniscience and close association with gods.

Proclamation of his omniscience is as follows:—rejection of his chief officers when their secret, domestic and other private affairs are known; revealing the names of traitors after receiving information from spies specially employed to find out such men; pointing out the impolitic aspect of any course of action suggested to him; and pretensions to the knowledge of foreign affairs by means of his power to read omens and signs invisible to others when information about foreign affairs is just received through a domestic pigeon which has brought a sealed letter.

[87] In *Śloka* metre.

Proclamation of his association with gods is as follows:—holding conversation with, and worshipping, the spies who pretend to be the gods of fire or altar when through a tunnel they come to stand in the midst of fire, altar, or in the interior of a hollow image; holding conversation with, and worshipping, the spies who rise up from water and pretend to be the gods and goddesses of Nâgas (snakes); placing under water at night a mass of sea foam mixed with burning oil, and exhibiting it as the spontaneous outbreak of fire, when it is burning in a line; sitting on a raft in water, which is secretly fastened by a rope to a rock; such magical performance in water as is usually done at night by bands of magicians, using the sack of abdomen or womb of water animals to hide the head and the nose, and applying to the nose the oil, prepared from the entrails of red spotted deer and the serum of the flesh of the crab, crocodile, porpoise, and otter; holding conversation, as though, with women of Varuṇa (the god of water), or of Nâga (the snake god) when they are performing magical tricks in water; and sending out volumes of smoke from the mouth on occasions of anger.[88]

Astrologers, sooth-sayers, horologists, story-tellers (*paurâṇika*), as well as those, who read the forebodings of every moment, together with spies and their disciples, inclusive of those who have witnessed the wonderful performances of the conqueror should give wide publicity to the power of the king to associate with gods throughout his territory. Likewise in foreign countries, they should spread the news of gods appearing before the conqueror and of his having received from heaven weapons and treasure. Those who are well versed in horary astrology and the science of omens should proclaim abroad that the conqueror is a successful expert in explaining the indications of dreams and in understanding the language of beasts and birds. They should not only attribute the contrary to his enemy, but also show to the enemy's people the shower of firebrand (*ulkâ*) with the noise of drums (from the sky) on the day of the birth-star of the enemy.

The conqueror's chief messengers, pretending to be friendly towards the enemy, should highly speak of the conqueror's respectful treatment of visitors, of the strength of his army, and of the likelihood of impending destruction of his enemy's men. They should also make it known to the enemy that under their master, both ministers and soldiers are equally safe and happy, and that their master treats his servants with parental care in their weal or woe. By these and other means, they should win over the enemy's men as pointed out above, and as we are going to treat of them again at length:—

They should characterise the enemy as an ordinary donkey towards skilful persons; as the branch of *lakucha* (*Artocarpus Lacucha*) broken to the officers of his army; as a crab on the shore to anxious persons; as a downpour of lightnings to those who are treated with contempt; as a reed, a barren tree, or an iron ball, or as false clouds to those who are disappointed; as the ornaments of an ugly woman to those who are disappointed in spite of their worshipful service; as a tiger's skin, or as a trap of death to his favourites; and as eating a piece of the wood of *pilu* (*Careya Arborea*), or as churning the milk of a she-camel or a she-donkey (for butter) to those who are rendering to him valuable help.

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[88] These and other magical tricks employed by ancient kings for political purposes, satisfactorily explain the origin and growth of Purâṇic Mythology. No one can believe them as real miracles in the face of Châṇakya's plain statement of the tricks.

When the people of the enemy are convinced of this, they may be sent to the conqueror to receive wealth and honour. Those of the enemy who are in need of money and food should be supplied with an abundance of those things. Those who do not like to receive such things may be presented with ornaments for their wives and children.

When the people of the enemy are suffering from famine and the oppression of thieves and wild tribes, the conqueror's spies should sow the seeds of dissension among them, saying, "Let us request the king for favour, and go elsewhere if not favoured."

When they agree to such proposals, they should be supplied with money, grains, and other necessary help: thus, much can be done by sowing the seeds of dissension.[89]

Chapter II.

Enticement of kings by secret contrivances. (Yogavâmanam.)

An ascetic, with shaved head or braided hair and living in the cave of a mountain, may pretend to be four hundred years old, and, followed by a number of disciples with braided hair, halt in the vicinity of the capital city of the enemy. The disciples of the ascetic may make presentations of roots and fruits to the king and his ministers and invite them to pay a visit to the venerable ascetic. On the arrival of the king on the spot, the ascetic may acquaint him with the history of ancient kings and their states, and tell him, "Every time when I complete the course of a hundred years, I enter into the fire and come out of it as a fresh youth (*bâla*). Now, here in your presence, I am going to enter into the fire for the fourth time. It is highly necessary that you may be pleased to honour me with your presence at the time. Please request three boons." When the king agrees to do so, he may be requested to come and remain at the spot with his wives and children for seven nights to witness the sacrificial performance. When he does so, he may be caught hold of.

An ascetic, with shaved head or braided hair, and followed by a number of disciples with shaved heads or braided hair, and pretending to be aware of whatever is contained in the interior of the earth, may put in the interior of an ant-hill either a bamboo stick wound round with a piece of cloth drenched in blood and painted with gold dust, or a hollow golden tube into which a snake can enter and remain. One of the disciples may tell the king, "This ascetic can discover blooming treasure trove." When he asks the ascetic (as to the veracity of the statement), the latter should acknowledge it, and produce a confirmatory evidence (by pulling out the bamboo stick); or having kept some more gold in the interior of the ant-hill, the ascetic may tell the king, "This treasure trove is guarded by a snake and can possibly be taken out by performing necessary sacrifice. When the king agrees to do so, he may be requested to come and remain . . . (as before).

When an ascetic, pretending to be able to find out hidden treasure trove, is seated with his body burning with magical fire at night in a lonely place, his disciples may bring the king to see him and inform the king that the ascetic can find out treasure trove. While engaged in performing some work at the request of the king, the latter may be requested to come and remain at the spot for seven nights . . . (as before).

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89 In *śloka* metre.

An accomplished ascetic may beguile a king by his knowledge of the science of magic known as *jambhaka*, and request him to come and remain . . . as before.

An accomplished ascetic, pretending to have secured the favour of the powerful guardian deity of the country, may often beguile the king's chief ministers with his wonderful performance and gradually impose upon the king.

Any person, disguised as an ascetic and living under water or in the interior of an idol entered into through a tunnel or an underground chamber, may be said by his disciples to be Varuṇa, the god of water, or the king of snakes, and shown to the king. While going to accomplish whatever the king may desire, the latter may be requested to come and remain . . . as before.

An accomplished ascetic, halting in the vicinity of the capital city, may invite the king to witness the person of his enemy; when he comes to witness the invocation of his enemy's life in the image to be destroyed, he may be murdered in an unguarded place.

Spies, under the guise of merchants come to sell horses, may invite the king to examine and purchase any of the animals. While attentively examining the horses, he may be murdered in the tumult or trampled down by horses.

Getting into an altar at night in the vicinity of the capital city of the enemy and blowing through tubes or hollow reeds the fire contained in a few pots, some fiery spies may shout aloud, "We are going to eat the flesh of the king or of his ministers; let the worship of the gods go on." Spies, under the guise of soothsayers and horologists may spread the news abroad.

Spies, disguised as *nâgas* (snake-gods) and with their body besmeared with burning oil (*tejanataila*), may stand in the centre of a sacred pool of water or of a lake at night, and, sharpening their iron swords or spikes, may shout aloud as before.

Spies, wearing coats formed of the skins of bears and sending out volumes of smoke from their mouth, may pretend to be demons, and after circumambulating the city thrice from right to left, may shout aloud as before at a place full of the horrid noise of antelopes and jackals; or spies may set fire to an altar or an image of a god covered with a layer of mica besmeared with burning[90] oil at night, and shout aloud as before. Others may spread this news abroad; or they may cause (by some contrivance or other) blood to flow out in floods from revered images of gods. Others may spread this news abroad and challenge any bold or brave man to come out to witness this flow of divine blood. Whoever accepts the challenge may be beaten to death by others with rods, making the people believe that he was killed by demons. Spies and other witnesses may inform the king of this wonder. Then spies, disguised as soothsayers and astrologers may prescribe auspicious and expiatory rites to avert the evil consequences which would otherwise overtake the king and his country. When the king agrees to the proposal, he may be asked to perform in person special sacrifices and offerings with special *mantras* every night for seven days. Then, (while doing this, he may be slain) as before.

In order to delude other kings, the conqueror may himself undertake the performance of expiatory rites to avert such evil consequences as the above and thus set an example to others.

[90] See Chapter 2, Book XIV.

In view of averting the evil consequences of unnatural occurrences, he (the conqueror) may collect money (from his subjects).[91]

When the enemy is fond of elephants, spies may delude him with the sight of a beautiful elephant reared by the officer in charge of elephant-forests. When he desires to capture the elephant, he may be taken to a remote desolate part of the forest, and killed or carried off as a prisoner. This explains the fate of kings addicted to hunting.

When the enemy is fond of wealth or women, he may be beguiled at the sight of rich and beautiful widows brought before him with a plaint for the recovery of a deposit kept by them in the custody of one of their kinsmen; and when he comes to meet with a woman at night as arranged, hidden spies may kill him with weapons or poison.

When the enemy is in the habit of paying frequent visits to ascetics, altars, sacred pillars (*stûpa*), and images of gods, spies hidden in underground chambers or in subterranean passages, or inside the walls, may strike him down.

(*a*) Whatever may be the sights or spectacles which the king goes in person to witness ; wherever he may engage himself in sports or in swimming in water ;

(*b*) Wherever he may be careless in uttering such words of rebuke as "Tut" or on the occasions of sacrificial performance or during the accouchement of women or at the time of death or disease (of some person in the palace), or at the time of love, sorrow, or fear ;

(c) Whatever may be the festivities of his own men, which the king goes to attend, wherever he is unguarded, or during a cloudy day, or in the tumultuous concourse of people ;

(*d*) Or in an assembly of Brâhmans, or whenever he may go in person to see the outbreak of fire, or when he is in a lonely place, or when he is putting on dress or ornaments, or garlands of flower, or when he is lying in his bed or sitting on a seat ;

(*e*) Or when he is eating or drinking, on these and other occasions, spies, together with other persons previously hidden at those places, may strike him down at the sound of trumpets ;

(*f*) And they may get out as secretly as they came there with the pretence of witnessing the sights ; thus it is that kings and other persons are enticed to come out and captured.[92]

Chapter III.

The work of spies in a siege. (Durgalambhopâye apasarpapranidhiḥ.)

The conqueror may dismiss a confidential chief of a corporation. The chief may go over to the enemy as a friend and offer to supply him with recruits and other help collected from the conqueror's territory ; or followed by a band of spies, the chief may please the enemy by destroying a disloyal village or a regiment or an ally of the conqueror and by sending as a present the elephants, horses, and disaffected persons of the conqueror's army or of the latter's ally ; or a confidential chief officer of the conqueror may solicit help from a portion of the territory (of the enemy), or from a corporation of people (*śreṇî*), or from wild tribes ; and when he has gained their confidence, he may send them down to the conqueror to be routed down on the occasion of a farcical attempt to capture elephants or wild tribes.

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[91] Chapter, 2, Book V.

[92] *a*—*f* are in *śloka* metre.

This explains the work of ministers and wild chiefs under the mission of the conqueror.

After making peace with the enemy the conqueror may dismiss his own confidential ministers. They may request the enemy to reconcile them to their master. When the enemy sends a messenger for this purpose, the conqueror may rebuke him and say, "Thy master attempts to sow the seeds of dissension between myself and my ministers; so, thou should not come here again." Then one of the dismissed ministers may go over to the enemy, taking with him a band of spies, disaffected people, traitors, brave thieves, and wild tribes who make no distinction between a friend and a foe. Having secured the good graces of the enemy, the minister may propose to him the destruction of his officers, such as the boundary-guard, wild chief, and commander of his army, telling him, "These and other persons are in concert with your enemy." Then these persons may be put to death under the unequivocal orders of the enemy.

The conqueror may tell his enemy, "A chief with a powerful army means to offend us, so let us combine and put him down; you may take possession of his treasury or territory." When the enemy agrees to the proposal and comes out honoured by the conqueror, he may be slain in a tumult or in an open battle with the chief (in concert with the conqueror). Or having invited the enemy to be present as a thick friend on the occasion of a pretended gift of territory, or the installation of the heir-apparent, or the performance of some expiatory rites, the conqueror may capture the enemy. Whoever withstands such inducements may be slain by secret means. If the enemy refuses to meet any man in person, then also attempts may be made to kill him by employing his enemy. If the enemy likes to march alone with his army, but not in company with the conqueror, then he may be hemmed in between two forces and destroyed. If, trusting to none, he wants to march alone in order to capture a portion of the territory of an assailable enemy, then he may be slain by employing one of his enemies or any other person provided with all necessary help. When he goes to his subdued enemy for the purpose of collecting an army, his capital may be captured. Or he may be asked to take possession of the territory of another enemy or a friend of the conqueror; and when he goes to seize the territory, the conqueror may ask his (the conqueror's) friend to offend him (the conqueror), and then enable the friend to catch hold of the enemy. These and other contrivances lead to the same end.

When the enemy is desirous of taking possession of the territory of the conqueror's friend, then the conquerer may, under the pretence of compliance, supply the enemy with army. Then, having entered into a secret concert with the friend, the conqueror may pretend to be under troubles and allow himself to be attacked by the enemy combined with the neglected friend. Then, hemmed from two sides, the enemy may be killed or captured alive to distribute his territory among the conqueror and his friend.

If the enemy, helped by his friend, shuts himself in an impregnable fort, then his neighbouring enemies may be employed to lay waste his territory. If he attempts to defend his territory by his army, that army may be annihilated. If the enemy and his ally cannot be separated, then each of these may be openly asked to come to an agreement with the conqueror to seize the territory of the other. Then they will, of course, send such of their messengers as are termed friends and recipients of salaries from two states to each other with information, "This king (the conqueror), allied with my army, desires to seize thy territory." Then one of them may, with enragement and suspicion, act as before (*i.e.*, fall upon the conqueror or the friend).

The conqueror may dismiss his chief officers in charge of his forests, country parts, and army, under the pretence of their intrigue with the enemy. Then, going over to the enemy, they may catch hold of him on occasions of war, siege, or any other troubles; or they may sow the seeds of dissension between the enemy and his party, corroborating the causes of dissension by producing witnesses specially tutored.

Spies, disguised as hunters, may take a stand near the gate of the enemy's fort to sell flesh, and make friendship with the sentinels at the gate. Having informed the enemy of the arrival of thieves on two or three occasions, they may prove themselves to be of reliable character and cause him to split his army into two divisions and to station them in two different parts of his territory. When his villages are being plundered or beseized, they may tell him that thieves are come very near, that the tumult is very great, and that a large army is required. They may take the army supplied, and surrendering it to the commander laying waste the villages, return at night with a part of the commander's army, and cry aloud at the gate of the fort that the thieves are slain, that the army has returned victorious, and that the gate may be opened. When the gate is opened by the watchmen under the enemy's order or by others in confidence, they may strike the enemy with the help of the army.

Painters, carpenters, heretics, actors, merchants, and other disguised spies belonging to the conqueror's army may also reside inside the fort of the enemy. Spies, disguised as agriculturists, may supply them with weapons taken in carts loaded with firewood, grass, grains, and other commodities of commerce, or disguised as images and flags of gods. Then spies, disguised as priests, may announce to the enemy, blowing their conch-shells and beating their drums, that a besieging army, eager to destroy all, and armed with weapons, is coming closely behind them. Then in the ensuing tumult, they may surrender the fort-gate and the towers of the fort to the army of the conqueror or disperse the enemy's army and bring about his fall.

Or taking advantage of peace and friendship with the enemy, army and weapons may be collected inside the enemy's fort by spies disguised as merchants, caravans, processions leading a bride, merchants selling horses, pedlars trading in miscellaneous articles, purchasers or sellers of grains, and as ascetics. These and others are the spies aiming on the life of a king.

The same spies, together with those described in "Removal of thorns [93]," may, by employing thieves, destroy the flock of the enemy's cattle or merchandise in the vicinity of wild tracts. They may poison, with the juice of the *madana* plant, the food-stuffs and beverage kept, as previously arranged, in a definite place for the enemy's cowherds, and go out unknown. When the cowherds show signs of intoxication in consequence of their eating the above food-stuffs, spies, disguised as cowherds, merchants, and thieves, may fall upon the enemy's cowherds, and carry off the cattle.

Spies, disguised as ascetics with shaved head or braided hair and pretending to be the worshippers of god, Sankarshana, may mix their sacrificial beverage with the juice of the *madana* plant (and give it to the cowherds), and carry off the cattle.

A spy, under the guise of a vintner, may, on the occasion of procession of gods, funeral rites, festivals, and other congregations of people, go to sell liquor and present the cowherds with some liquor mixed with the juice of the *madana* plant. Then others may fall upon the intoxicated cowherds (and carry off the cattle).

Those spies, who enter into the wild tracts of the enemy with the intention of plundering his villages, and who, leaving that work, set themselves to destroy the enemy, are termed spies under the garb of thieves. [94]

(*To be continued.*)

[93] See Book IV.

[94] In *śloka* metre.

A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

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I.

Nouns and Cases.

1. **Dravidian nouns have four natural cases, namely (1) the nominative, (2) the accusative, (3) the dative, and (4) the genitive.**

2. These cases have an **inflexional character**; and the terminations that form them, are mere particles that have never been known, in any historical period of the language, to have had an independent existence, or to have been used as separate words. All the European scholars, including even Dr. Caldwell, suppose that these case-signs must once have had an independent existence and must now have lost the faculty of separate use, on the erroneous notion that an agglutinative language must be entirely agglutinative and show no traces of inflexion. This theory has long been exploded; and it is now held by all scholars that no one language is entirely agglutinative or inflexional. Hence I think that the Dravidian case should be considered as one of the few instances of inflexion found in this decidedly agglutinative language.

3. The Dravidian grammarians have drawn up their **tables of declension in imitation of Sanskrit grammar**, and "in following the order of Sanskrit cases, have also adopted or imitated the Sanskrit mode of denominating them not by descriptive appellations, as dative or ablative, but by numbers. They have affixed a number to each case in the same order as in Sanskrit, *e.g.*, first case, second case, etc., to eighth case." The imitation of Sanskrit in this particular is certainly an error.

4. I shall, therefore, divide Dravidian **cases into two classes, namely, (1) primary cases and (2) secondary cases.** The primary cases are:—(1) the nominative, (2) the accusative, (3) the dative, and (4) the genitive. The secondary cases are the rest, except the vocative, which may be considered more as a primary than as a secondary case; for it is only the nominative in form with the final vowel lengthened if it be *a*, or with *e* added towards the end if the nominative should end in any other letter. So under secondary cases, we shall include the instrumental, the ablative and the locative.

5. There are some very **important points of difference between the primary and the secondary cases** which justify this classification. These are:—

(*a*) The **primary cases are formed by means of inflexional suffixes, whereas the secondary cases are formed by the addition of post-positions.** These post-positions retain, in all Dravidian dialects, traces of their original character as auxiliary nouns or participles.

(*b*) **The primary cases are distinct in themselves**, and the case-sign of one is not used for that of another, though in some of the North Dravidian languages the accusative and the dative are confounded through the influence of the neighbouring language, namely, Mun-ḍa, in which there is no difference between these two cases. But the **secondary cases**, such as instrumental, the ablative and the locative, **are interchangeable**; and what is the case-sign of the locative in one language is that of the instrumental in another, and also that of the ablative in a third; and in the same language the same sign may be used for all the three, or at least, two of the cases.

(*c*) **Canarese** exhibits a marked difference between these classes of cases. **Kanna-ḍa** primary cases are formed by affixing the case-suffixes to the crude base, whereas its secondary cases are formed by adding the post-positions to the genitive form with inflexion.

6. **The case-suffixes** are the same in the singular as well as in the plural, except in Tuḷu and Telugu, where different suffixes are added.

7. **The declinable base** to which the case-terminations are suffixed, is, in a very large majority of cases **the crude form of the noun.** This is, in all the languages except Telugu, identical with the nominative. In such cases this crude form is also used as genitive (except perhaps in Canarese). In Telugu the nominative has often been changed in accordance with special phonetic laws peculiar to it, whilst the genitive retains generally, the old form. Hence in this dialect, the oblique base is the genitive and not the nominative. The difference, in Canarese, between the primary and the secondary cases in the nature of the declinable base has already been noted under 5, (*c*). In short, it might be stated that the crude form of the noun, when it is used as the declinable base, is identical with the nominative-genitive form; and case-suffixes are added to it without any link of connection whether inflexional or euphonic, except the ordinary *v*, *y* introduced to prevent hiatus between two successive vowels. (For an explanation of these links, see Phonetics.)

8. But in a very small number of instances, this **crude form undergoes some alterations** before it can become the declinable base. These changes are of **four kinds**: namely, (1) contraction, (2) doubling and hardening the final consonant, (3) euphonic links, and, (4) augmentation; the last being the most important of all these.

(a) Contraction.

9. In the solitary instance of the personal pronouns in almost all the Dravidian dialects and in the case of nouns too in Kurukh, the nominative or crude form undergoes a contraction, in the quantity of its root-vowel on becoming a declinable base. In Canarese, *nānu*, I; becomes *nanna*, my; *nīnu*, thou, *ninna* (gen.). In Telugu *nīvu*, thou; *ninnu*, thee. In Kui *ānu*, I; *nangē*, to me. This root-vowel shortening is found in all the oblique cases of personal pronouns in Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese and Tuḷu; and in the accusative in Telugu; and only in the dative in Kui. In Gonḍi, the reverse is the case, that is, the root-vowel of the oblique cases is long and the vowel of the nominative is short: *e. g.*, *nanna*, I; *nākun*, me; *nāvor*, my; etc. In Kurukh, the final long vowels of nouns too are shortened in the accusative: *e. g.*, *mukkā*, a woman, has *mukkan* (acc.); *allā* a dog, has *allan*.

(b) Doubling and hardening the final consonant.

10. This is peculiar to Tamil and Malayalam. In these languages, nouns ending in *ḍu*, and *ṟu* double these consonants. The doubled *ḍu* becomes ṭṭ. (*i. e.*, ḍ ड becomes ट); and the doubled ṟ is written ṟṟ and pronounced as such in literary Tamil, but both written and pronounced as *tt* (= *th th*) in colloquial Tamil and literary Malayalam; *e. g.*, *nāḍu*, country *nāṭṭai* (acc.) *āṟu*, river. *āṟṟai* (acc.).

(c) Euphonic links. (See also under Phonetics.)

11. Whenever a noun ends in a vowel and a case-sign also beginning with a vowel is added to it, the semi-vowels *v* and *y* are introduced to prevent hiatus. This is the rule in Tamil and Canarese. In Telugu and sometimes in Tuḷu too, the *v* or *y* is replaced by *n*.[1]

Again in Tamil, the dative case-sign *ku* is generally preceded by an euphonic *u* in the case of nouns ending in a consonant, or by an *a* in the case of pronouns: *e. g.*, *mān*, deer, *mān-u-kku* (dat.). *Vāḷ*, sword, *Vāḷ-u-kku*; but *tān* (self), *tana-kku* (dat.). If the letter preceding the final consonant of the noun be short, it is doubled: *e. g.*, *kal*, stone, *kall-u-kku* (dat.). Words ending in *y* directly take the case-sign without the euphonic *u*, for it is itself a semi-vowel. In the case of nouns ending in —*r*, —*v*, —*ḷ*, it is also usual, especially in old Tamil and modern literary dialect to add directly the case-sign: *e. g.*, *kāy*, a fruit, *kāykku*. *Vēr*, a root; *Vērkku*, *pāḷ*, ruins, *pāḷkku*, we have also *Vērukku* and *pāḷukku*.

[1] *Cf.* Caldwell, pp. 72, 73, 74.

(d) **Augmentation (at, aṟ, aṉ):**

12. *At*, *aṟ* and *aṉ* are the augments that some of the Dravidian languages add **only to neuter nouns**; *at* is used only in the singular number by Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese, Tuḷu, Telugu and Gonḍi; *aṉ* is used only in the singular by Canarese alone; *aṟ* is used both in the singular and the plural by Canarese, and in the plural by Tamil and Malayalam.

13. **The augment—at.**

At becomes *attu* in Tamil and Malayalam and is added to all nouns ending in *am* whether Sanskrit or purely Dravidian. These nouns are all neuter. They reject *am* and take *attu* instead, in the oblique case in the singular, the final *u* dropping before case-signs beginning with a vowel. For example: *grāmam* a village. (*Tam.—mal*): *grāmattil* (locative). "This rule admits of no exception in the ordinary dialect of Tamil; but in the poetical dialect, which represents more or less distinctly an older condition of the language, *attu* is sometimes left unused, and the case-sign is added directly to the base: *e. g.*, instead of *kay-attu-kku* to the depth (from *kayam*, depth), *kay-a-kku* is used in the *Chintāmaṇi*. When the increment *attu* is not followed by any sign of case, but by another noun, it has ordinarily the force of genitive or locative in Tamil." In this respect Tamil differs from Canarese, Telugu and Gonḍi, which never suffix this augment without the case-sign and never give it the signification of the genitive.

In Tuḷu, *at* becomes *t* or *d*: *e. g.*, *maram* tree, *marata* (gen.), *kuri* a sheep, *kurita* (gen.), *mēji* a table, *mējida* (gen). In Tuḷu this augment is found *only in the genitive case, singular*.

In Canarese, *at* becomes *d*; and is used only for the singular of the genitive, instrumental ablative and locative cases, of neuter nouns: *e. g.*, *maram* a tree, has *marada* (gen.), *maradım* (int. and abl.) *maradoḷ* (loc.), but *maranam* (acc.), and *marake* (dat.).

In Gonḍi, there are two declensions of nouns. Nouns denoting rational beings, add *n* to the base; and those denoting irrational beings add *t*. This *t* is a contraction of the augment *at*. As in the case of Tamil and Malayalam, this *t* is used for the singular of all cases in Gonḍi. Dr. Grierson says:—"The second declension in Gonḍi now comprises several nouns denoting rational beings, and is, broadly speaking, the regular one. The final consonant is often combined with the following *t*, into one sound. Thus *rōt* is the oblique case of *rōn*, a house; *Dōngut* of— *Dōngur*, jungle. Final *r* plus *t* sometimes becomes—*ṭ*, and *l* plus *t* also gives *d*, and so on. Thus *nār*, village, oblique *nāṭ*, *nēl*, field, oblique *nēd*."

In Telugu, there are only a few neuter nouns that take *t* as augment. These are called 'irregular' nouns by Native Grammarians. These end in one of the letters:—*ḍu*,—*ru*,—*lu*, (*li*),—*llu*,— *nnu* and *y*. And when *t* is added to these, the final euphonic *u* (or *i*) of all the first five, and *y* the last letter disappear before *t*, and produce —*ṭ* in the case of the first three and —*ṇṭ* in the case of the next two; or more clearly, — *ḍ* (ड); or — *r*, or —*l* plus *t* gives *ṭ* — (ट); — *ll* or— *nn* plus *t* gives — *ṇṭ* (ण्ट); *y* plus *t* gives *t*, *y* disappearing. The same is the case in Gonḍi. (See above para.) As the genitive is the declinable base in Telugu, *i* is added to these; so that —*ḍu* (डु)— *ru*, — *lu* give — *ṭi* (टि) the vowel preceding — *ṭi* being always long. *l*— *lu*, *nnu* — give — *ṇṭi* (ण्टि), *y* gives *ti*. For example, *peraḍu* a yard, *peraṭi* (gen.); *yēru* river, *yēṭi* (gen.); *pagalu* day, *pagaṭi* (gen); *kaugili* an embrace, *kaugiṭi* (gen.); *mullu* a thorn, *muṇṭi* (gen.); *kannu* eye, *kaṇṭi* (gen.). *Nūy* a well, *nūti* (gen.). Some nouns ending in — *lu* or *li* add the genitive suffix *i* without the augment *t*, that is *kālu* a leg, *kāli* (gen.), *nemali* peacock, *nemali* (gen.). In the second example, the final *i* disappears before the suffixal *i*. The nouns *kāviḍi* a yoke, and *chaviḍi* a porch, take also the augment *t* before which, as usual, — *ḍ* is unvoiced. Thus *kāviṭi* and *chāviṭi* are genitives, *proddu*

morning, and *māpu* evening, also take —*ṭi* to form the genitive as *prodduṭi* and *māpaṭi*. Some irregular nouns ending in *ru* form the genitive singular both with and without the augment *t*: that is, *nūru* has *nūṭi* and *nūri* (gen.) *gōru* has *gōṭi* and *gōri*. Again *pēru* and *vēru* have *pēriṭi* and *pēri* and *vēriṭi* and *vēri* as genitives.

The following are the irregular nouns ending in — *ḍu* and — *ru* and — *lu* that form the genitive by *ṭi*: — *peraḍu, gūḍu, kāḍu, kūḍu, kūrāḍu, tāḍu, kōḍu, chaiuḍu, nāḍu, pāḍu, bīḍu, tavuḍu, panḍu, punḍu, puruḍu*; *nōru, yēru, yesaru, kuduru, nuduru, kaduru, gōru, nīru, netturu, pannīru, munnīru, yeduru*; *rōlu, pagalu, bailu, kundēlu, modalu, tābēlu.*

The following are the irregular nouns ending in — *llu* and — *nnu* that form the genitive by —*ṇṭi*:—*illu, mullu, pallu, villu, kallu, kannu, channi, minnu, mannu.*

The following are the irregular nouns ending in *y* that take *ti* for genitive:—*nūy, tēy, gōy, nēy vāy, rōy.*

14. **The augment aṟ.**

Aṟ becomes *aṟṟu* in Tamil, and this is added as augment to some few *plural* pronominals and nouns of relation in Tamil, as *avai* (they); *śila* (few); *pala* (many); *ellā* (all); *e. g.*, *avaṟṟai, śilavaṟṟai, palavaṟṟai, ellāvaṟṟai* (all accusatives).

As regards the use of *aṟ* and *aṇ* in Canarese, the *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa* says :— (1) In the instrumental, genitive and locative (singular and plural, neuter gender), verbal nominal themes pronouns, adjectives, numbers and words denoting quantity when ending in *u*: that is, *adu, avu,* etc.) insert *aṟ*. Words denoting direction, insert *aṇ* in the instrumental singular. (Sutra, 110) (2) The nominative of the pronoun *en* is either *en* or *etaṟ*; its dative *etarke*, or *eke* for the other cases its theme is *etaṟ* (Sutra 112). (See also article 124 of Kittel's *Kannaḍa Grammar.*)

15. **The relation between aṟ, at and aṇ.**

As regards the relation between these augments, Dr. Kittel considers them to be identical. He says :— " That the letter *ṟ* is another form of — *d*, becomes a fact when the Tuḷu dialect is compared; further — *ṟ* appears as — *ṇ* in Tuḷu: *e. g.*, *moṇe* becomes *moṟe* in Tuḷu and—*ṇ* as *n* in Telugu (*e. g.*, Telugu *kanu, kannu* = Kannaḍa *kaṇ, kaṇṇu*, the eye). Hence it may be concluded that the letters —*ṟ*,—*d*,—*ṇ* and *n* are closely related in Dravidian language and change places in the dialect . . . . These are ultimately the same" (page 83). Dr. Caldwell does not at all treat of *aṇ*, but as regards the other two he says:—" *ad* and *aṟ* are evidently related. Are they also identical? Both are increments of the neuter alone; and where Canarese uses *aṟ*, Tuḷu uses *t-d* and *r* are known to change places dialectically, as in the southern provinces of the Tamil country, in which *adu*, it, is pronounced *aru*; and the Canarese increment *ad* is certainly, and *ar* probably, identical with that very word, *viz.*, with the Tamil—Canarese demonstrative *adu* or *ad*, it. Dr. Gundert thinks *ar* derived, not from *adu*, but from *an*, the equivalent of *aru*. I do not feel sure of this."

My own opinion is that *ad, aṟ,* and *aṇ* were alternative augments of neuter nouns in Primitive Dravidian, and that it is not possible to connect them with any word that has now an independent existence in the Dravidian dialects. *ad* and *aṟ* may possibly be the same; but it is not clear how *ad* or *aṟ* can become *aṇ*, as such a change is not allowed by Phonetic laws. Dr. Kittel's example seems to be solitary; and we don't find any other word where *d* has become *ṇ*— or —*ṟ*—*ṇ*. Nor can we hold with Dr. Caldwell that *aḍ*, *aṟ* and *aṇ* and also *am* the neuter nominative ending, *am* the accusative case-sign, and *adu* the Tamil neuter singular, genitive suffix,—are all identical. It seems nothing but fanciful to hold that *adu* becomes *am*—a theory not supported by any example in the language.

A.

Primary Cases.

16. The Nominative:

The Dravidian nominative singular is the noun itself—the inflexionial base of the noun—without addition or alteration; the nominative plural differs from the nominative singular only by the addition of the pluralising particle.

17. The accusative or 'second' case: (am).

The Primitive Dravidian termination of this case was *am*. This is found in an unaltered form in Old Canarese: *viz.*, *maranam* acc. of *maram*, a tree. In Mid. and New Canarese the *m* of *am* is softened to *n* and the transformed termination takes a final euphonic *u*, thus becoming *anu*, or *annu* with the consonant doubled. For instance, we have *bhagavanu* acc. of *bhagava*, god; *maravannu*, acc. of *mara*, a tree. Sometimes the *n* of *an* is dropped and *a* alone is used as case-suffix. Its, lengthened form *ā* is also used. But while *a* is attached to the base with the finals *v* or *n*, its length *ā* is directly added to the crude base: *viz.*, *tavava*, *marana*, but *haḷḷā*. Sometimes the euphonic *u* is changed to *a* so as to make it correspond with the preceding vowel of the suffix. It then becomes *anna*: *viz.*, *yāranna*, acc. of *yōr* (= who).

In Tuḷu the vowel of *am* is dropped and *m* is changed to *n*. Hence the case-suffix is *n* which may, or may not have a final half-pronounced *u* to help enunciation. Thus *pravādi*, a prophet, has *pravādinu* (acc.); *tare* a head, has *tarenu* (acc.).

In Old Telugu, the primitive *am* is reduced to *n*: *viz.*, *vanamun* acc. of *vanamu*, *goḍan*, *maganın*, etc.; the *n* being added to the genitive case. In Mid. and New Telugu, this *n* takes a euphonic final *u* and becomes *nu*. But this *nu* is changed to *ni* when it is to be added to genitives ending in *i*, *ī* or *ai*. The rule for forming the accusative case in Mid. and New Telugu may therefore be thus enunciated. The accusative is formed (1) by adding *ni* to the genitive of all *mahat* or masculine nouns and to all other genitives ending in *i*, *ī* or *ai* (palatal vowels); (2) by adding *nu* to a genitive ending in any other vowel: as, *puli*, tiger, *pulini* (acc.), *biḍḍa* child, *biḍḍanu* (acc.). *Rāmuḍu* has *Rāmuni* (acc.), *yēru* a river, has *yēṭini* (acc.). If the genitive already ends in *ni* then the objective *ni* is either dropped when the accusative becomes the same as the genitive, or it coalesces with the genitive *ni* and becomes —*ṇni*. This latter form is only colloquial, *tammuḍu* a younger brother, has *tammuni* (gen.) and *tammuni* (acc.), also *tammuṇni* (acc). (*Cf.*, Arden's *Grammar* 90—106 and 810).

In Gonḍi the primitive *am* is changed to *un* or *n*. But through the influence of the Munḍa languages in which there is no difference between the dative and the accusative signs, Gōnḍi uses this (acc.) sign also for the dative. Thus: *chhauvā* a child, becomes *chhauvān* (acc.-dat) In Chando and Bastur, however, the two cases are distinguished as in other Dravidian languages: *bābō* (= father in Chando) has *bābōn* (acc.) and *bābōnku* (dat.); *tāṭē* (= father in Bastur); has *tātēn* (acc.) and *tātēnku* (dat). But there is also confusion as in *vōrunnu* to them. Madras Gōnḍi is influenced by Telugu and uses *ni* for the accusative sign in all cases: *chhauvā*, a child, has *chhauvāni* (acc). This dialect has also a separate dative *chhauvāniki* to a child.

Of the other dialects of the North, Kui also uses *ni* as the accusative case-sign: *e. g.*, *dādā* (elder brother), has *dādāni* (acc.). In Kurukh the case-sign is *n*, *an*, *in*. "The form *n* is used, after vowels; *in* after definite masculine bases ending in *as* and after the plural suffix *ar*. In other words the accusative ends in *an*." (Dr. Grierson's *L. S.*, page 412). *Allā* a dog, has *allān* (acc.).

In Malto, it is *n*: *e. g.*, *malle* man, has *mallen* (acc.). In Kolāmi and Naiki, the dative and accusative signs are blended together and the combined form *kun* or *ng* is used to denote both the cases: *e. g.*, *māsur*, a servant in Kolāmi has *māsurung* (acc.-dat.). *Chakarkun* means in Naiki, either 'to the servants' or 'servants' (acc.). But in very many cases the accusative sign alone, *i.e.*, *n*, in Naiki and Kolāmi, or *un* in Naiki is used for both the cases. Thus *bālā*, a child in Kolāmi has *bālān* (acc.-dat.). In Naiki, *ānun* means 'me' and *bānun* means 'to the father.'

Tamil drops the final letter of *am* and giving the vowel a greater ennunciation, changes it into *ai*: as, *kāḷ* leg, *kālai* (acc.). Even this vowel is dropped in some of the rude dialects of Tamil. In Kaikaḍi and Burganḍi the accusative has either no case-sign or takes on that of the dative, *i. e.*, *k*. But the Korava dialect perhaps through the influence of Canarese has *an*, *nna*. Even here there are not a few nouns which take only *e*, a monophthonged form of *ai*, for the accusative.

Mau a child in Korava, has *marunna* (acc.), *atne* is accusative of 'that' (at).

In Malayalam, the modern literary daughter of Tamil, the monophthonged form of *ai*, namely, *e* is used (as in Korava dialect). Thus *magan*, a son, has *magane* (acc.) *avan* he, has *avane* (him), *tān* (self) has *tanne* (acc.).

In Brahui the dative and the accusative have the same form as is also the case in Kaikaḍi Burganḍi, Gōnḍi, Naiki, and Kolāmi. The usual suffix is *e* (as in Korava and Malayalam), or, in Karachi, *in* (as in Kurukh). Thus: *lummah* mother, has *lummahe* (acc.-dat.) ōfte and ōften = to them [*L. S.*, p. 622.].

To sum up, generally, the North Dravidian languages retain the nasal with the vowel dropped or changed; *n*, *un*, *nu*, or *ni*. Tuḷu too must be included in this group. Canarese has *am*, *an*, *a* and the South Dravidian languages have *ai* (Tamil) or *e* (Korava, Malayalam and Brahui) for the accusative case-suffix; thus dropping the nasal and retaining the vowel in a modified form.

18. **The Dative or 'Fourth' Case: (k).**

The suffix of this case in Primitive Dravidian was *k*; and it is found unaltered in this primitive form in all the dialects. The only change that is noticed is that it is voiced in certain dialects to *g*, influenced, no doubt, by the character of the preceding sound. The *k* is generally followed by a vowel; but it is of little moment what vowel is used, as it only helps the ennunciation of *k*.

In Tamil, the case-suffix is *ku*, which in combination always becomes *kku*; the final *u* being only half-pronounced: *e.g.*, *kāl* leg, *kālukku* (dat.). In Korava, it is found as *k*, *ku*, *ka*, *ke* or *ki* showing clearly that the vowel added to *k* may be anything: *e.g.*, *avank* to him (*L.S.*, 326); *maunku*, to the son (*L. S.*, 326); *arasanaka*, to the king (*L. S.*, 328); *tanka*, to him (*L. S.*, 325); *tōpanke*, to the father (*L. S.*, 322); *kolliki*, to the field (*L. S.*, 321). It appears from these examples that *k*, *ku*, *ka* or *ke* is indifferently used in the case of nouns ending in consonants or guttural vowels. But if the noun ends in *i*, *ki* seems to have been used as in Telugu. The same is the case in Kaikaḍi: *e. g.*, *gāunk*, to father (*L. S.*, 336); *irunku*, to these (*L. S.* 339); *randyarku*, to both (*L. S.*, 341); but *tāngsiki*, to the sister (*L. S.*, 340). In Burganḍi we have *ittak*, to this (*L. S.*, 346), *atmātke*, to him, so that the dative case-sign appears to be *k* or *ke*. In this connection, one striking feature of these three spoken dialects of Tamil must be noticed. The dative case-sign in these has a predominating influence over the other cases too. In Korava, the dative is also used as an accusative, though the latter has got its own suffixes *e*, *an anna*, or *ni*. In Kaikaḍi, the dative is commonly used as an accusative, as the latter has lost its accusative termination. In Burganḍi, the dative is not only used as the accusative but as the ablative, the locative and the instrumental. Compare also the Telugu, Kolāmi, Naiki and Gōnḍi dialects.

In Malayalam the dative case-suffix is *kku* as in Tamil; but this becomes *nnu* if *k* be preceded by a nasal; *e. g.*, *magaḷkku* to the daughter, but *magannu*, to the son. In this connection it may be stated that Dr. Gundert holds the view that *innu* is derived from the possessive case *inadu*. But he is himself doubtful of the correctness of this theory and thinks that *ku* might have been dropped and *n* doubled. Dr. Caldwell thinks that *innu* is a softened form of *inku*.

In Canarese it is *ge* or *ke*. The rule is: The dative singular of masculines ending in *am* (or *an*) is *ge*; that of neuters ending in *an* is *ke* or *kke*. The dative of all other themes, singular or plural, masculine or feminine, is *ge*. (*Smd.* 113).

The *ge* of the Sanskrit and Canarese masculine and feminine plurals may also be optionally doubled. (*Smd.* 115). For example: *arasange* to the king, *marake* or *mărakke* to the tree, *maragaḷke* to the trees, *Dēvarge* to gods. The doubling is always optional.

In Badaga, the dative suffix is *ga* : *e. g.*, *dechaga* to the country (*L. S.*, 403). In Kurumba too it is *ga* or *kā*: *e. g.*, *manse-ga* to man, *adikā* to that (*L. S.*, 399). In Hōliyī, it is *k*, *ka*: *e. g.*, *mānsāk* to men, *gīvaka* to village (*L. S.*, 389). But Holiya is largely influenced by the neighbouring languages. Hence *se* (Aryan genitive sing.), *e* (Aryan dative) are also used.

In Tuḷu it is *k* or *g* ; *ku* or *gu* (Brigel, page 11) *ammagu*; to a mistress; *maroku*, to a tree.

In Old Telugu the dative signs were *kun* and *kin*, *n* in these suffixes is the accusative sign. Compare Kolāmi and Naiki. But this *n* was soon dropped. Native grammarians call this *n* an euphonic *n* which explanation may be accepted. In Mid. and New Telugu the suffix is *ku* or *ki*. The rule is:—The dative case is formed by adding *ki* to a genitive ending in *i*, *ī*, *ai* and by adding *ku* to a genitive ending in any other vowel: *e. g.*, *puliki*, to a tiger, *biḍḍaku*, to a child. In the spoken Northern dialects of Telugu, we find that under these circumstances when Telugu uses *ki* they use *ki* or *ke* and under other circumstances, *ku* or *ka*.

In the Gonḍi dialects and in Naiki the dative sign is, through the influence of the neighbouring Munḍa languages, either dropped and replaced by the accusative sign *n* or *un* or blended with it to form one combination as *unk*. In some few cases we have the original primitive *k* : *viz*, *tammun* to a brother, *tammurkun* to the brothers, *mărsānk* to the man, *chhaurāngk* to the children (*L. S.*, p 480). In Chanḍa and Bostur, there are separate forms for the dative and the accusative though they are often confounded. The sign is *ku* or *ke*: *bābonku* and *bābōneke* mean 'to the father (*L. S.*, 536).

In Kui, it is *ge* or *ki*: *nange* to me, *tănāki*, to him ; *ge* is mostly used in the case of personal pronouns. In Kurukh as in Gonḍi, the dative and the accusative are sometimes confounded, especially in the South. The dative suffix is *ge* : *e. g.*, *ālge* to a man (*L. S.*, 418). In Malto, the suffix is *k*, *ko*, *ge* : *e. g.*, *malko* to a man (*L. S.*, 448), also *malek* to a man (*L. S.*, 452), *enge* to me (*L. S.*, 452). In Kolāmi as in Gonḍi, the dative has the same form as the accusative *n* or *ng*: *e. g.*, *vegādung* to the field (*L. S.*, 564). Probably the *g* in *ng* represents the dative *k*.

19. The Genitive or 'Sixth' Case: (a and in).

In Primitive Dravidian there was only one genitive suffix, namely, *a*. But at a late period, *in*, which was originally a locative post-position came to be used also as genitive suffix. Thus, in Early Dravidian, there were two genitive suffixes, namely *a* and *in*.

Of these two, *a* was used by some dialects: Tamil, Canarese and Gonḍi, *in* by Kurukh, Malto, Kui, Madras Gonḍi and Vaḍari (a dialect of Telugu). The rest of the dialects of the Dravidian family used both *a* and *in*. These were Tuḷu, Telugu, Kolāmi, Naiki, and Brahui.

The dialects that used *in* as genitive suffix modified it in many ways. In some, the nasal was dropped and the possessive sign was reduced to *i*.

Telugu uses this, *i*, as the genitive singular suffix of:—(1) all masculine nouns ending in *n-ḍu* (when the *ḍu* drops and *i* is added to *n*): e. g. *tammunḍu* younger brother, *tammuni* (gen.). (2) all irregular nouns ending in *ḍu,-ru, -lu* and *-y* (when *ḍu, -ru* and *-lu* are changed to *ṭ* (ट) and *y* is changed to *t* (त) and *i* is added to these changed forms): e. g., *peraḍu* a yard *peraṭi* (gen.). *Yēru* a river *Yēṭi* (gen.), *pagalu*, day, *pagaṭi* (gen.), *chēy* hand *chēti* (gen.). Irregular nouns ending in *llu* and *nnu* form the genitive singular by changing these letters into *nṭi*, *i*, being the possessive suffix. For example, *illu* a house, *inṭi* (gen.). *Kannu* an eye, *kanṭi* (gen). All other nouns have the genitive singular the same as the nominative singular: e. g. *gurramu* a horse (nom.-gen.). *Bid ḍa* a child (nom.-gen). *strī* woman (nom.-gen). These nouns are chiefly *amahat* or non-masculine nouns. Sometimes, *a* is added to form the declinable base of the dative case of masculine nouns, singular, ending in *n, ḍu*. This *a* is decidedly the genitive sign *a*, though in singular it is used, in Telugu, only to form the declinable base of the dative. For example, *tammunaku* to a brother and also *tammuniki*. Influenced by the analogy of these masculine singular nouns ending in *n, ḍu*, even *amahat* or non-masculine nouns ending in *u* and *ṛ* (ऋ) form their dative singular by adding *ni* or *na*. Here *n* is due to false analogy. For example: we have not only *gurramuku* but *gurrā-ni-ki* and *gurrā-na-ku*. Note the vowel lengthening here. *Gurramuku* and *gurramunaku* are Northern Circar's dialect. And the other two are Ceded-districts' dialect. Hence it may be stated that *a* too was used as genitive singular suffix in very early Telugu. But in all periods of Telugu, the plural genitive of all nouns is always formed by adding *a*: e. g., *tammula* of younger brothers, *gurramula* of horses, *biḍḍala* of children *strila* of women. In New Telugu, the word *yokka* is usually added to the genitive. *Yokka* means 'together' and has come to give the genitive meaning thus: *nā yokka pustakamu* means 'the book with me' *i. e.*, 'the book that belongs to me' or 'my book.' In colloquial Tamil *okka* also means 'together' *okka ppōṭṭu ākkudal* means 'cooking together.' Hence '*yokka*' is really instrumental in origin. Though *yokka* is largely used in New Telugu conversation and prose, it is not found in the literary dialects of Mid. and Old Telugu.

In must be stated here before passing on to the other languages that Dr. Caldwell, too, following the native grammarians, thinks that the genitive singular suffix of masculine nouns is *ni*. Perhaps he did not note that *n* in *ni* is radical and is no part of the suffix. Further he seems not to have taken into consideration the so-called irregular nouns, which regularly form the genitive singular by the addition of only *i*. 'Irregular' words in any grammar are the most regular and retain faithfully the original suffixes. Dr. Caldwell does not also explain how *in* became *ni*.

In Kui also as in Telugu, *i* is used to form the genitive of all nouns, singular and plural: *e. g.*, *lāvenju* a youth *lāvēni* (gen.), *dādāru* elder brothers *dādāri* (gen.). But *tānu* self has *tānā* (gen.) and the plural *tāru* has *tārā* (gen.). This is the only word that forms its genitive by adding *a*.

In Kurukh and Malto, the *i* is greatly influenced by *k*, the dative suffix which is the strongest case-termination in these languages. Hence they use *ki* (Malto), *hai* or *gahi* (Kurukh). In Kurukh, sometimes the dative *ke* or *ge* entirely replaces these genitive signs. For example in Kurukh we have: *ālgahi* of a man, *enhai* my. *Kamiyāke* of a servant, *āsge* his (*L. S.* 433). In Malto, *male* a man, has *maleki* (gen.). In the specimens given in Dr. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey*, we find two Kurukh words that form their genitive by adding *a*:—*attrantā* of country (420) *rajitā* of country (p. 426). The nominative forms are *attrant* and *rajit* as easily inferred from '*raji-nu* in the country' (page 428). The *t* in *rajit* is the augment equivalent to Tamil *attu*. This clearly establishes that *a* too was once a genitive suffix in Kurukh.

In some of the dialects that used *in* as genitive suffix, it became too weak in force; and hence the old primitive genitive suffix *a* was also added to it, thus making it *ina*. But the *i* of *ina* after changing *a* to *e* (as in Kolāmi, Naiki, and Burganḍi) or without doing so (as in Tōḍa, Kōṭa, Baḍaga, and Irruḷa, the dialects of Canarese and also in Brahui), finally dropped, thus reducing the

genitive suffix to *na* or *ne* or even *nē* (with the vowel lengthened). This last *nē* may further be reduced to *ē*, after a word ending in *n*. In the dialects of Canarese mentioned above, the suffix is *na*. They have also the pure *a* (written *ya*). In Kolami it is *ne*, but this is sometimes contracted to *n* or added to the locative suffix *t* through a confusion. Thus Kolami has *n*, *ne*, *net*, as genitive suffixes. In Naiki and Burgaṇḍi it is *nē*; or *ē*.

Tuḷu too, seems to have used the double form *ina* for the plural genitive, in pre-historic period while the singular had only *a*. But in this plural *ina* the whole *in* was dropped after *a* had been fronted to *e*; so that we have now in Tuḷu *a* for genitive singular, and *e* for the genitive plural. Otherwise it seems to us that *e* of the plural genitive cannot be explained. Dr. Caldwell and Rev. Brigel merely mention that *a* is changed to *e*, but offer no explanation.

Canarese too, showed very clearly, a tendency to use *in* as genitive case-suffix and hence the double form *ina* due to the weakening of *in* is found even in the oldest period. But this tendency was almost immediately checked; and the form *ina* was restricted to the following cases :—(1) Singular genitive nouns ending in *u* and *ṛ* (ऋ) short and long, and *ō*, *au*, and also those ending in consonants take *ina*. With nouns, however, that receive a euphonic *v*, *ina* is only optional; and *a* may be used instead (*Smd.* 108). (2) the insertion of *in* takes place only in a very few instances with words ending in consonants. It is optional with *pagal* and *iruḷ*, necessary with *īgal* and *āgaḷ* (*Smd.* 109). In all other cases, Canarese uses *a* which in many cases is lengthened to *ā*. So Canarese is chiefly an *a*—dialect, *i. e.*, one that uses *a* chiefly for genitive.

Dr. Kittel considers the *in* in *ina* as euphonic, but we think that the 'euphonic' explanation must be given up when comparative study can give a better one. Dr. Caldwell, no doubt, identifies this *in* with the locative genitive *in*, but says that it has lost its force in Canarese and has become a mere euphonic particle.

Brahui, a Dravidian dialect spoken in Baluchistan, uses *na* and *a* as genitive suffixes, *nā* is *ina* with the first vowel dropped and final vowel lengthened, and *ā* is *a* lengthened. For example: *lummah* mother, has *lummahnā* (gen.), *nat* foot, has *nattā* (gen.) (*L. S.* 628).

In Goṇḍi the genitive suffix is uniformly *ā* when it is not supplanted by the Aryan *ōr* (—*asya*): e. g., *chākarknā* of servants. *uṇḍinā* of one (*L. S.* 489).

In the earliest period of Tamil *a* was the only genitive suffix; and *in* was restricted to the locative case. But soon even this *a* was confined to possessives followed by plural nouns, influenced no doubt by the neuter demonstrative plural suffix *a* of appellative nouns. And for the singular, the possessive nouns ending in *adu* (which were till now used only as nouns) were made to do duty as adjectives too, *i.e.*, they were also used predicatively (just as in English we find *mine* used for my). A similar tendency seems to have existed in Earliest Canarese. In a stanza quoted in *Sabdamanidarpa Ṇa* (*Smd.*) we see that *tanattu* (his) is used adjectively. But in Canarese such a use is of the rarest kind. Thus in Early Tamil we find two genitive suffixes *a* and *adu*. *Adu* was used when a singular noun followed the possessive and *a* when a plural noun came after it (*Tolk Sol.* 65). In Mid. Tamil, this distinction was preserved; but in some cases, *adu* was used even when a plural noun followed the possessive: e. g., *ninadu aḍiyar* and *enadu kaigaḷ* mine hands. (*Nannul* 300). In Early New Tamil, *a* went out of use except in high literary style; and *adu* took its place universally. In this period, *in* which was till now only a locative sign came to be used as genitive suffix also. In late New Tamil, *in* is more largely used than even *adu*. In Modern Tamil, the relative participle *uḍaiya* has come to be used very largely especially in prose and conversation. Sometimes both *in* and *uḍaiya* are added to words in modern Tamil when *in* is placed first: e.g., *puli-y-in-uḍaiya* of tiger. This shows that *uḍaiya* is gaining influence even over *in* as *Yokka* in Modern Telugu

Malayalam uses *in* as genitive suffix, in some cases, but generally this *in* is followed by *Re*. In other words, the genitive suffix becomes *in ṟe*: e. g., *maganṟe* of a son. This *ṟe* is only *de* the modified form of Tamil *adu*, *n* + *ḍe* naturally becomes *n ṟe*. In fact, after nasals we have *ṟe* and after any other letter *ḍe*. Thus *ṟe* and *ḍe* are identical. Dr Caldwell says, "The Malayalam *de*, like the Tamil *adu* is used as a genitive suffix of the singular alone, a confirmation of the fact that it is derived from *adu*, which in its original signification is the neuter singular of the demonstrative. In the genitive plural, Malayalam uses *uḍe* answering to the colloquial Tamil *udaiya* (from *uḍai*). Compare the Malayalam *en ṟe. endre, en ḍe*, of me, with the corresponding Tamil *enadu*. The Malayalam possessive noun, 'mine' or that which is (mine) is *endṟedu*. This is surely a double form, the origin of *dre* being forgotten." In modern Malayalam *uḍe* is used even in the singular and tends to replace even *ṟe* or *ḍe*: *e. g.*, *Maga ḷu ḍe* of a daughter *Tē lin ṟe* of a scorpion (*L. S.* 356).

(B)

Secondary Cases.

20. It has been already noticed that the secondary cases have **three important features** distinguishing them from the Primary cases :—namely : (1) These have a great tendency to interchange ; (2) they are post-positions, traces of whose original independent existence as auxiliary nouns or participles are still to be found in all the languages ; (3) different languages use different words as suffixes of these cases.

Primitive Dravidian used the following words as the post-positions of these cases :—*kāl* (instrumental-locative-ablative) ; *tō ḍan* (conjunctive case) ; *in* and *il* (ablative-locative and also instrumental) ; *iru* (*n*) *du* and *u ḷ du* (ablative).

The Post-Position : *kāl*.

21. The word *kāl* has in Tamil two meanings :—(1) place (2) path or way ; and it had these two meanings also in Primitive Dravidian. Hence it was used both as the locative and the instrumental suffix. For, 'place' denotes '*location*' and 'path or way' *instrumentality* or *agency*. If the two meanings be combined, we would naturally get the idea 'proceeding from the place.' Hence *kāl* was also in some cases used as *ablative of motion*. In late Primitive Dravidian *kāl* was in some cases changed to *āl*; the initial guttural dropping. This *āl* readily changed to *ān* (as the *il* of *āgil* Tamil, is changed poetically to *āyin* and as *il* the sign of the locative becomes in the ablative of motion either *il* or *in*). The dropping of the initial guttural is seen also in Tamil *arugu*, a grass which has, in Canarese and Telugu, Tuḷu and Malayalam, an initial guttural : e. g., *karuka* (Mal.) ; *karike* (Can.) ; *garika* (Tel.) ; *kadike* (Tuḷu). Thus in late Primitive Dravidian, *kāl*, *āl* and *ān* were all used to denote the locative, the instrumental, or the ablative case.

In Tamil, *kāl* is always locative suffix ; and *āl* and *ān* are instrumental suffixes. Thus a division of labour among these is introduced. Old Tamil prefers *ān* to *āl*; but *āl* has gradually gained over *ān* and is now the regular one. For example : *ūrkkāl* in the village; *Rāmanāl*, by Rama ; *avanān āyadu*, 'that which was done by him.'

The only other language in which *kāl* is preserved, is Malayalam. In this dialect, *kāl* and its shortened form *kal* are alternative signs of the locative. The Malayalam instrumental suffix is *āl* as in Tamil.

22. In Brahui the ablative suffix is *ān* ; and the locative termination is *āl* : e. g., *lammah* mother, has *lammahān* (abla.) ; *lammahāl* (loc.).

In Gonḍi too the ablative use of *āl* is preserved. *Chhauva* a child has *chhauvatāl* (abl. instr.). This *āl* is also used as instrumental suffix, but this is very largely replaced by the Sanskrit word '*sanga*'.

In Kurukh, Malto and Telugu, the Primitive Dravidian instrumental locative *ān* took a final euphonic *u* and became *ānu*. This *ānu* underwent many changes. In Kurukh the initial *ā* dropped after lengthening the final *u* and sometimes making it more open. So the locative suffixes of Kurukh are *nū* and *nō*. Malto has only *no*. For example: *male* a man in Malto has *meleno* (loc.) (*L. S.* 452); *āl* a man in Kurukh, has *āl nū* (loc.) (*L. S.* 418). The Raigarh dialect of Kurukh generally uses *nō* for *nū* : e. g., *buddhinō* in sense (*L. S.* 435).

Old Telugu uses *an* and *a* as locative instrumental suffix, *a* is a contracted form of *an* : and *an* is again shortened form of *ān*. Thus *inṭa* and *inṭan* both mean 'in the house'; and hence *an* (*u*) and *a* are optionally used. Now in new Telugu, these suffixes are restricted to the so-called 'irregular nouns.' Sometimes the form *na* is also used, especially in new Telugu, in the case of neuter nouns ending in *u*, *na* is *anu* with its final vowel *u* changed to *a* through the influence of the initial *a* which subsequently dropped; *Vanambuna* 'in the forest. Beraḍi, a dialect of Telugu, has *ān*; and Vaḍari, another Telugu dialect has *nā* as their locative suffixes. Dr. Caldwell thinks that *na* is a corruption of *in* the locative sign. But it is difficult to understand how *in* can produce *na*. Surely he has been misled by the Finnish form *na*, *ne*, *ni*; and indeed he compares the Dravidian *na* to the Japanese locative *ni!*

In New Telugu, the post-positions, *valanan*, and *chētan* are largely used to denote the instrumental case. *Velanan* and *chētan* are themselves the instrumental of *valan* and *chēy* formed by adding *an* (See above). *Chēy* means 'hand' and *valan*, a side (compare Tamil *pāl*=side). So *valanan* and *chētan* respectively mean 'by the side of' and 'by the hand of' i. e., by, through—*dāni valla* or *dāni chēta* means 'by her'. *Valanan* and *chētan*, are also shortened to *valla* and *chēta*, or, *chēn*.

The Post-Position: *tō-ḍan*.

23. In Primitive Dravidian *tō-ḍan* was used to denote the conjunctive case giving the meaning 'with' *tō-ḍan* is the instrumental or locative of the noun *tō-ḍu* 'a crowd, contact' formed by the addition of *ān* or *an*. Indeed, *tō-ḍān* was subsequently shortened to *tō-ḍan*. It means 'by the crowd of or in the contact of'; i. e., '*with.*' This *tō-ḍan* was also used adverbially to denote closeness of time, meaning 'at once.'.

In Telugu *tō-ḍan* is the *conjunctive* case-sign meaning 'with'. It is also used as an adverb. Then it takes the form *tō-ḍane* 'at once'. It is often contracted to *tō-ḍu*, *tō n*, and *tō*. *Vāni to*, *vani tō n*, *vani tō ḍan* all mean 'with him'.

In Tamil, *tō-ḍan* loses its initial consonant. Compare the following pairs of words where the initial *t* is optionally lost in Tamil: *tu ḷai dal*=*u ḷai dal* (paining); *tuva ḷal*=*uva ḷal* (bending); *tuvarppu*=*uvarpu* (brackishness); *tunnalar*=*unnalar* (foes); and so on. Hence *tō-ḍan* becomes *ō-ḍan* in Tamil. This *ō-ḍan* further changed in prehistoric period to *u ḍan ō ḍu*, and *o du* all of which are now the instrumental suffixes of Tamil, meaning 'with.' There is also in Tamil the adverbial form *u ḍane* (=at once). In colloquial Tamil *ō-ḍu* is often pronounced as *ō-ḍa* or *o ḍæ*.

Malayalam has the same instrumental suffixes as Tamil: namely, *u ḍan*, *o ḍu ō-ḍu*.

Canarese preserves only the adverbial form: Old Canarese *o ḍam*, Modern Canarese *o dane* mean 'at once'.

In Tuḷu, the locative-instrumental was originally *o ḍu* or *o ṭu*. These were pronounced also as in colloquial Tamil as *o-Ḍa* or *o ṭa*. But subsequently the initial *o* was dropped in rapid pronunciation. It must be remembered in this connection that Tuḷu which is only a spoken dialect differs from the rest by a process, not of growth, but of decay, not having been ever reduced to writing. Hence *Ḍu* or *Ṭu* and *Ḍa* or *Ṭa* were the instrumental locative suffixes. Soon a division of labour was introduced between these: These *Ḍa* or *Ṭa* became instrumental suffix; and *Ḍu* or *Ṭu* was used as locative: e. g., *amma ḍa* 'with a mistress; *amma Ḍu* 'in a mistress'.

The Post-Position : *u ḷ*.

24. The peculiarity of this post-position is that it is used *only as locative suffix*. In its primitive form *u ḷ* it is found in Tamil, in Old Canarese and in the word *uṇḍu* in Telugu. But in Mid. Canarese *u ḷ* was changed to *OḶ, O ḷ*. In Telugu, early in the prehistoric period *u ḷ* became *O Ḷ* as in Canarese and then was changed *o l*. For L always becomes *l* in Telugu. *Ol* took a final euphonic *u*. *O lu* again was changed to *o lo* and further *lo* with the initial *o* dropped. For example: *marattu ḷ* in a tree (Tamil); *marado ḷ* in a tree (Can.); *dāni-lo* in that (Tel.)

In Mid Canarese *oḷ* also becomes *oḷage*, *ge* being a formative. New Canarese uses also *alli* as locative suffix *alli* mean 'place.'

In New Telugu, *andu* is more frequently used as locative suffix *andu* means 'within' and is identical with the adverb *andu* 'there'.

The Post-Positions : *il* and *in*.

25. I have already stated that these are identical and mean 'a place'. Subsequently they came to denote also 'motion from a place'. Hence, *il* and *in* were used in the Primitive Dravidian language as locative and ablative suffixes.

In Tamil, *il* is used both as locative and ablative suffix ; but *in* is used only as the sign of the ablative of motion. Its use as genitive suffix has already been given.

In Canarese, *in* is used as the suffix of the ablative of motion of old Canarese ; and also as the instrumental termination. Frequently the ablative *in* in Canarese takes the demonstrative adverb *attaṇ-attaṇ* is *atta* plus *aṇ* (the argument denoting direction), *atta* means there. Hence *atta ṇim* means 'from the direction of' or shortly 'from.'

The Post-Positions : *Irundu, uṇḍi, Nuntʃi, inde* and—*Ḍudu.*

26. The Tamil *irundu* the Canarese *inde*, the Tuḷu—*ḍ(u)du*, and the Telugu *uṇḍi* and *nunchi* are all past-participles of a verb meaning 'to be' or 'to place.' All these are ablative case-suffixes denoting 'motion from a place.' For their literal meaning is 'having been in' which is the same as coming from; or 'from.' *Nunchi* and—*Ḍ(u)du* both mean 'having been placed in' which is the same as "having been in." *Nunchi* has taken an initial euphonic *n*, and is the causal of *Uṇḍi* the past-participle of *uṇḍu* 'to be.' In Telugu *untsu* or vulgarly *untʃu* means 'to place.' The Tuḷu—*ḍ(u)du* is a contraction of *iḍḍu-iḍ* means 'to place'; and its past-participle is *iḍḍu* or *iḍudu*. Tamil *irundu* is from *ir* to be. Canarese *inde* is also from *ir* to be, but has undergone many changes. The Canarese past-participle of *ir* is *irdu* or *iddu*: But when this was used as an ablative suffix, *iddu* was influenced by the original ablative suffix *in* and by the Tamil ablative sign *irundu*. Hence the nasal *n* was introduced by false analogy; thus we get *indu* which being a suffix had its final *u* changed to *e*. Compare Tamil dative sign *ku* with the Canarese *ke*. *Inde* also became *inda*. Subsequently the ablative *inde* was also used as instrumental in Canarese like the ablative *in*.

In Telugu, *uṇḍi* is more classical and old and *nuntʃi* is more modern.

I will here close our notes on the Dravidian Case with a table showing the case-signs in the different languages.

DRAVIDIAN CASE SIGNS.

Cases.	Tamil.		Spoken Dialects of Tamil.			Mala-yalam.	Canarese.			Spoken Dialects of Canarese.					Tuḷu.
	Old.	New.	Korava	Kaikaḍi.	Bargaṇḍi.		Old.	Mid.	New.	Toda.	Kota.	adage	Kurum-ba.	Iṛula.	
Accusative ...	ai	ai	e an nna ni	same as Dat.	same as 4	e	am	am annu anna (a)	anu annu a a						n nu
Dative	ku	ku	k ka ke ki also Acc.	ku ki k	k ku ki	ku, n+ ku= nnu	ke kke ge	ke kke ge	ke kke ge	ke ge	ge	ge	ge ke	ke	k ku g gu
Genitive	a adu	a adu in uḍaiya	āda (oblique)	āda (oblique)	ē nē (oblique)	-Ṛe -de -uḌe in, tu	a a in+a	a in+a	a in+a	-na	-na	-na -ya	-na -ya	no	a (sin.) e (pl.)
Instrumental ...	ōḌu oḌu uḌan ān āl	ōḍu oḍu uḍan ān āl	*valla* *inde*			āl, ōḌu	im indam inde	im indam inde indai	inda i	ind	inde	inda	inda	inda	-Ḍa -Ṭa
Ablative	in il	in il	UND indri inde		ke kun	-il+ ninna	in indam and atta Ṇ	attaṇ +3	attaṇ +3	same as instrumental.					ḍdu
Locative	uḷ il in	uḷ in iḷ	ULLI OLLI oḶ	aḶi uḶi oḶi	kō kē	il	uḶ oḶ alli	uḶ oḶ alli	oḶ alli oḷage	oḶ	vollage	vollage	vollage	-ullu	-Ḍu -Ṭu

DRAVIDIAN CASE-SIGNS.

Cases.	Telugu.		Rude Dialects of Telugu.				Gon Dialects.				Kuru-kh.	Malto.	Kui.	Kolami.	Naikai.	Brahui.	Primitive Dravidian.
	Old.	New.	Kamati.	Dasari.	BeraDi.	VaDari.	Mixed Goṇḍi.	ChanDa.	Bastur.	Madras Goṇḍi.							
Accusative ...	n nu ni	nu ni		ni		ni	n un unk	un also 4	un also 4	ni	n an in nu	n	ni, i	n, ng also 4	n, un kun	e (in)	am
Dative	ku ki	ka ki	ku ki	ku ki ke	k ki ke	ki ku ka	k un unk	ku ke	ke ku	ki	ge ki	k	ki ge	as 2	as 2	e, (in)	k
Genitive ...	i	i yokka	-di	-di	-nan	i	a or	-a -or	-a -or	-i	i, hi gahi, kege	ki oblique	i, a, oblique	n, ne net	ne	na (sin.) a (pl.)	a, in
Instrumental ..	tō ḍan Val- anan	tō Dan tō Ḍa- tōn valla	tō	tō	tō	tō	āl sanga	āl sang	āl sang	al	gus tri	t	-dai ke	barobar	barobar	-aṭ	-toDam -Kāl
Ablative... ..	unḍi	Nunchi	nunchi	nunchi	nu ṭi	nunṭi inda	-āl -se	-āl	-āl		-ti -nti	nte	-ta -ta tika	-nad	nad	-an	irundu uL-du iḌudu in
Locative ...	tō tōn na	tō na	lā	lō	ān	nā lō	-e -en	e	-e		-nu -no	-no	-ḍai ni ta	t	lopul	ac -ti	uL (in) il

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DERIVATION OF TALAPOIN.

In my notes on the derivation of this old puzzle among Indo-European words, meaning a Buddhist monk (*ante*, Vol. XXXV, p. 268) I noted that Gerini had stated that it represented the Talaing expression **tala poi**, 'my lord': and I gave reasons for showing that he was probably right. There is now at last proof that he was so. In a Talaing Inscription on a pillar of the Myazedi Pagoda at Pagan recently edited by Mr. C. O. Blagden in *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, occur (p. 1023) the words (line 18) **tila poy Mhâther**, 'My Lord Mhâther.' This Talaing Inscription relates to the presentation of a golden image to the Pagoda in 1084 A. D, and corresponding with it on the same pillar is a Burmese Inscription (p. 1021) which (lines 22-23) translates the above words by (*bhăgrî Mahâther*) **p'ôngyî** Mahâthî, *i.e.*, the monk Mahâthî. The inscription purports to relate that the dedication of the image was made in the presence of the Monk Mahâthera and seven other monks, all named.

There seems, therefore, to be no room left for doubting that the term **talapoin**, in all its variations, for a Buddhist monk is the Talaing term '**tala pôi**' ('my Lord,') as applied to a Buddhist monk, and is the equivalent of the ordinary Burmese term **p'ôngyi**.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK NOTICES.

FELIX LACÔTE—Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā suivi du texte inédit des chapitres Vol. XXVII à XXX du Nepāla-Māhātmya. Paris 1908. Ernest Leroux. 8vo. XV 335 pp.

BUDHASVÂMIN—Bṛhatkathā Çlokasaṃgraha I—IX Texte Sanskrit publié pour la première fois, avec des notes critiques et explicatives et accompagné d'une traduction française par Felix Lacôte. Paris 1908. Ernest Leroux. 8vo. XIII+2+115 pp.

THE Bṛihatkathâ of Guṇâḍhya is a famous work in Indian literature. We know that, according to tradition, it was written in the Paiśâchî dialect, and that it was, at a comparatively early date, lost in India proper, but continued to be handed down in Kashmir, where it was later on remodelled and translated into Sanskrit by the two authors Sômadêva and Kshêmêndra. Buhler has made it probable that the original drawn upon by them was written in some Prakrit, and the common opinion has been that this original was Guṇâḍhya's Bṛihatkathâ itself. The natural inference was that wherever Sômadêva and Kshêmêndra agree, their statements can be traced back to Guṇâḍhya.

In 1893 Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Hara Prasâd Śâstrî found, among the Nepalese manuscripts acquired for the Bengal Asiatic Society, a Sanskrit version of the Bṛihatkathâ, on which he reported in the Bengal Asiatic Journal (Vol. LXII. Part I, pp. 245 and ff). His remarks were, as we can now see, neither exhaustive nor quite accurate, and it is only after the publishing of M. Lacôte's books that we can judge of the real importance of the find. These books are, as will appear from the titles, an edition of the first nine chapters of the text and a study summing up the results to be derived from the new version of Guṇâḍhya's work. The manuscripts discovered do not contain the complete work Only 20 chapters have been found, and they will all be published by M. Lacôte. To judge from the part just issued, we have every reason for being thankful that the work of editing them has fallen into so able hands.

The study on Guṇâḍhya is a very important work, written with great learning and throughout bearing testimony to the critical skill of its author. I do not intend to review it at length, I shall only draw attention to one or two points which are bound to change the views hitherto commonly held about Guṇâḍhya and his work. An abridged translation of M Lacôte's study ought to be published for the benefit of those who cannot read it in the original.

M. Lacôte first shows that the legends about Guṇâḍhya contained in the Kathâsaritsâgara and the Bṛihatkathâmañjarî cannot go back to Guṇâḍhya himself Taken together with the traditions contained in the Nêpâla Mâhâtmya and published as an appendix to the Essai, however, they make it all but certain that the historical Guṇâḍhya did not live at Paithan at the court of the Andhrabhrityas, but was born in Mathurâ and spent much of his time in Ujjayinî, and that his Bṛihatkathâ was written somewhere on the line which takes us from Ujjayinî to Kauśâmbî. This result is, I think, of considerable importance for the question about the home of the old Paiśâchî dialect. M. Lacôte agrees with Dr. Hoernle that Paiśâchî was an Aryan dialect as spoken in the month of un-Aryan tribes. He thinks that the evidence brought into the field by the late Professor Pischel and by Dr. Grierson makes

it probable that these un-Aryan tribes lived somewhere on the North-Western Frontier. It will be seen that here he places himself in opposition to Indian tradition according to which Guṇâḍhya learnt to speak Paiśâchî in the Vindhyas (Sômadêva). I shall not in this place take up this difficult question. I shall only remark that I think it possible to prove that the Indian tradition is right as against European scholars, and that the home of the Paiśâchî dialect should be looked for in the neighbourhood of the present Ujjain.

M. Lacôte further shows that the original on which Sômadêva and Kshêmêndra drew was not Guṇâḍhya's Bṛihatkathâ, but a later version which had become localised in Kashmir and which had been written by a Kashmirian. It did not give a good impression of Guṇâḍhya's work, the whole had been recast, the original story had been made in parts almost unintelligible, the composition had become changed, and numerous additions, such as the Pañchatantra and the Vêtâlapañchaviṁśati, had been made. The proof is followed up in a double line, by considering the internal evidence of the Kashmirian versions themselves, and by comparing the new Sanskrit text from Nepal It will be seen that this result makes it necessary to give up the old view that Guṇâḍhya had already dealt with all those various subjects which meet us in the works of Sômadêva and Kshêmêndra. Thus for instance, the Pañchatantra was formerly considered to be an old collection which already existed before Guṇâḍhya's times, and which he incorporated in his work. That can no more be proved by the fact that it has been embodied in the later Kashmirian versions. Thus the Bṛihatkathâ loses something of its importance for the history of Indian tales. But on the other hand, the results to which we can now come are much more certain; and our critical horizon has been widened so that we now begin to see our way towards a really critical history of this important branch of literature. We therefore have every reason to be thankful to M. Lacôte for his excellent study on Guṇâḍhya.

LE BARON CARRA DE VAUX La doctrine de l' Islam. Paris 1909. GABRIEL BEAUCHESNE & Cie, editeurs, 117, Rue de Rennes. 8° IV 319 pp. 4 francs.=Études sur l' histoire des religions 3.

THIS new essay on the Muhammedan religion is not meant to be a history of the Islam. It is a study on the actual doctrines which can be considered as orthodox at the present day and only occasionally deals with their development. Muhammedanism is, further, in various respects compared with the Christian religion, and it is always easy to see that the sympathies of the author are with his own belief. His attitude towards Muhammedanism is, however, friendly, and he succeeds in imparting the keen interest he evidently takes in the subject to the reader. He does not go too much into details, his intention has been, throughout, to draw the broad lines, and to illustrate what is essential and typical His style is admirable, and he has therefore succeeded in producing a book which will be read with great interest by the educated public for which it is destined.

The first chapter deals with the unity of God. The author here justly reproves the theory of Renan that monotheism was a natural result of the dispositions of the Semitic nations. Then the different rites and prayers are described.

The second chapter is devoted to the future life, and the third to the well-known fatalism of the Islam. Then follow chapters on the duty of giving alms, the pilgrimage, and the Sacred War for the propagation of the Faith. The seventh chapter deals with the position of woman in Muhammedanism. The author here emphasises the fact that the lack of consideration of the female sex is the weakest point in the whole system and the one which makes it absolutely unlikely that European nations should ever, to any extent, embrace the doctrine of Muhammed. A good illustration of the difference of view between Muhammedan and Western ideas is afforded by the rules about divorce. The husband can divorce his wife and afterwards take her back twice. But after a third divorce he cannot remarry her unless she has, in the meantime, been married to another man. An amusing story is told in illustration of this rule, (page 169): a wife had been three times divorced by her husband Rofaah, but still wanted to return to him. She came to Mohammed and asked his permission. "Another man has married me," she said, "but he sent me away after he had only touched the fringe of my coat." But the prophet did not allow her to return to her old husband until the new one had actually had intercourse with her. After some time she returned and said that so had been the case, but Mohammed refused to believe her. It is hardly possible for a European mind to imagine how such a state of affairs can be possible.

The concluding chapters contain remarks on children and education, on mysticism and on the future of Islam. They all contain many fine observations, and, on the whole, it is a real pleasure to follow the author throughout the book, even in those few cases where one cannot agree with the views he takes of some question or other.

STEN KONOW.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V—XV).

Translated by

R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.,

Librarian, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.[95]

(*Continued from p. 144.*)

Chapter IV.

The operation of a siege (Paryupâsanakarma).

REDUCTION (of the enemy) must precede a siege. The territory that has been conquered should be kept so peacefully that it might sleep without any fear. When it is in rebellion, it is to be pacified by bestowing rewards and remitting taxes, unless the conqueror means to quit it. Or he may select his battl fields in a remote part of the enemy's territory, far from the populous centres; for, in the opinion of Kauṭilya, no territory deserves the name of a kingdom or country unless it is full of people. When a people resist the attempt of the conqueror, then he may destroy their stores, crops, and granaries, and trade.

By the destruction of trade, agricultural produce, and standing crops, by causing the people to run away, and by slaying their leaders in secret, the country will be denuded of its people.[96]

When the conqueror thinks, "My army is provided with abundance of staple corn, raw materials, machines, weapons, dress, labourers, ropes and the like, and has a favourable season to act, whereas my enemy has an unfavourable season and is suffering from disease, famine and loss of stores and defensive force, while his hired troops as well as the army of his friend are in a miserable condition," —then he may begin the siege.

Having well guarded his camp, transports, supplies, and also the roads of communication, and having dug up a ditch and raised a rampart round his camp, he may vitiate the water in the ditches round the enemy's fort, or empty the ditches of their water or fill them with water if empty, and then he may assail the rampart and the parapets by making use of underground tunnels and iron rods. If the ditch (*dvâram*) is very deep, he may fill it up with soil. If it is defended by a number of men, he may destroy it by means of machines. Horse soldiers may force their passage through the gate into the fort and smite the enemy. Now and then in the midst of tumult, he may offer terms to the enemy by taking recourse to one, two, three, or all of the strategic means.

Having captured the birds such as the vulture, crow, *naptir*, *bhâsa*, parrot, *maina*, and pigeon which have their nests in the fort-walls, and having tied to their tails inflammable powders (*agniyoga*), he may let them fly to the forts. If the camp is situated at a distance from the fort and is provided with an elevated post for archers and their flags, then the enemy's fort may be set on fire. Spies, living as watchmen of the fort, may tie inflammable powder to the tails of mongooses, monkeys, cats and dogs and let them go over the thatched roofs of the houses. A splinter of fire kept in the body of a dried fish may be caused to be carried off by a monkey, or a crow, or any other bird (to the thatched roofs of the houses).

Small balls prepared from the mixture of *sarala* (*pinus longifolia*), *devadâru* (deodar), *pûtitriṇa* (stinking grass), *guggulu* (bdellium), *śrîveshṭaka* (turpentine), the juice of *sarja* (*vatica robusta*), and *lâkshâ* (lac) combined with dungs of an ass, camel, sheep, and goat are inflammable (*agnidhâranah*, *i.e.*, such as keep fire).

[95] The first four books have been published in the *Mysore Review*, 1905—1909.

[96] This is in *śloka* metre.

The mixture of the powder of *priyâla* (*chironjia sapida*), the charcoal of *avalguja* (*oanyza, serratula, anthelmintica*), *madhûchchhishṭa* (wax), and the dung of a horse, ass, camel, and cow is an inflammable powder to be hurled against the enemy.

The powder of all the metals (*sarvuloha*) as red as fire, or the mixture of the powder of *kumbh* (*gmelia arberea*), *sîsa* (lead), *trapu* (zinc), mixed with the charcoal powder of the flowers of *pâribhadraka* (deodar), *palâsa* (*butea frondosa*), and hair, and with oil, wax, and turpentine, is also an inflammable powder.

A stick of *visvâsaghâti* painted with the above mixture and wound round with a bark made of hemp, zinc, and lead, is a fire-arrow (to be hurled against the enemy).

When a fort can be captured by other means, no attempt should be made to set fire to it ; for fire cannot be trusted ; it not only offends gods, but also destroys the people, grains, cattle, gold, raw materials and the like. Also the acquisition of a fort with its property all destroyed, is a source of further loss. Such is the aspect of a siege.

When the conqueror thinks, "I am well provided with all necessary means and with workmen whereas my enemy is diseased, with officers proved to be impure under temptations, with unfinished forts and deficient stores, allied with no friends, or with friends inimical at heart,"—then he should consider it as an opportune moment to take up arms and storm the fort.

When fire, accidental or intentionally kindled, breaks out; when the enemy's people are engaged in a sacrificial performance, or in witnessing spectacles or the troops, or in a quarrel due to the drinking of liquor; or when the enemy's army is too much tired by daily engagements in battles and is reduced in strength in consequence of the slaughter of a number of its men in a number of battles ; when the enemy's people wearied from sleeplessness have fallen asleep ; or on the occasion of a cloudy day, of floods, or of a thick fog or snow, general assault should be made.

Or having concealed himself in a forest after abandoning the camp, the conqueror may strike the enemy when the latter comes out.

A king, pretending to be the enemy's chief friend or ally, may make the friendship closer with the besieged, and send a messenger to say, "This is thy weak point; these are thy internal enemies ; that is the weak point of the besieger; and this person (who, deserting the conqueror, is now coming to thee) is thy partisan." When this partisan is returning with another messenger from the enemy, the conqueror should catch hold of him, and, having published the partisan's guilt, should banish him, and retire from the siege operations. Then the pretending friend may tell the besieged, "Come out to help me, or let us combine and strike the besieger." Accordingly when the enemy comes out, he may be hemmed between the two forces (the conqueror's force and the pretending friend's force) and killed or captured alive to distribute his territory (between the conqueror and the friend). His capital city may be razed to the ground ; and the flower of his army made to come out and destroyed.

This explains the treatment of a conquered enemy or wild chief.

Either a conquered enemy or the chief of a wild tribe (in conspiracy with the conqueror) may inform the besieged, "with the intention of escaping from a disease, or from the attack in his weak point by his enemy in the rear, or from a rebellion in his army, the conqueror seems to be thinking of going elsewhere, abandoning the siege." When the enemy is made to believe this, the conqueror may set fire to his camp and retire. Then the enemy coming out may be hemmed . . . as before.

Or having collected merchandise mixed with poison, the conqueror may deceive the enemy by sending that merchandise to the latter.

Or a pretending ally of the enemy may send a messenger to the enemy, asking him, "Come out to smite the conqueror already struck by me." When he does so, he may be hemmed . . . . . as before.

Spies, disguised as friends or relatives and with passports and orders in their hands, may enter the enemy's fort and help to its capture.

Or a pretending ally of the enemy may send information to the besieged, "I am going to strike the besieging camp at such a time and place; then you should also fight along with me." When the enemy does so, or when he comes out of his fort after witnessing the tumult and uproar of the besieging army in danger, he may be slain as before.

Or a friend or a wild chief in friendship with the enemy may be induced and encouraged to seize the land of the enemy when the latter is besieged by the conqueror. When accordingly any one of them attempts to seize the enemy's territory, the enemy's people or the leaders of the enemy's traitors may be employed to murder him (the friend, or the wild chief); or the conqueror himself may administer poison to him. Then another pretending friend may inform the enemy that the murdered person was a fratricide (as he attempted to seize the territory of his friend in troubles). After strengthening his intimacy with the enemy, the pretending friend may sow the seeds of dissension between the enemy and his officers and have the latter hanged. Causing the peaceful people of the enemy to rebel, he may put them down, unknown to the enemy. Then having taken with him a portion of his army composed of furious wild tribes, he may enter the enemy's fort and allow it to be captured by the conqueror. Or traitors, enemies, wild tribes, and other persons who have deserted the enemy, may, under the plea of having been reconciled, honoured, and rewarded, go back to the enemy and allow the fort to be captured by the conqueror.

Having captured the fort or having returned to the camp after its capture, he should give quarter to those of the enemy's army who, whether as lying prostrate in the field, or as standing with their back turned to the conqueror, or with their hair dishevelled, with their weapons thrown down or with their body disfigured and shivering under fear, surrender themselves. After the captured fort is cleared of the enemy's partisans and is well guarded by the conqueror's men both within and without, he should make his victorious entry into it.

Having thus seized the territory of the enemy close to his country, the conqueror should direct his attention to that of the *madhyama* king; this being taken, he should catch hold of that of the neutral king. This is the first way to conquer the world. In the absence of the *madhyama* and neutral kings, he should, in virtue of his own excellent qualities, win the hearts of his enemy's subjects, and then direct his attention to other remote enemies. This is the second way. In the absence of a circle of states (to be conquered), he should conquer his friend or his enemy by hemming each between his own force and that of his enemy or that of his friend respectively. This is the third way.

Or he may first put down an almost invincible immediate enemy. Having doubled his power by this victory, he may go against a second enemy; having trebled his power by this victory, he may attack a third. This is the fourth way to conquer the world.

Having conquered the earth with its people of distinct castes and divisions of religious life, he should enjoy it by governing it in accordance with the duties prescribed to kings.

Intrigue, spies, winning over the enemy's people, siege, and assault are the five means to capture a fort. [97]

Chapter V.

Restoration of peace in a conquered country (Labdhapraśamanam).

The expedition which the conqueror has to undertake may be of two kinds: in wild tracts or in single villages and the like.

[97] In *śloka* metre.

The territory which he aucquires may be of three kinds: that which is newly acquired, that which is recovered (from an userper) and that which is inherited.

Having acquired a new territory, he should cover the enemy's vices with his own virtues, and the enemy's virtues by doubling his own virtues, by strict observance of his own duties, by attending to his works, by bestowing rewards, by remitting taxes, by giving gifts, and by bestowing honours. He should follow the friends and leaders of the people. He should give rewards, as promised, to those who deserted the enemy for his cause; he should also offer rewards to them as often as they render help to him; for whoever fails to fulfil his promises becomes untrustworthy both to his own and his enemy's people. Whoever acts against the will of the people will also become unreliable. He should adopt the same mode of life, the same dress, language, and customs as those of the people. He should follow the people in their faith with which they celebrate their national, religious and congregational festivals or amusements. His spies should often bring home to the mind of the leaders of provinces, villages, castes, and corporations the hurt inflicted on the enemies in contrast with the high esteem and favour, with which they are treated by the conqueror, who finds his own prosperity in theirs. He should please them by giving gifts, remitting taxes, and providing for their security. He should always hold religious life in high esteem. Learned men, orators, charitable and brave persons should be favoured with gifts of land and money and with remission of taxes. He should release all the prisoners, and afford help to miserable, helpless, and diseased persons. He should prohibit the slaughter of animals for half a month during the period of Châturmâsya (from July to September), for four nights during the full moon, and for a night on the day of the birth-star of the conqueror or of the national star. He should also prohibit the slaughter of females and young ones (*yonibâlavadham*) as well as castration. Having abolished those customs or transactions which he might consider either as injurious to the growth of his revenue and army or as unrighteous, he should establish righteous transactions. He should compel born thieves as well as the Mlechchhas to change their habitations often and reside in many places. Such of his chief officers in charge of the forts, country parts, and the army, and ministers and priests as are found to have been in conspiracy with the enemy should also be compelled to have their habitations in different places on the borders of the enemy's country. Such of his men as are capable to hurt him, but are convinced of their own fall with that of their master, should be pacified by secret remonstration. Such renegades of his own country as are captured along with the enemy should be made to reside in remote corners. Whoever of the enemy's family is capable to wrest the conquered territory and is taking shelter in a wild tract on the border, often harassing the conqueror, should be provided with a sterile portion of territory or with a fourth part of a fertile tract on the condition of supplying to the conqueror a fixed amount of money and a fixed number of troops, in raising which he may incur the displeasure of the people and may be destroyed by them. Whoever has caused excitement to the people or incurred their displeasure should be removed and placed in a dangerous locality.

Having recovered a lost territory, he should hide those vices of his, owing to which he lost it, and increase those virtues by which he recovered it.

With regard to the inherited territory, he should cover the vices of his father, and display his own virtues.

He should initiate the observance of all those customs, which, though righteous and practised by others, are not observed in his own country, and give no room for the practice of whatever is unrighteous, though observed by others. [98]

[98] In *śloka* metre.

Book XIV.

Secret Means (Aupanishadikam).

Chapter I.

Means to injure an enemy (Paraghâtaprayogah).

In order to protect the Institution of the four castes, such measures as are treated of in secret science shall be applied against the wicked. Through the instrumentality of such men or women of Mlechchha class as can put on disguises appropriate to different countries, arts, or professions, or as can put on the appearance of a hump-backed, dwarfish, or short-sized person, or of a dumb, deaf, idiot, or blind person, *kâlakûṭa* and other manifold poisons should be administered in the diet and other physical enjoyments of the wicked. Spies lying in wait or living as inmates (in the same house) may make use of weapons on occasions of royal sports or musical and other entertainments. Spies, under the disguise of night-walkers (*râtrichâri*) or of fire-keepers (*agni-jîvi*) may set fire (to the houses of the wicked).

The powder (prepared from the carcass) of animals such as *chitra* (?), *bheka* (frog), *kauṇḍinyaka* (?), *krikaṇa* (*perdix sylvatika*), *panchakushṭha* (?), and *śatapadî* (centepede) ; or of animals such as *uchchiṭinga* (crab), *kambali* (?), *krikalâsa* (lizard) with the powder of the bark of *śatakanda* (*Phyalis Flexuosa*) ; or of animals such as *grihagaulikâ* (a small house-lizard). *andhâhikâ* (a blind snake), *krakanṭhaka* (a kind of partridge), *pûtikîta* (a stinking insect), and *gomârika* (?) combined with the juice of *bhattâtaka* (*Semecarpus Anacardium*), and *valgaku* (?) ;—the smoke caused by burning the above powders causes instantaneous death.[99]

Any of the (above) insects may be heated with a black snake and *priyangu* (panic seed) and reduced to powder. This mixture, when burnt, causes instantaneous death.[1]

The powder prepared from the roots of *dhâmârgava* (*luffa foetida*) and *yâtudhâna* (?) mixed with the powder of the flower of *bhallâtaka* (*semecarpus anacardium*) causes, when administered, death in the course of half a month. The root of *vyâghâta* (*cassia fistula*) reduced to powder with the flower of *bhallâtaka* (*semecarpus anacardium*) mixed with the essence of an insect (kîṭa) causes, when administered, death in the course of a month.

As much as a kalâ ($\frac{1}{16}$th of a tola) to men ; twice as much to mules and horses ; and four times as much to elephants and camels.

The smoke caused by burning the powder of *śatakardama* (?) *uchchiṭinga* (crab), *karavîra* (*nerium odorum*), *kaṭutumbi* (a kind of bitter gourd), and fish together with the chaff of the grains of *madana* (?) and *kodrava* (*paspalam scrobiculatum*), or with the chaff of the seeds of *hastikarṇa* (castor oil tree) and *palâśa* (*butea frondosa*) destroys animal life as far as it is carried off by the wind.

The smoke caused by burning the powder of *pûtikîta* (a stinking insect), fish *kaṭutumbî* (a kind of bitter gourd), the bark of *śatakardama* (?), and *indragopa* (the insect cochineal), or the powder of *pûtikîṭa*, *kshudrârâla* (the resin of the plant, *shorea robusta*), and *hemavidâri* (?) mixed with the powder of the hoof and horn of a goat causes blindness.

The smoke caused by burning the leaves of *pûtikaranja* (*guilandina bonducella*), yellow arsenic, realgar, the seeds of *gunja* (*abrus precatorius*), the chaff of the seeds of red cotton, *âspoṭa* (a plant, *careya arborea*), *kâcha* (salt ?), and the dung and urine of a cow causes blindness.

The smoke caused by burning the skin of a snake, the dung of a cow and a horse, and the head of a blind snake causes blindness.

99 This is in *sloka* metre.

The smoke caused by burning the powder made of the mixture of the dung and urine of pigeons, frogs, flesh-eating animals, elephants, men, and boars, the chaff and powder of barley mixed with *kâsîsa* (green sulphate of iron), rice, the seeds of cotton, *kutaja* (*nerium antidysentericum*), and *kośâtaki* (*luffa pentandra*), cow's urine, the root of *bhândî* (*hydroeotyle asiatica*), the powder of *nimba* (*nimba meria*), *śigru* (*hyperanthera morunga*), *phaṇirjakâ* (a kind of *tulasî* plant), *kshîbapîluka* (ripe *coreya arborea*), and *bhânga* (a common intoxicating drug), the skin of a snake and fish, and the powder of the nails and tusk of an elephant, all mixed with the chaff of *madana* (?) and *kodra va*(*paspalam scrobiculatum*), or with the chaff of the seeds *of hastikarṇa* (castor oil tree) and *palâśa* (*butea frondosa*) causes instantaneous death wherever the smoke is carried off by the wind.

When a man who has kept his eyes secure with the application of ointment and medicinal water burns, on the occasion of the commencement of a battle and the assailing of forts, the roots of *kâli* (*tragia involucrata*), *kushṭha* (*costus*), *naḍa* (a kind of reed), and *śatâvarî* (*asperagus racemosus*), or the powder of (the skin of) a snake, the tail of a peacock, *krikaṇa* (a kind of partridge), and *panchakushṭha* (?), together with the chaff as previously described or with wet or dry chaff, the smoke caused thereby destroys the eyes of all animals.

The ointment prepared by mixing the excretion of *sârika* (*maina*), *kapota* (pigeon), *baka* (crane), and *balâka* (a kind of small crane) with the milk of *kâkshîva* (*hyperanthera morunga*), *pîluka* (a species of *careya arborea*), and *snuhi* (*euphorbia*) causes blindness and poisons water.

The mixture of *yavaka* (a kind of barley), the root of *sâla* (*achyrantes triandria*), the fruit of *madana* (datura plant ?), the leaves of *jâtî* (nutmeg ?), and the urine of a man mixed with the powder of the root of *plaksha* (fig tree), and *vidâri* (liquorice), as well as the essence of the decoction of *musta* (a kind of poison), *udumbara* (glomerous fig tree), and *kodrava* (*paspalam scrobiculatum*) or with the decoction of *hastikarṇa* (castor oil tree) and *palâśa* (*butea frondosa*) is termed the juice of *madana* (*madanayoga*).

The mixture of the powders of *śringi* (atis betula), *gaumevriksha* (?), *kantakâra* (*solanum xanthocarpum*), and *mayûrapadi* (?), the powder of *gunja* seeds, *lânguli* (*jusseina repens*), *vishamûlika* (?), and *ingudî* (heart-pea), and the powder of *karavîra* (oleander), *akshipîluka* (*careya arborea*), *arka* plant, and *mṛigamârinî* (?) combined with the decoction of *madana* and *kodrava* or with that of *hastikarṇa* and *palâśa* is termed *madana* mixture (*madanayoga*).

The combination of (the above two) mixtures poisons grass and water when applied to them.

The smoke caused by burning the mixture of the powders of *kṛikaṇa* (a kind of partridge, *kṛikalâsa* (lizard), *gṛihagaulikâ* (a small house-lizard), and *andhâhikâ* (a blind snake) destroys the eyes and causes madness.

The (smoke caused by burning the) mixture of *kṛikalâsa* and *gṛihagaulikâ* causes leprosy.

The smoke caused by burning the same mixture together with the entrails of *chitrabheka* (a kind of frog of variegated colour), and *madhu* (*celtis orientalis* ?) causes gonorrhœa.

The same mixture wetted with human blood causes consumption.

The powder of *dûshîvisha* (?), *madana* (datura plant ?), and *kodrava* (*paspalam scrobiculatum*) destroys the tongue.

The mixture of the powder of *mâtṛivâhakâ* (?), *jalûkâ* (leech), the tail of a peacock, the eyes of a frog, and *pîluka* (*careya arborea*) causes the disease known as *vishûchikâ*.

The mixture of pancha *kushṭha* (?), *kauṇḍinyaka* (?), *râjavṛiksha* (*cassia fistula*), and *madhupushpa* (*bassia latifolia*), and *madhu* (honey ?) causes fever.

The mixture prepared from the powder of the knot of the tongue of *bhâja* (?), and *nakula* (mongoose) reduced to a paste with the milk of a she-donkey causes both dumbness and deafness.

The proportion of a dose to bring on the desired deformities in men and animals in the course of a fortnight or a month is as laid down before.

Mixtures become very powerful when, in the case of drugs, they are prepared by the process of decoction; and in the case of animals, by the process of making powders; or in all cases by the process of decoction.

Whoever is pierced by the arrow prepared from the grains of *sâlmali* (*bombax heptaphyllum*) and *vidâri* (liquorice) reduced to powder and mixed with the powder of *mûlavatsanâbha* (a kind of poison) and smeared over with the blood of *chuchundarî* (musk-rat) bites some ten other persons who in their turn bite others.

The mixture prepared from the flowers of *bhallâtaka* (*semecarpus anacardium*), *jâtudhâna* (?) *dhâmârgava* (*achyranthes aspera*), and *bâna* (sal tree) mixed with the powder of elâ (large cardamom), *kâkshi* (red aluminous earth), *guggulu* (bdellium), and *hâlâhala* (a kind of poison) together with the blood of a goat and a man causes biting madness.

When half a dharaṇa of this mixture together with flour and oil-cakes is thrown into water of a reservoir measuring a hundred bows in length, it vitiates the whole mass of water; all the fish swallowing or touching this mixture become poisonous; and whoever drinks or touches this water will be poisoned.

No sooner does a person condemned to death pull out from the earth an alligator or iguana (*godhâ*) which, with three or five handfuls of both red and white mustard seeds, is entered into the earth than he dies at its sight.

When, on the days of the stars of *krittikâ* or *bharaṇi* and following the method of performing fearful rites, an oblation with a black cobra emitting froth at the shock of lightning or caught hold of by means of the sticks of a tree struck by lightning and perfumed is made into the fire, that fire continues to burn unquenchably.

(*a*) An oblation of honey shall be made into the fire fetched from the house of a blacksmith; of spirituous liquor into the fire brought from the house of vintner; of clarified butter into the fire of a sacrificer (?);

(*b*) of a garland into the fire kept by a sacrificer with one wife; of mustard seeds into the fire kept by an adultrous woman; of curds into the fire kept during the birth of a child; of rice-grain into the fire of a sacrificer;

(*c*) of flesh into the fire kept by a *chaṇḍâla*; of human flesh into the fire burning in cremation grounds; an oblation of the serum of the flesh of a goat and a man shall be made by means of a sacrificial ladle into the fire which is made of all the above fires;

(*d*) repeating the *mantras* addressed to the fire, an oblation of the wooden pieces of *râjavṛiksha* (*cassia fistula*) into the same fire. This fire will unquenchably burn deluding the eyes of the enemies.[100]

Salutation to Aditi, salutation to Anumati, salutation to Sarasvati and salutation to the Sun; oblation to Agni, oblation to soma, oblation to the earth, and oblation to the atmosphere.

Chapter II.

Wonderful and delusive contrivances (Adbhutotpâdanam).

A dose of the powder of *sirîsha* (*mimosa sirisa*), *udumbara* (glomerous fig-tree), and *samî* (*acacia suma*) mixed with clarified butter, renders fasting possible for half a month; the scum prepared from the mixture of the root of *kaseruka* (a kind of water-creeper), *utpala* (*costus*), and sugar-cane mixed with *bisa* (water-lily), *dûrva* (grass), milk, and clarified butter enables a man to fast for a month.

[100] *a—d* are in *sloka* metre.

The powder of *mâsha* (*phraseolus radiatus*), *yava* (barley), *kuluttha* (horse-gram) and the root of *darbha* (sacrificial grass) mixed with milk and clarified butter; the milk of *vallî* (a kind of creeper) and clarified butter derived from it and mixed in equal proportions and combined with the paste prepared from the root of *sâla* (*shorea robusta*) and *priśniparṇi* (*hedysarum lagopodioides*), when drunk with milk; or a dose of milk mixed with clarified butter and spirituous liquor, both prepared from the above substances, enables one to fast for a month.

The oil prepared from mustard seeds previously kept for seven nights in the urine of a white goat will, when used (externally) after keeping the oil inside a large bitter gourd for a month and a half, alter the colour of both biped and quadruped animals.

The oil extracted from white mustard seeds mixed with the barley corns contained in the dung of a white donkey, which has been living for more than seven nights on a diet of butter, milk and barley, causes alteration in colour.

The oil prepared from mustard seeds which have been previously kept in the urine and fluid dung of any of the two animals, a white goat and a white donkey, causes (when applied) such white colour as that of the fibre of *arka* plant or the down of a (white) bird.

The mixture of the dung of a white cock and *ajagara* (boa-constrictor) causes white colour.

The pastry made from white mustard seeds kept for seven nights in the urine of a white goat mixed with butter milk, the milk of *arka* plant, salt, and grains (*dhânya*), causes, when applied for a fortnight, white colour.

The paste, prepared from white mustard seeds which have been previously kept within a large bitter gourd and with clarified butter prepared from the milk of *vallî* (a creeper), for half a month, makes the hair white.

A bitter gourd, a stinking insect (*pûtikîṭa*), and a white house-lizard; when a paste prepared from these is applied to the hair, the latter becomes as white as a conch-shell.[1]

When any part of the body of a man is rubbed over with the pastry (*kalka*) prepared from *tinduka* (*glutinosa*) and *arishṭa* (soap-berry), together with the dung of a cow, the part of the body being also smeared over with the juice of *bhallâtaka* (*semecarpus anacardium*), he will catch leprosy in the course of a month.

(The application of the paste prepared from) gunja seeds kept previously for seven nights in the mouth of a white cobra or in the mouth of a house-lizard brings on leprosy.

External application of the liquid essence of the egg of a parrot and a cuckoo brings on leprosy.

The pastry or decoction prepared from *priyâla* (*chironjia sapida* or *vitis vinifera*?) is a remedy for leprosy.

Whoever eats the mixture of the powders of the roots of *kukkuṭa* (*marsilia dentata*), *kośâtakî* (*duffa pentandra*), and *śatâvarî* (*asperagus racemosus*) for a month will become white.

Whoever bathes in the decoction of *vaṭa* (banyan tree) and rubs his body with the paste prepared from *sahachara* (yellow *barleria*) becomes black.

Sulphuret of arsenic and red arsenic mixed with the oil extracted from *śakuna* (a kind of bird) and *kanka* (a vulture) causes blackness.

The powder of *khadyota* (fire-fly) mixed with the oil of mustard seeds emits light at night.

The powder of *khadyota* (fire-fly) and *gandûpada* (earth-worm) or the powder of ocean animals mixed with the powder of *bhṛinga* (*malabathrum*), *kapâlu* (a pot-herb), and *khadira* (*mimosa catechu*), and *karṇikâra* (*pentapetes acerifolia*), combined with the oil of *śakuna* (a bird) and *kanka* (vulture), is *tejanachûrṇa* (ignition powder).

[1] In *śloka* metre.

When the body of a man is rubbed over with the powder of the charcoal of the bark of *pâribhadraka* (*erythrina indica*) mixed with the serum of the flesh of *maṇḍûka* (a frog), it can be burnt with fire (without causing hurt).

The body which is painted with the pastry (*kalka*) prepared from the bark of *pâribhadraka* (*erythrina indica*) and sesamum seeds burns with fire.

The ball prepared from the powder of the charcoal of the bark of *pîlu* (*careya arborea*) can be held in hand and burnt with fire.

When the body of a man is smeared over with the serum of the flesh of a frog, it burns with fire (with no hurt).

When the body of a man is smeared over with the above serum as well as with the oil extracted from the fruits of *kuśa* (*ficus religiosa*), and *âmra* (mango tree), and when the powder prepared from an ocean frog (*samdura maṇḍûki*), *phenaka* (sea-foam), and *sarjarasa* (the juice of *vatica robusta*) is sprinkled over the body, it burns with fire (without being hurt).

When the body of a man is smeared over with sesamum oil mixed with equal quantities of the serum of the flesh of a frog, crab, and other animals, it can burn with fire (without hurt).

The body which is smeared over with the serum of the flesh of a frog burns with fire.

The body of a man, which is rubbed over with the powder of the root of bamboo (*veṇu*) and *śaivâla* (aquatic plant), and is smeared over with the serum of the flesh of a frog, burns with fire.

Whoever has anointed his legs with the oil extracted from the paste prepared from the roots of *pâribhadraka* (*erythrina indica*), *pratibalâ* (?), *vanjulâ* (a kind of ratan or tree), *vajra* (*andropogon muricatum* or *euphorbia*), and *kadalî* (banana), mixed with the serum of the flesh of a frog, can walk over fire (without hurt).

(*a*) Oil should be extracted from the paste prepared from the roots of *pratibalâ*, *vanjulâ* and *pâribhadraka*, all growing near water, the paste being mixed with the serum of the flesh of a frog.

(*b*) Having anointed one's legs with this oil, one can walk over a white-hot mass of fire as though on a bed of roses.[2]

When birds such as a *haṁsa* (goose), *krauncha* (heron), *mayûra* (peacock) and other large swimming birds are let fly at night with a burning reed attached to their tail, it presents the appearance of a fire-brand falling from the sky (*ulkâ*).

Ashes caused by lightning quench the fire.

When, in a fire-place, kidney beans (*mâsha*) wetted with the menstrual fluid of a woman, as well as the roots of *vajra* (*andropogon muricatum*) and *kadalî* (banana), wetted with the serum of the flesh of a frog are kept, no grains can be cooked there.

Cleansing the fire-place is its remedy.

By keeping in the mouth a ball-like piece of *pilu* (*careya arborea*) or a knot of the root of linseed tree (*suvarchalâ*) with fire inserted within the mass of the ball and wound round with threads and cotton (*pichu*), volumes of smoke and fire can be breathed out.

When the oil extracted from the fruits of *kuśa* (*ficus religiosa*) and *âmra* (mango) is poured over the fire, it burns even in the storm.

Sea-foam wetted with oil and ignited keeps burning when floating on water.

The fire generated by churning the bone of a monkey by means of a bamboo stick of white and black colour (*kalmâshaveṇu*) burns in water instead of being quenched.

There will burn no other fire where the fire generated by churning, by means of a bamboo stick of white and black colour, the left side rib-bone of a man killed by a weapon or put to the gallows; or the fire generated by churning the bone of a man or woman by means of the bone of another man is circumambulated thrice from right to left.

[2] (*a*) and (*b*) in *śloka* metre.

When the paste prepared from the animals such as *chuchundarî* (musk-rat), *khanjarîṭa* (?) and *khârakîṭa* (?), with the urine of a horse is applied to the chains with which the legs of a man are bound, they will be broken to pieces.[3]

The sun-stone (*ayaskânta*) or any other stone (will break to pieces) when wetted with the serum of the flesh of the animals *kulinda* (?), *dardura* (?), and *khârakîṭa* (?).

The paste prepared from the powder of the rib-bone of *nâraka* (?), a donkey, *kanka* (a kind of vulture), and *bhâsa* (a bird), mixed with the juice of water-lily, is applied to the legs of bipeds and quadrupeds (while making a journey).

When a man makes a journey, wearing the shoes made of the skin of a camel, smeared over with the serum of the flesh of an owl and a vulture and covered over with the leaves of the banyan tree, he can walk fifty *yojanas* without any fatigue.

(When the shoes are smeared over with) the pith, marrow, or sperm of the birds, *śyena, kanka, kâka, gṛidhra, hamsa, krauncha,* and *vîchiralla,* (the traveller wearing them) can walk a hundred *yojanas* (without any fatigue).

The fat or serum derived from roasting a pregnant camel together with *saptaparṇa* (*lechites scholaris*) or from roasting dead children in cremation grounds, is applied to render a journey of a hundred *yojanas* easy.

Terror should be caused to the enemy by exhibiting these and other wonderful and delusive performances; while anger causing terror is common to all, terrification by such wonders is held as a means to consolidate peace.[4]

Chapter III.

The Application of Medicines and Mantras (Bhaishajyamantraprayogah).

Having pulled out both the right and the left eye-balls of a cat, camel, wolf, boar, porcupine, *vâgulî* (?), *naptṛi* (?), crow and owl, or of any one, two, or three, or many of such animals as roam at nights, one should reduce them to two kinds of powder. Whoever anoints his own right eye with the powder of the left eye-ball, and his left eye with the powder of the right eye-ball can clearly see things even in pitch dark at night.

One is the eye of a boar; another is that of a *khadyota* (fire-fly), or a crow, or a mina bird. Having anointed one's own eyes with the above, one can clearly see things at night.[5]

Having fasted for three nights, one should, on the day of the star, Pushya, catch hold of the skull of a man who has been killed with a weapon or put to the gallows. Having filled the skull with soil and barley seeds, one should irrigate them with the milk of goats and sheep. Putting on the garland formed of the sprouts of the above barley crop, one can walk invisible to others.

Having fasted for three nights and having afterwards pulled out on the day of the star of Pushya both the right and the left eyes of a dog, a cat, an owl, and a *vâgulî* (?), one should reduce them to two kinds of powder. Then having anointed one's own eyes with this ointment as usual, one can walk invisible to others.

Having fasted for three nights, one should, on the day of the star of Pushya, prepare a round-headed pin (*śalakâ*) from the branch of *purushaghâti* (*punnâga* tree). Then having filled with ointment (*anjana*) the skull of any of the animals which roam at nights, and having inserted that skull in the organ of procreation of a dead woman, one should burn it. Having taken it out on the day of the star of Pushya and having anointed one's own eyes with that ointment, one can walk invisible to others.

[3] In *śloka* metre.

[4] In *śloka* metre.

[5] In *śloka* metre.

Wherever one may happen to see the corpse burnt or just being burnt of a Brâhman who kept sacrificial fire (while alive), there one should fast for three nights; and having on the day of the star of Pushya formed a sack from the garment of the corpse of a man who has died from natural causes, and having filled the sack with the ashes of the Brâhman's corpse, one may put on the sack on one's back, and walk invisible to others.

The slough of a snake filled with the powder of the bones and marrow or fat of the cow sacrificed during the funeral rites of a Brâhman, can, when put on the back of cattle, render them invisible.

The slough of *prachalâka* (a bird ?) filled with the ashes of the corpse of a man dead from snake-bite, can render beasts (*mṛiga*) invisible.

The slough of a snake (*ahi*) filled with the powder of the bone of the knee-joint mixed with that of the tail and dung (*purîsha*) of an owl and a *vâgulî* (?), can render birds invisible.

Such are the eight kinds of the contrivances causing invisibility.

(*a*) I bow to Bali, son of Virochana; to Śambara acquainted with a hundred kinds of magic; to Bhandîrapâka, Naraka, Nikumbha, and Kumbha.

(*b*) I bow to Devala and Nârada; I bow to Sâvarṇigâlava; with the permission of these I cause deep slumber to thee.

(*c*) Just as the snakes, known as ajagara (boa-constrictor) fall into deep slumber, so may the rogues of the army who are very anxious to keep watch over the village,

(*d*) With their thousands of dogs (*bhaṇḍaka*) and hundreds of ruddy geese and donkeys, fall into deep slumber; I shall enter this house, and may the dogs be quiet.

(*e*) Having bowed to Manu, and having tethered the roguish dogs (*śunakaphelaka*), and having also bowed to those gods who are in heaven, and to Brâhmans among mankind.

(*f*) To those who are well versed in their Vedic studies, those who have attained to Kailâsa (a mountain of god Śiva) by observing penance, and to all prophets, I do cause deep slumber to thee.[6]

The fan (*chamarî*) comes out; may all combinations retire. Oblation to Manu, O Aliti and Paliti.

The application of the above *mantra* is as follows :—

Having fasted for three nights, one should, on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month, the day being assigned to the star of Pushya, purchase from a low-caste woman (*śvapâkî*) *vilikhâvalekhana* (finger nails ?). Having kept them in a basket (*kaṇḍolikâ*), one should bury them apart in cremation grounds. Having unearthed them on the next fourteenth day, one should reduce them to a paste with *kumârî* (aloe ?) and prepare small pills out of the paste. Wherever one of the pills is thrown, chanting the above *mantra*, there the whole animal life falls into deep slumber.

Following the same procedure, one should separately bury in cremation grounds three white and three black dart-like hairs (*śalyaka*) of a porcupine. When, having on the next fourteenth day taken them out, one throws them together with the ashes of a burnt corpse, chanting the above *mantra*, the whole animal life in that place falls into deep slumber.

(*a*) I bow to the goddess Suvarṇapushpî and to Brahmâṇî, to the god Brahma, and to Kuśadhvaja; I bow to all serpents and goddesses; I bow to all ascetics.

(*b*) May all Brâhmans and Kshattriyas come under my power; may all Vaiśyas and Śûdras be at my beck and call.[7]

Oblation to thee, O, Amile, Kimile, Vayujâre, Prayoge, Phake, Kavayuśve, Vihâle, and Dantakaṭake, oblation to thee.

[6] *a—f* are in *śloka* metre.

[7] *a* and *b* are in *śloka* metre.

(c) May the dogs which are anxiously keeping watch over the village fall into deep and happy slumber ; these three white dart-like hairs of the porcupine are the creation of Brahma.

(d) All prophets (*siddha*) have fallen into deep slumber. I do cause sleep to the whole village as far as its boundary till the sun rises.[8] Oblation !

The application of the above *mantra* is as follows :—

When a man, having fasted for seven nights and secured three white dart-like hairs of a porcupine, makes on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month oblations into the fire with 108 pieces of the sacrificial fire-wood of *khadira* (*mimosa catechu*) and other trees together with honey and clarified butter chanting the above *mantra*, and when, chanting the same *mantra*, he buries one of the hairs at the entrance of either a village or a house within it, he causes the whole animal life therein to fall into deep slumber.

(a) I bow to Bali, the son of Vairochana, to Śatamâya, Śambara, Nikumbha, Naraka, Kumbha, Tantukachchha, the great demon;

(b) To Armâlava, Pramîla, Maṇḍolûka, Ghatodbala, to Krishṇa with his followers, and to the famous woman, Paulomî.

(c) Chanting the sacred *mantras*, I do take the pith or the bone of the corpse (*śavasârikâ* productive of my desired ends——may 'Salaka demons be victorious ; salutation to them ; oblation !——May the dogs which are anxiously keeping watch over the village fall into deep and happy slumber.

(d) May all prophets (siddhârthâh) fall into happy sleep about the object which we are seeking from sunset to sunrise and till the attainment of my desired end.[9] Oblation!

The application of the above *mantra* is as follows :—

Having fasted for four nights and having on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month performed animal sacrifice (*bali*) in cremation grounds, one should, repeating the above *mantra*, collect the pith of a corpse (*śavasârikâ*) and keep it in a basket made of leaves (*pattrapauṭṭalikâ*). When this basket, being pierced in the centre by a dart-like hair of a porcupine, is buried, chanting the above *mantra*, the whole animal life therein falls into deep slumber.

I take refuge with the god of fire and with all the goddesses in the ten quarters ; may all obstructions vanish and may all things come under my power.[10] Oblation!

The application of the above *mantra* is as follows :—

Having fasted for three nights and having on the day of the star of Pushya prepared twenty-one pieces of sugar-candy, one should make oblation into the fire with honey and clarified butter ; and having worshipped the pieces of sugar-candy with scents and garlands of flowers, one should bury them. When, having on the next day of the star of Pushya unearthed the pieces of sugar-candy, and chanting the above *mantra*, one strikes the door-panel of a house with one piece and throws four pieces in the interior, the door will open itself.

Having fasted for four nights, one should on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month get a figure of a bull prepared from the bone of a man, and worship it, repeating the above *mantra*. Then a cart drawn by two bulls will be brought before the worshipper who can (mount it and) drive in the sky and tell all that is connected with the sun and other planets of the sky.

O, Chaṇḍâli, Kumbhi, Tumba Kaṭuka, and Sârigha, thou art possessed of the *bhaga* of a woman, oblation to thee.

When this *mantra* is repeated, the door will open and the inmates fall into sleep.

8 *c* and *d* are in *śloka* metre.

9 *a*—*d* are in *śloka* metre.

10 In *śloka* metre.

Having fasted for three nights, one should on the day of the star of Pushya fill with soil the skull of a man killed with weapons or put to the gallows, and, planting in it *valli* (*vallarî ?*) plants, should irrigate them with water. Having taken up the grown-up plants on the next day of the star of Pushya (*i.e.*, after 27 days), one should manufacture a rope from them. When this rope is cut into two pieces before a drawn bow or any other shooting machine, the string of those machines will be suddenly cut into two pieces.

When the slough of a water-snake (*udakâhi*) is filled with the breathed out dirt (*uchchhvâsa-mṛittikâ ?*) of a man or woman (and is held before the face and nose of any person), it causes those organs to swell.

When the sack-like skin of the abdomen of a dog or a boar is filled with the breathed-out dirt (*uchchhvâsamṛittikâ*) of a man or woman and is bound (to the body of a man) with the ligaments of a monkey, it causes the man's body to grow in width and length (*ânâha*).

When the figure of an enemy carved out of *râjavṛiksha* (*cassia fistula*) is besmeared with the bile of a brown cow killed with a weapon on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month, it causes blindness (to the enemy).

Having fasted for four nights and offered animal sacrifice (*bali*) on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month, one should get a few bolt-like pieces prepared from the bone of a man put to the gallows. When one of these pieces is put in the fæces or urine (of an enemy), it causes (his) body to grow in size (*ânâha*); and when the same piece is buried under the feet or seat (of an enemy), it causes death by consumption; and when it is buried in the shop, fields, or the house (of an enemy), it causes him loss of livelihood.

The same process of smearing and burying holds good with the bolt-like pieces (*kîlaka*) prepared from *vidyuddaṇḍa* tree.

(*a*) When the nail of the little finger (*pûnarnavam avâchînam*) ? *nimba* (*nimba melia*), *kâma* (*bdellium*), *madhu* (*celtis orientalis*), the hair of a monkey, and the bone of a man, all wound round with the garment of a dead man

(*b*) is buried in the house of, or is trodden down by, a man, that man with his wife, children and wealth will not survive three fortnights.

(*c*) When the nail of the little finger, *nimba* (*nimba melia*), *kâma* (*bdellium*) *madhu* (*celtis orientalis*), and the bone of a man dead from natural causes are buried under the feet of,

(*d*) or near the house of, a man or in the vicinity of the camp of an army, of a village, or of a city, that man (or the body of man) with wife, children, and wealth will not survive three fortnights.

(*e*) When the hair of a sheep and a monkey, of a cat and mangoose, of Brâhmans, of low-caste men (*śvapâka*), and of a crow and an owl is collected,

(*f*) and is made into a paste with fæces (*vishṭâvakshuṇṇa*), its application brings on instantaneous death. When a flower garland of a dead body, the ferment derived from burning corpse, the hair of a mangoose,

(*g*) and the skin of scorpion, a bee, and a snake are buried under the feet of a man that man will lose all human appearance so long as they are not removed.[11]

Having fasted for three nights and having on the day of the star of Pushya planted *gunja* seeds in the skull, filled with soil, of a man killed with weapons or put to the gallows, one should irrigate it with water. On the new or full moon day with the star of Pushya, one should take out the plants when grown, and prepare out of them circular pedestals (*maṇḍalikâ*). When vessels containing food and water are placed on these pedestals, the food-stuffs will never decrease in quantity.

[11] *a—g* are in *Śloka* metre.

When a grand procession is being celebrated at night, one should cut off the nipples of the udder of a dead cow and burn them in a torch-light flame. A fresh vessel should be plastered in the interior with the paste prepared from these burnt nipples, mixed with the urine of a bull. When this vessel, taken round the village in circumambulation from right to left, is placed below, the whole quantity of the butter produced by all the cows (of the village) will collect itself in the vessel.

On the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month combined with the star of Pushya, one should thrust into the organ of procreation of a dog on heat an iron seal (*kaṭalâyasîm mudrikâm*) and take it up when it falls down of itself. When, with this seal in hand, a collection of fruits is called out, it will come of itself (before the magician).

By the power of *mantras*, drugs, and other magical performances, one should protect one's own people and hurt those of the enemy.[12]

Chapter IV.

Remedies against the injuries of one's own army (Svabalopaghâtapratîkârah).

With regard to remedies against poisons and poisonous compounds applied by an enemy against one's own army or people:—

When the things that are meant for the king's use, inclusive of the limbs of women, as well as the things of the army are washed in the tepid water prepared from the decoction of *śleshmâtakî* (*sebesten* or *cordia myx*), *kapi* (*emblica officinalis*), *madantî* (?), *danta* (ivory), saṭha (Citron tree), *gojigî* (*gojihvâ* ? = *elephantophus scaber*), *visha* (*aconitum ferox*), *pâṭali* (*bignonia suave olens*), *bala* (*lida cardifolia et rombifolia*), *syonâka* (*bignonia indica*) *punarnava* (?), *śveta* (*andropogon aciculatum*), and *tagara* (*tabernaemontana coronaria*), mixed with *chandanā* (*sandal*) and the blood of *sâlâvṛikî* (jackal), it removes the bad effects of poison.

The mixture prepared from the biles of *pṛishata* (red-spotted deer), *nakula* (mongoose), *nîlakanṭha* (peacock), and *godhâ* (alligator), with charcoal powder (*mashîrâji*), combined with the sprouts (*agra*) of *sinduvâra* (*vitex trifolia*), *tagara* (*tabernæmontana coronaria*) *vâruṇa*) (*teriandium indicum*), *tanduliyaka* (*amaranthus polygamus*), and *śataparva* (*convolvulus repens*) together with *pindîtaka* (*pangueria spinosa*) removes the effects of the mixture of *madana*.

Among the decoctions of the roots of *sṛigâla* (*bignonia indica*), *vinnâ* (?) *madana*, *sinduvâra* (*itex trifolia*), *tagara* (*tabernæmontana coronaria*), and *vallî* (a creeper ?), any one or all mixed with milk removes, when drunk, the effects of the mixture of *madana*.

The stinking oil extracted from *kaiḍarya* (*vangueria spinosa*) removes madness.

The mixture prepared from priyangu (panic seed) and *naktamâlâ* (*galedupa arborea*) removes, when applied through the nose, leprosy.

The mixture prepared from *kushṭha* (*costus*), and *lodhra* (*symplocus*) removes consumption.

The mixture prepared from *kaṭuphala* (*gmelina arborea*), *dravantî* (*anthericum tuberosum*), and *vilanga* (a kind of seed) removes, when applied through the nose, headache and other diseases of the head.

The application of the mixture prepared from *priyangu* (panic seed), *maniishṭhâ* (*rubia manjit*), *tagara* (*tabernæmontana coronaria*), *lâkshârasa* (the juice or essence of lac) *madhuka* (?), *haridrâ* (turmeric), and *kshaudra* (honey) to persons who have fallen senseless by being beaten by a rope, by falling into water, or by eating poison, or by being whipped, or by falling, resuscitates them.

The proportion of a dose is as much as an *aksha* (?) to men; twice as much as to cows and horses; and four times as much as to elephants and camels.

A round ball (*maṇi*) prepared from the above mixture and containing gold (*rukma*) in its centre, removes the effects due to any kind of poison.

12 In *śloka* metre.

A round ball (*maṇi*) prepared from the wood of *asvattha* (holy fig tree) growing wound round with the plants such as *jîvantî* (a medicinal plant), *śvetâ* (*andropogon aciculatum*) the flower of *mushkaka* (a species of tree), and *vandâka* (*epidendrum tesseloides*), removes the effects due to any kind of poison.[13]

(*a*) The sound of trumpets painted with the above mixture destroys poison; whoever looks at a flag or banner besmeared with the above mixture will get rid of poison.

(*b*) Having applied these remedies to secure the safety of himself and his army, a king should make use of poisonous smokes and other mixtures to vitiate water against his enemy.[14]

Book XV.

The plan of a treatise

(Tantrayuktih).

Chapter I.

Paragraphical divisions of this treatise

(Tantrayuktayah).

The subsistence of mankind is termed *artha*, wealth; the earth which contains mankind is also termed *artha*, wealth; that science which treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth is the arthaśâstra, Science of polity.

It contains thirty-two paragraphical divisions: the book (*adhikaraṇa*), contents (*vidhâna*) suggestion of similar facts (*yoga*), the meaning of a word (*padârtha*), the purport of reason (*hetvartha*), mention of a fact in brief (*uddeśa*), mention of a fact in detail (*nirdeśa*), guidance (*upadeśa*), quotation (*apadeśa*), application (*atideśa*), the place of reference (*pradeśa*), simile (*upamâna*), implication (*arthâpatti*), doubt (*samśaya*), reference to similar procedure (*prasanga*), contrariety (*viparyaya*), ellipsis (*vâkyaśesha*), acceptance (*anumata*), explanation (*vyâkhyâna*), derivation (*nirvachana*), illustration (*nidarśana*), exception (*apavarga*), the author's own technical terms (*svasanjâ*), prima facie view (*pûrva paksha*), rejoinder (*uttarapaksha*), conclusion (*ekânta*), reference to a subsequent portion (*anagatâvekshaṇa*), reference to a previous portion (*atikrântâvekshaṇa*), command (*niyoga*), alternative (*vikalpa*), compounding together (*samuchchayâ*), and determinable fact (*ûhya*).

That portion of a work in which a subject or topic is treated of is a book: as for example "This Arthaśâstra or Science of polity has been made as a compendium of all those Arthaśâstras which, as a guidance to kings in acquiring and maintaining the earth, have been written by ancient teachers."[15]

A brief description of the matter contained in a book is its contents: as, "the end of learning; association with the aged; control of the organs of sense; the rise of ministers, and the like."[16]

Pointing out similar facts by the use of such words as 'These and the like,' is suggestion of similar facts: for example, "The world consisting of the four castes and the four religious divisions and the like."[17]

The sense which a word has to convey is its meaning: for example, with regard to the words *mûlahara*, "whoever squanders the wealth acquired for him by his father and grandfather is a *mûlahara*, prodigal son."[18]

What is meant to prove an assertion is the purport of reason: for example, "For charity and enjoyment of life depend upon wealth."[19]

Saying in one word is mentioning a fact in brief: for example, "It is the control of the organs of sense on which success in learning and discipline depend."[20]

[13] There seems to be some error in this passage and its meaning is not quite certain; see also Chapter 20, Book I.

[14] (*a*) and (*b*) are in * śloka* metre.

[15] Chapter 1, Book I.

[16] Chapter 1, Book I.

[17] Chapter 4, Book I.

[18] Chapter 9, Book II.

[19] Chapter 7, Book I.

[20] Chapter 6, Book I.

Explanation in detached words is the mentioning of a fact in detail: for example, "Absence of discrepancy in the perception of sound, touch, colour, flavour, and scent by means of the ear, the skin, the eyes, the tongue, and the nose, is what is meant by restraint of the organs of sense." [21]

Such statement as 'Thus one should live,' is guidance: for example, "Not violating the laws of righteousness and economy, he should live." [22]

Such statement, as 'He says thus,' is quotation: for example, "The school of Manu say that a king should make his assembly of ministers consist of twelve ministers; the school of Bṛihaspati say that it should consist of sixteen ministers; the school of Uśanas say it should contain twenty members; but Kauṭilya holds that it should contain as many ministers as the need of the kingdom requires." [23]

When a rule dwelt upon in connection with a question is said to apply to another question also, it is termed application: for example, "What is said of a debt not repaid holds good with failure to make good a promised gift." [24]

Establishing a fact by what is to be treated of later on is 'place of reference': for example, "By making use of such a strategic means as conciliation, bribery, dissension, and coercion, as we shall explain in connection with calamities." [25]

Proving an unseen thing or course of circumstances by what has been seen is simile: for example, "Like a father his son, he should protect those of his subjects who have passed the period of the remission of taxes." [26]

What naturally follows from a statement of facts, though not spoken of in plain terms, is implication: for example, "Whoever has full experience of the affairs of this world should, through the medium of the courtiers and other friends, win the favour of a king who is of good character and worthy sovereign. It follows from this that no one should seek the favour of a king through the medium of the king's enemies." [27]

When the statement of a reason is equally applicable to two cases of circumstances, it is termed doubt; for example, "Which of the two should a conqueror march against: one whose subjects are impoverished and greedy, or one whose subjects are oppressed?" [28]

When the nature of procedure to be specified in connection with a thing is said to be equal to what has already been specified in connection with another, it is termed reference to similar procedure: for example, "On the lands allotted to him for the purpose of carrying on agricultural operations, he should do as before." [29]

The inference of a reverse statement from a positive satement is termed contrariety: for example, "The reverse will be the appearance of a king who is not pleased with the messenger." [30]

That portion of a sentence which is omitted, though necessary to convey a complete sense, is ellipsis: for example, "With his feathers plucked off, he will lose his power to move." [31] Here 'like a bird,' is omitted.

When the opinion of another person is stated, but not refuted, it is acceptance of that opinion: for example, "Wings, front, and reserve, is the form of array of the army according to the school of Uśanas." [32]

Description in detail is explanation: for example, "Especially amongst assemblies and confederacies of kings possessing the characteristics of assemblies, quarrel is due to gambling; and destruction of persons due to the quarrel. Hence among evil propensities, gambling is the worst evil, since it renders the king powerless for activity." [33]

[21] Chapter 6, Book I. [22] Chapter 7, Book I. [23] Chapter 15, Book I. [24] Chapter 16, Book III. [25] Chapter 14, Book VII. [26] Chapter 1, Book II. [27] Chapter 4, Book V. [28] Chapter 5, Book VII. [29] Chapter 11, Book I. [30] hapter 16, Book I. [31] Chapter 1, Book VIII. [32] Chapter 6, Book. X. [33] Chapter 3, Book VIII.

Stating the derivative sense of a word, is derivation : for example, "That which throws off (*vyasyati*) a king from his prosperous career is propensity (*vyasana*)." [34]

The mentioning of a fact to illustrate a statement, is illustration : for example, "In war with a superior, the inferior will be reduced to the same condition as that of a foot-soldier fighting with an elephant." [35]

Removal of an undesired implication from a statement is exception : for example, "A king may allow his enemy's army to be present close to his territory, unless he suspects of the existence of any internal trouble." [36]

Words which are not used by others in the special sense in which they are used by the author are his own technical terms : for example, "He who is close to the conqueror's territory is the first member ; next to him comes the second member ; and next to the second comes the third." [37]

The citation of another's opinion to be refuted is *prima facie* view : for example, "Of the two evils, the distress of the king and that of his minister, the latter is worse." [38]

Settled opinion is rejoinder : for example, "The distress of the king is worse, since everything depends upon him ; for the king is the central pivot, as it were." [39]

That which is universal in its application is conclusion or an established fact : for example, "A king should ever be ready for manly effort." [40]

Drawing attention to a later chapter is reference to a subsequent portion : for example, "We shall explain balance and weights in the chapter, 'The superintendent of weights and measures.'" [41]

The statement that it has been already spoken of is reference to a previous portion : for example, "The qualifications of a minister have already been described." [42]

'Thus and not otherwise' is command : for example, "Hence he should be taught the laws of righteousness and wealth, but not unrighteousness and non-wealth." [43]

'This or that' is alternative : for example, "*or* daughters born of approved marriage (dharmavivâha)." [44]

'Both with this and that' is compounding together : for example, "whoever is begotten by a man on his wife is agnatic both to the father and the father's relatives." [45]

That which is to be determined after consideration is determinable fact : for example, "Experts shall determine the validity or invalidity of gifts so that neither the giver nor the receiver is likely to be hurt thereby." [46]

(*a*) Thus this Śâstra, conforming to these paragraphic divisions, is composed as a guide to acquire and secure this and the other world.

(*b*) In the light of this Śâstra one can not only set on foot righteous, economical, and æsthetical acts and maintain them, but also put down unrighteous, uneconomical, and displeasing acts.

(*c*) This Śâstra is written by him by whom the science of knowledge and weapons as well as the territory of the king, Nanda, have been forcibly taken possession of. [47]

Thus ends the first chapter, 'Paragraphic divisions of this treatise' in the Book, 'Plan of treatise.' This is the one-hundred-and-fiftieth chapter from the first chapter of the entire work. The fifteenth book, 'Plan of treatise,' of the Arthaśâstra of Kauṭilya is thus brought to a close.

(*d*) Having seen innumerable discrepancies of commentators in their commentaries on Śâstras, Vishṇugupta composed the aphorisms and their commentary of his own. [48]

[34] Chap. 1, Book VIII. [35] Chap. 3, Book VII. [36] Chap. 2, Book IX. [37] Chap. 2, Book VI.
[38] Chap. 1, Book VIII. [39] Chap. 1, Book VIII. [40] Chap. 19, Book I. [41] Chap. 10, Book II.
[42] Chap. 1, Book VI. [43] Chap. 17, Book I. [44] Chap. 4, Book III. [45] Chap. 7, Book III
[46] Chap. 16, Book III. [47] (*a*)—(*c*) are in *śloka* metre. [48] (*d*) is in *Ârya* metre.

GAZETTEER GLEANINGS IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. E. LUARD, I.A., M.A. (OXON).

Superintendent of Gazetteer in Central India.

BUNDELI SONGS.

I.—Chhatarsal Bundela and Muhammad Khan Bangash.

IN 1729-30 the Emperor Muhammad Shah sent Muhammad Khan Bangash into Bundelkhand. At first the Pathan was successful, but later Chhatarsāl called on the Peshwā to help him and Muhammad Bangash was defeatedat Jaitpur. To this the song refers. The dialect is Bundeli.

Text.	Translation.
Ayo ut Bangas it Bundelā hai mahābīr Jure saph jang doī Angad[1] ke pāyale.	From this side came the Bangash, from the other the brave Bundelas; firmly planting their feet, even as Angad did (at Rāvana's court), the two armies met in battle.
Māre bhaṭ neṭe[2] paiṭh dekhiye kahan lao ao Lekhiye kahan lao raṇ ghāyalpar ghāyalai.	(Many) mighty warriors were slain. How far must I stretch my vision to behold (their encounters). How can I describe how the wounded lay in heaps.
Shankar bhulānao mahābhārat bhayankar bhayao Kalī kahai ṭerkai kapālī māl āyalai.	Even Shankar, so fierce was the fight, was dismayed (and heard not) Kalī shouting to him. "Come and make a necklace of the skulls."
Yese uḍ mārao wā Dalel[3] kon, Jagat jaisen Chitao mrig jhuṇḍmen pachhārai karsāyale.[4]	So swiftly flew Jagat and slew yon Dalel, just as the leopard strikes down the blackest deer in a herd.
Baddal se dal aye Pathān ke Chanpat[5] jor bhayao kshit nātī.[6] Shronit kī saritā jo bahī phirai Joggin manjh barātin mātī.[7]	On came the Pathān army like (thickly gathering clouds); but Champat's grandson (withstood them firm) as the earth. As the blood flowed in streams, the Joginis revelled in it, like drunken women at a marriage feast.
Bainī kahī Mahabūb[8] kon dāb so khaḍgan khel karī bahurātī Ropken pāon Chhatā ke putā Jagatā hanī sel Dalel kī chhātī.	Beni (the poet) cries "(See) how Jagat controlling (his steed) Mahabūd, wields his sword in endless different ways. Planting his foot (firmly), Jagat, son of Chhatarsāl, drove his spear into the breast of Dalel."

[1] Angad, son of the Monkey Bali, was sent as ambassador to Rāvana's court, where he planted his foot so that none could move it.

[2] *neṭe, i.e., net-dar.* possessing vigor, determination.

[3] Dalel was a leader under the Bangash. Jagat Rai was the son of Chhatarsāl of Pannā and, by the division of territory made by that chief, received Jaitpur (now in the Hamīrpur District of the United Provinces).

[4] *karsayale, i.e.,* "of black body." A leopard is supposed to choose a darkcoloured deer always.

[5] Champat Rai, father of Chhatarsāl Bundelā.

[6] Jagat Rai was Champat's grandson.

[7] Mātiā=Matwārī.

[8] Jagat's horse.

Jaitpur[9] meṉ hot haiṉ milāp humkā humkī se
Jaṉg ke umaṉg jureṉ man ke masaodā [10] meṉ.

(Thus) with eagerness they entered the lists at Jaitpur; the excitement of the struggle urging them on (lit: caused to form new plans).

Yekeṉ sāṉk ulchhāreṉ yekeṉ hath palītī[11] jhāḍeṉ
Yekeṉ tīr tarkas det gubbe mel raodā meṉ.[12]

Some are hurling spears, others were firing volleys, others again were adjusting arrows from their quivers to the bow.

Kahat hain Rāja, Mahārāja Chhatrasāl, "Yesi
Pati rakhau jaisī rakhī kachhu Maudhā meṉ.[13]

"Keep, Oh Lord (of battles)!" exclaims Chhatarsāl, "our honour (bright) as you did at Maudhā."

Uchak keṉ hāthī se humak Hanumān yesau
Dābke Nabāb ko Hirdeshā bethē haudā meṉ.

(Hearing him) Hirdeshā sprang from his elephant ardently, like Hanumān, seized the Nawab (Bangash) and sat in his howdah.

Bāun hajār aswār saṉg ati umaṉg koṭi jaṉg
Jīteṉ jahāṉ nek nā sakānau hai.[14]

Fifty-two thousand horsemen accompanied (Bangash), all eager for the fray ready to win a crore of battles; but (Hirdesha) was no wit dismayed.

Baḍe baḍe ṭile khurtāran murchhār[15] hot
Dhauṉsā kī dhukār suneṉ subā akulānau hai.

Whole hills were reduced to dust by the trampling of hoofs, and the Subah (Bangash) was unnerved by the beating of the drums.

Pancham[16] prāchand Hirdeshā Hanumān bhayao
Jākao prākram dekh Baṉgas bhūlānoṉ hai.

Fierce as Hanuman was Hirdeshā, descendant of Pancham, and seeing his power the Bangash was afraid.

Punyayā pratāp Mahārāj Chhatrasāl Jū ke
Yetau baḍo subā ān welà meṉ bilānau hai.[17]

Only through the virtues and glory of Maharaja Chhatarsal was it that so mighty a Suba thus vanished from the field.

Pilkar pasar kīnhī Bīr Arjun Siṉh āḍe āye
Chittar Siṉh arijit ke bheje se.[18]

Breaking through, brave Arjun Sinh met Chittar Sinh, sent by the enemy.

Golan kī warshā duhūṉ aorse hoṉan lāgī
Dal billāne mānoṉ aye je majeje se.[19]

Cannon balls rained from both sides; and the army which had come in pride vanished.

Bhāle ghāle prabal Parmāran uṭhāye ghoḍe
Lohu meṉ bhare doṉoṉ hāth raṉgreje se.

The brave Parmars struck home with their spears, and driving on their steeds, both hands were (soon) red like those of a dyer.

Sengar aḍe je ān khetmeṉ lareje tinke
Phor keṉ kareje neje nisse bareje se.[20]

The Sengar Rajputs who joined in the fight, spears pierced their hearts and came out behind like bamboo spikes in a betel house.

---

9 This fight took place at Jaitpur.

10 Per: *masavadah.*=sketch, plan.

11 Per: *palitā*, a match of a matchlock. Hence *paliti jharen*, to fan matches, idiom, to fire a volley.

12 *raodā*=gut, a bow-string.

13 *Maudhā*=scene of a previous fight.

14 *Sakānau*=*shanka karna.*

15 *Murchhār* hona=make dust of.

16 Pancham Bundelā was the ancestor of the clan.

17 This may be "*an Belā men bilanon hai,*" *i.e.*, vanished into the Bela tank (at Jaitpur), or Bela is used as a synonym for Jaitpur.

18 *arijit*, or *arjit:* uncertain, it may be an epithet of Chattar Sinh, "conqueror of the enemy." He was a Sengar on Bangash's side.

19 *majeje*=*mizaj.*

20 *neje*=*neza*, spear. *nisse*=*nikse* from *nikasna.*

II.—The sword of Chhatarsāl.

Niksat myān seṇ mayūsh pralaiyabhān kaisī
Pharai tam tīkhan gayaṇdan ke jāl koṇ.[21]

It springs forth from the sheath shining like the rays of the sun on the day of doom, scatters darkness and the phalanx of fierce elephants.

Bairan koṇ lapaṭ ur lāgat hai Nāginsī
Rudra koṇ rijhāwai dai muṇdan kī māl koṇ.

It twines round the hearts of its enemies like a female serpent, and delights Rudra with a necklace of skulls.

Lāl bhumpāl Chhatarsāl raṇ raṇgdhīr
Kahāṇ lao bakhān karoṇ tere karbāl koṇ.[22]
Prat bhaṭ kaṭhīn kaṭīlai ran kāṭ kāṭ
Kālkā-sī kilāk kaleu det kāl koṇ.

Oh royal Chhatarsāl, firm in battle, how can I fitly extol your sword's prowess!
How it cuts down the bravest and fiercest of the foe, and with a shout like Kali's provides breakfast for Death!

III.—The spear of Chhatarsāl.

Bhuj bhujagesh kaisī sāṇgnī bhujaṇgnīsī
Khed, khed khāt deh danao dalan ke.[23]

Your arm is like Seshnāg, your spear like a female serpent pursues the (enemy's) army and provides food (for the jogins).

Bakhtar pākaraṇ bīch yese dhas jāt jase
Min pair jāt par wāhan jalan ke.[24]
Raiyya Rāo Chaṇpat ke Mahārāj Chhatrasāl
Bhushan bakhān karai tere kar balan ke.

It pierces the armour of the foe as easily as a fish swims across a river.
Oh royal Chhatarsāl (son) of Champat (the poet) Bhushan sings of the power of your arm.

Paṇchhī par chhīne parai yese tīrchhīne bir
Terī barchhīne bar chhīneṇ bar khalan ke.[25]

Like birds shorn of their wings the enemy lie about (the field); your spear has deprived them of their greatest boon.

SOME ROCK AND TOMB INCISED DRAWINGS FROM BALUCHISTAN.

BY B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.,
Assistant Director of Ethnography for India.

Between Mâdî and Tangav Pîr in the Kalât State and also between Mahrî and Khuzdar in the Khedrânî Country, both in Balûchistân, are a number of boulders 25 to 40 feet by 30 to 50 feet and 15 to 23 feet lying above the camel-tracks over the mountain passes, but within easy reach of passers-by. On some of these boulders a number of designs have been scooped out with rough stones harder than the traps of which the boulders are formed. I judge that they are the work of local residents, as very few strangers are likely to pass by this route. The designs are reproduced on the plate opposite.

As I have already shown *ante*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 117, in an article on tattoo marks at Vindhyâchal, primitive designs exhibit the desires or aspirations of those who draw or suggest them. In Balûchistan, I think, there is further evidence of the same tendency, both in the design above-mentioned and in others I have found there. The country having been inhabited by a Musalmân population for a very long while, animals and figures in designs would naturally not only be unexpected, but would be referred to the ancient Hindu pre-Muhammadan times. But this would be clearly a mistake, although such are to be found on ancient tombs at Hinidân on the Hûb River,' because, at the same place, a new tomb erected only twenty-five years ago is decorated with animal

[21] *mayusha*=S. *mayukha*: *tikhan* S. *tikshana*, hot.
[22] *karbal*=sword.
[23] *bhujagesh*, *i.e.*, lord of serpents, *viz.*, Seshnāg.
[24] *pakar*: armour used on horses and elephants.
[25] There is much play on words:—*tirchhine*: lit. across:—*bar*: the first time "boon," the second "best or priceless," hence life.

ROCK AND TOMB INCISED DRAWINGS IN BALUCHISTAN.

Plate I.



FIG. 1

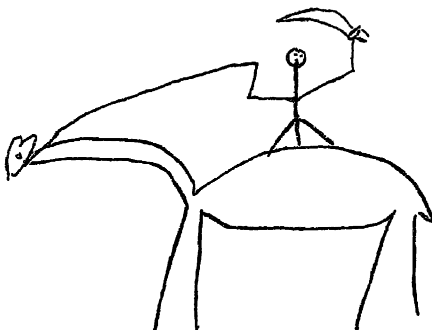


FIG. 2

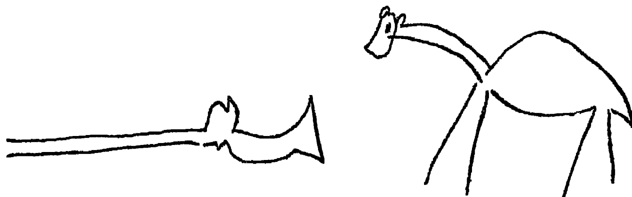


FIG. 3

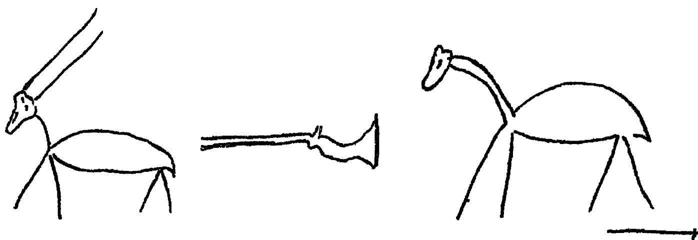


FIG. 4

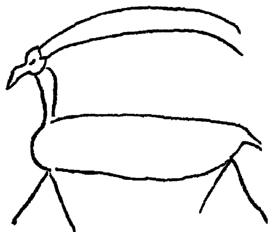


FIG. 5

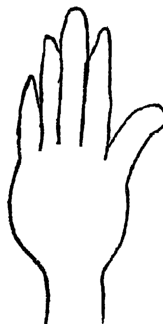


FIG. 6

B. A. GUPTE DEL.

W GRIGGS & SONS, PHOTO-LITHO.

ROCK AND TOMB INCISED DRAWINGS IN BALUCHISTAN.

Plate II.

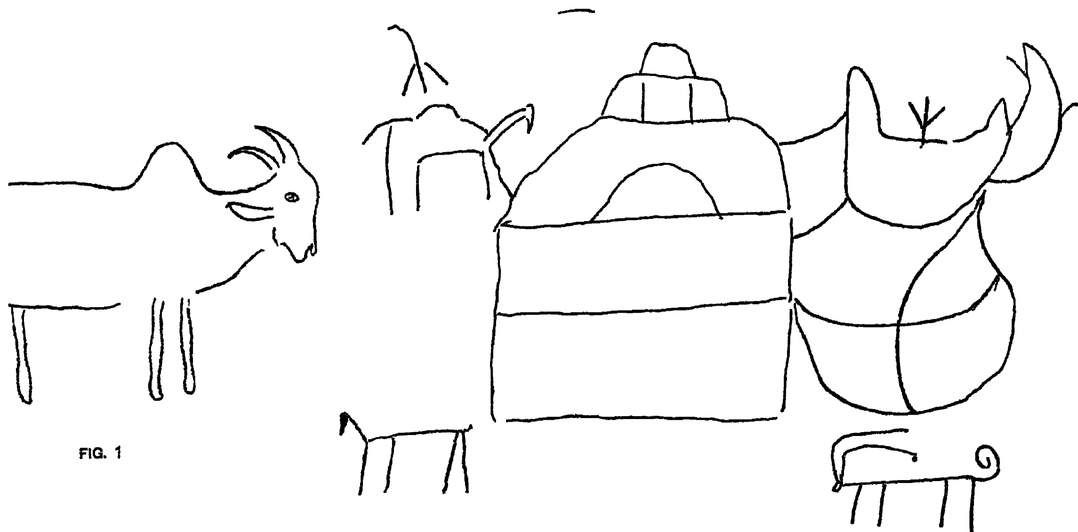


FIG. 1

FIG. 2

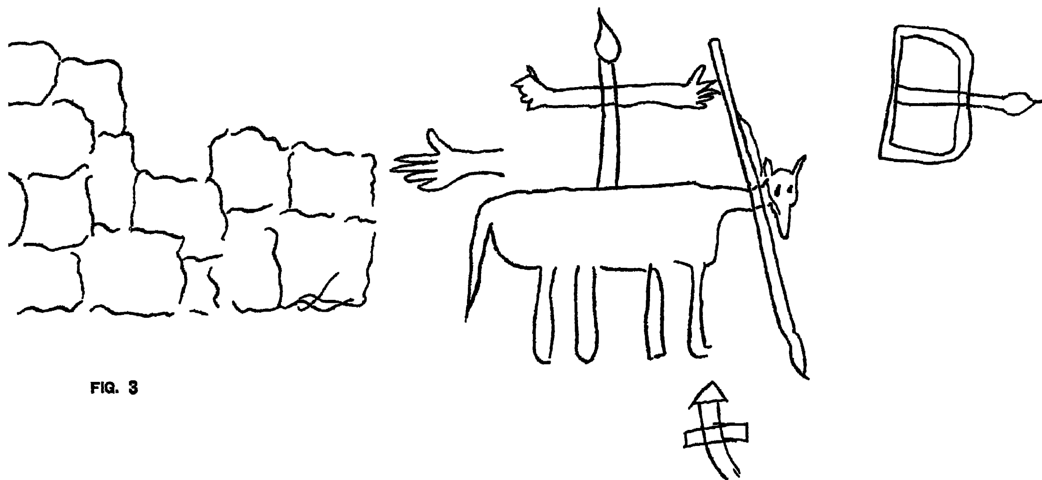


FIG. 3

FIG. 5

FIG. 4

W. GRIGGS & SONS, PHOTO-LITHO.

designs. In the hut of my guide at Sarunâ, was a wooden mortar similarly decorated, showing that the Muhammadanism of the modern Baloch does not prevent him from drawing pictures of his prized possessions or from portraying his highest ambitions.

I will now proceed to explain the figures in the plate attached in the light of the above observations.

Plate I.

Fig. 1. This represents a camel, by far the most valuable animal in these regions, where there is hardly any vegetation for fodder and a great scarcity of water. Riches are here gauged by the possession of camels, and therefore to the ordinary Baloch, living in a mat hut, made of the leaves of the dwarf palm [*pish, corypha procumbens*], the possession of a camel is a great ambition.

Fig. 2 represents a modern warrior on his own camel; sword in one hand and reins in the other. This is a prouder position than that shown in the previous figure, for it denotes that the rider owns the camel himself and is no hireling of a *mâtbar*, or rich man, as in that case, he would be driving, not riding, the camel, as one of a caravan.

Fig. 3. Here is a higher ambition still :— the possession of a matchlock as well as a camel.

Fig. 4 represents the final ambition of the Brahûi :— the possession of a camel, a matchlock and an antelope.

Fig. 5. He has, however, a great continuing desire in life, and that is to bag an ibex (*har-raf*).

Fig. 6 is a kind of "sign manual" among these people. It corresponds in some measure to the portrait among the more cultivated nations. A prominent tribesman places his hand on the rock and draws an outline thereof, which is afterwards cut into it and is handed down as the imprint of his hand (*panja*). It is, in fact, his memorial so long as his name is remembered.

The inference is, that we have here the portraiture of the few and simple desires of this remote half nomad, half pastoral people of the present day:— a people so remote and isolated that only two British Officers have visited them, Mr. Hughes-Buller and Major Showers, and then only during a special journey of exploration.

Plate II.

Fig. 1. The Indian hump-backed bull here represented is a curious thing to find depicted on these rocks. Possibly, it represents something that the Brahûi artist was proud to possess. He must have often seen it to get the general idea of it so accurately.

Figs. 2 and 3. The apparently inexplicable picture drawn in fig. 2 was explained by Sardâr Muhammad Azim Khâñ, Shahwânî, one of the exploring party, as depicting a man crossing a hill to shoot an ibex. No doubt, he is right. We see him starting on his camel in front of the "hill," then we find him on foot in the valley or pass summit with the ibex below him. In the other bottom corner of the picture is his dog. The hill and valley are drawn according to the almost universal Oriental and Indian notions of indicating such objects, like the artificial hills made in stucco round the late Burmese King's Palace at Mandalay in the ornamental gardens there, and they approximate to the painting of mountains in the Ajanta frescoes as outlined in fig. 3.

Fig. 4 is a copy of some script, ancient or modern, which is unintelligible to me.

Fig 5 takes us back to remoter times :— anterior, at any rate, to the complete Muhammadanising of the population. The gun is here replaced by the dagger, spear and composite bow of Northern India, and the horse of the Rajput replaces the camel of the Brahûi. These ancient weapons are still preserved as heirlooms in the houses of some of the people and arrow-heads are frequently picked up in different parts of the country. This figure is not a rock inscription, but from an old tomb at Hinidân in the flat country near Sind. It clearly represents a notable Hindu warrior and his possessions. He is depicted as riding on his own horse with spear, bow and dagger, and his "sign-manual."

COLONEL H. B. HANNA'S COLLECTION OF INDO-PERSIAN PICTURES AND MANUSCRIPTS.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.).

The Mughal, or Indo-Persian school of art, which was known to a certain extent to English connoisseurs in the eighteenth century, had almost wholly dropped out of notice until interest in it was revived by the recent publication of Mr. Havell's book on *Indian Sculpture and Painting*. I do not propose on this occasion to examine the merits and limitations of the Mughal school, or to discuss the opinions which Mr. Havell has ennunciated with so much fervid eloquence. Whatever be the intrinsic value of his more extreme judgments, all critics must recognize that he has done valuable service in forcing people to see that Indian art is not a negligible quantity, and in emphasizing the high quality of its better manifestations. The Mughal school, although largely foreign, has many Indian elements, and undoubtedly produced works which have never been surpassed in their kind. I hope to discuss the subject at some length in the book which I am now preparing for the Clarendon Press, to be entitled *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, and take this opportunity of saying that any assistance which readers of the *Indian Antiquary* may be pleased to offer, will be thankfully accepted and acknowledged.

For about thirty years prior to 1890, Colonel H. B. Hanna made it his business to collect the best specimens of the skill of the Indo-Persian artists, and thus succeeded in bringing together a wonderful collection, probably the best in the world. The style is rightly described as Mughal or Indo-Persian, but many of the best artists were Hindus, and this fact gives a special interest to the study of their works. The artists, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, were in the habit of frequently, though not invariably, signing their compositions, and thus inviting attention to the individual peculiarities of each man's work. Whenever any competent critic shall find time to examine the Indo-Persian drawings and paintings in minute detail, and shall meet a public willing to treat seriously the productions of artists with outlandish Hindu and Muslim names, there will be room for a bulky treatise of criticism, differentiating the style and technique of Basâwan, Manṣûr, and numerous other masters. But that time has not yet come, and at present the gentle reader is not prepared for too much detail.

Colonel Hanna's collection was offered for sale by Messrs. Dowdeswell and Dowdeswells, London, so far back as 1890, without finding a purchaser. The printed catalogue then prepared, for a copy of which I am indebted to the kindness of the owner, lies before me, and is the principal source of my knowledge of the collection which I have not had the good fortune to see. A few portraits from it were, I think, reproduced in Mr. Constable's edition of Bernier, and others by Mr. Havell. Some time ago the collection was on view at the Newcastle Art Gallery, but now, unhappily, it is lost to the Empire in which it should have found a home, and goes, like so many other literary and artistic treasures, to the United States. The owner, who generously offered it to the Government of India at a low price, was met with a refusal, and has now sold it to the authorities of the great Art Gallery which is being built at Washington.

Colonel Hanna believes his collection to be far superior to the similar collections at the British Museum, South Kensington Museum, and India Office Library, claiming that those institutions have none to compare with the best of his. But Dârâ Shukôh's album recently acquired by the India Office, and some of the wonderfully fine specimens in the British Museum and the Johnson collection at the India Office seem to me to belong to the highest class of their kind, and I doubt if they can be surpassed. Undoubtedly, there are

works in both the British Museum and the India Office which it would be hard to beat, and, if Colonel Hanna's specimens really are better, they must be supremely good. But, while I have seen and admired the London examples, I have not seen Colonel Hanna's, except in a few reproductions, and so cannot deny his claim to have obtained the absolute best.

The catalogue enumerates 130 pictures and 8 richly decorated manuscripts. Colonel Hanna still retains three good albums, which I have had the pleasure of inspecting, and are distinct from those catalogued. Many readers may be glad to have **some account of the unrivalled collection** lost to India and England, and to read the following notes on some of the more remarkable items.

Most of the pictures were painted during the reigns of Akbar, Jahângîr, and Shâhjahân (A.D. 1556-1658), a century of high art, but some portraits of Taimûr (Tamerlane) and others, in the Persian style, are earlier, while certain portraits are later. The pictures, as distinguished from the portraits, were all, or almost all, executed between the dates above-mentioned.

Many of the pictures and books come from the Royal Libraries at Delhi and Agra, which were dispersed at the time of the Mutiny or some earlier revolution. **The greatest glory of the collection is Akbar's copy of the Persian version of the Râmâyaṇa, prepared in 1582 and adorned with 129 full-page pictures or 'miniatures,' signed by the artists,** which in Colonel Hanna's judgment are far superior to anything to be seen in London. He supposes that this book must have cost at least £20,000 to produce. It is known that the similar *Razm Nâma* or version of the *Mahâbhârata*, at Jaypur, cost £40,000 sterling.

Another remarkable manuscript is that entitled Hamla-i-Haidarî, which is said to treat of the wars of Muḥammad. It contains 45 exquisite pictures in the best Indo-Persian style, and formerly belonged to the Nawâb-Vazîrs of Oudh.

A volume produced in the eighteenth century, entitled Ajâib-ul-makhlûḳât, or **Wonders of Creation,** is described as containing 'over 300 curious illustrations of men and monsters, of beasts, birds and fishes, and of the vegetable creation.'

The pictures were examined by the late Sir Frederick Burton, Director of the National Gallery, London, who was delighted with their 'beautiful colouring,' and regarded them all as 'exquisite examples of native art.' He was particularly interested in No. 107, 'The Emperor Jahângîr in his Palace'; No. 23, 'Deerstalking by Night,' with the young Emperor Akbar on horse-back; No. 25, 'A Village Scene,' painted towards the end of the sixteenth century, and No. 21, the so called 'Angels ministering to Christ,' painted at some time in Akbar's reign.

Colonel Hanna regards as '**the gems of his collection,**' Nos. 21, 23, 25, and 107, above-mentioned.

But No. 21, of which a photographic reproduction is given on the cover of the catalogue, **is wrongly named.** At first sight it seems to be what it is called 'Angels ministering to Christ.' Four women, fitted with the conventional wings of Christian art, are bringing offerings to a holy man with a halo seated on the ground, and are watched by celestial figures hovering in the clouds, while an old man with a beard is seated in the distance. But a recent writer (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 751) has shown that the subject, although treated under the influence of Italian art, really is purely Muhammadan, the saint honoured being Ibrâhîm bin Adham, the ex-King of Balkh. I have shown (*J.R.A.S.*, Jan. 1910) that the subject was a favourite one of the Indo-Persian artists. All students of the Indo-Persian paintings are, of course, aware that **Christian ubjects** were often treated. The London collections offer many examples beyond dispute but the work labelled 'Angels ministering unto Christ,' is not one of them.

Sir Frederick Burton's praise of the '**exquisite colouring**' of the best pictures of the Mughal school is fully deserved. There is a tradition that the artists compounded their **pigments** by grinding down precious stones. Whatever may have been the processes used, the result is admirable, and I suspect that no modern artist in India is able to attain one as good.

A few other notable compositions in the collection may be specified. No. 5 represents the Iron Pillar at Delhi. **No. 7** depicts a Zanâna scene with fireworks, a subject treated more than once in the London collections with excellent effect. The Mughal artists, as Mr. Havell has observed, were fond of the contrast between strong artificial lights and the inky blackness of night. **No. 12**, a fragment dealing with tiger-shooting, is noticeable as a fine example of the employment of the single hair (*ek bâl*) brush. Other striking illustrations of skill in the use of that delicate instrument may be seen in Dârâ Shukôh's lovely album at the India Office. **No. 27** represents the reception of Persian envoys by the Emperor Jahângîr, who sought to impress his visitors by the theatrical expedient of holding a tiger under each arm during the audience. The same subject is treated in an exceptionally large picture still in Col. Hanna's possession. **No. 28** depicts the same monarch standing on a globe, and so illustrating the meaning of his name, 'world-taker.' In **No. 29** we see a crowd assembled imploring Jahângîr to spare their favourite elephant, named Kanjâr. **No. 64**, a picture of a Chinaman at the court of Akbar, reminds us of one of the many foreign influences which determined the character of the pictorial art of his reign.

These examples may suffice to prove the exceptional merit of the wonderful collection formed by Colonel Hanna and to increase our regret that it has been exported to a foreign country. The only consolation is that it will be carefully preserved in its new home, and probably more appreciated than if it had remained in London or Calcutta.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FROM BURMA.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.).

THE latest *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey for Burma* for the year 1908-9, written as usual by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, contains various items of interest, which deserve wider publicity than that given by the Report.

The Chief Secretary's review announces that **rules for the control of excavations** in certain specified areas in the province have been issued, which, it is hoped, will prevent unauthorized exploration. **The list of protected monuments** also has been notified, and **the removal of sculptures, carvings, and the like, without the written sanction of the Deputy Commissioner has been prohibited.**

The measures specified above, designed to prevent injury to existing monuments, have been supplemented by orders intended to provide a succession of skilled students of antiquity. The orders are as follows :—

"(i) His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor has approved a proposal to offer **annually one Archæological Scholarship of the value of Rs. 100 a month for the purpose of training students in Archæological work.** The scholarship will be awarded by the Local Government upon the nomination of the Director of Public Instruction. Candidates may be of any race or class but must have passed the B.A. examination of an Indian or British University and possess a sound knowledge of Burmese and Pali.

(ii) The holders of the scholarships will be under the orders of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, and will be attached to his office. During the touring seasons they will be sent wherever the best opportunity may offer itself for receiving a training in architecture, excavation, and other branches of Archæology, and in the technical processes of photography, drawing,

etc., and, for this purpose, may be attached to the Archæological Department in India. At other times they will be employed at headquarters in working up materials collected during their tours. While on tour, the holders of the scholarships will be entitled to travelling allowance at the rates admissible under the Civil Service Regulations.

(iii) The scholarships will, in the first instance, be awarded for one year. In the case of promising students, they may be extended by the Director of Public Instruction for a further period not exceeding two years, and the amount in that case may be raised by the Director to Rs. 125 a month, if the work done justifies the increase.

(iv) The first of these annual scholarships will be tenable from 1st August 1909, and applications should reach the Director of Public Instruction by 1st July 1909."

These liberal rules seem to be well adapted to effect their purpose, and we hope that suitable candidates will apply.

During the year "**the collection of coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum was catalogued.** Including pieces of silver bullion, it consists of 76 typical coins, which have been classed according to nationality as follows:—

Arakanese, 16; Burmese, 8; Indian, 48; Siamese, 1; Chinese, 2; and European, 1.

Burmese coinage dates only from the reign of Bodawpaya (1781—1819 A.D.) and few Burmese coins are, therefore, extant. Both Arakanese and Burmese coins, however, appear to have been primarily intended for a commemorative purpose, being struck in the first regnal year of kings, or to be deposited in the relic-chambers of pagodas. Their use as currency was an afterthought, borrowed from India, where the idea that coinage for currency was an act of the State arose after contact with Western nations."

The Rangoon collection is merely a nucleus, and notwithstanding the scarcity of Burmese and Arakanese pieces, is capable of much enlargement. The coins of Siam and the adjoining countries should be added, but there is no use in including casual specimens of European and Chinese mintage. The Rangoon cabinet should be given a special local character, and miscellaneous rubbish should be excluded.

Mr. Rellard of Sagaing submitted impressions of **two silver coins or medals**, supposed to be about a thousand years old. The obverse device is simply the trident of Śiva, and that on the reverse the discus of Vishṇu.

Certain discoveries of sculptures at Prome, according to Mr. Taw Sein Ko, "have established three most important facts:"—

(i) That the North-Indian variety of Buddhism, whose vehicle was Sanskrit, prevailed at Prome;

(ii) that there was intercourse between Prome and Northern India when the latter was ruled by the Guptas (319—606 A.D.), whose toleration of Buddhism is well-known;

(iii) that authentic Burmese history based on sculptures and inscriptions, which has hitherto been limited to the eleventh century A.D., has now been pushed back for at least four hundred years, *i.e.*, to the seventh century A.D.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko's third proposition shows that the work already so largely effected for India is beginning to be done for Burma. It is not very long since students were accustomed to regard the regular history of India as beginning with Maḥmûd of Ghaznî in A.D. 1000; but the discoveries of the last half century have rendered possible a fairly complete narrative of historical events in Northern India from B.C. 500, and in Southern India, where the materials are less abundant, great progress has been made in piecing together the fragments of the story of the earlier dynasties. I have no doubt that systematic study of ancient Burmese monuments and inscriptions will produce a similar result, and that **twenty or thirty years hence it will be possible for somebody to write the Early History of Burma.**

Notice of the conservation work undertaken at the Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi Pagoda of Amarapura and the Nanpaya Temple of Pagan leads the Superintendent to make some interesting remarks upon Burmese architecture. "The former," he writes, "was built in 1847 A.D., by King Pagan, the immediate predecessor of Mindôn Min. In constructing this shrine the model taken was the Ananda Pagoda at Pagan. There was an interval of a little more than seven centuries and a half between the building of the two temples, and the achievement must be pronounced a fair success. The prototype is awe-inspiring by the chastity of its design and the simplicity of its grandeur, while one's religious sense is bewildered by the extraordinary wealth of detail and the amount of fantastic ornamentation lavished on the later edifice.

In the nineteenth century the Burmans had apparently forgotten much of their knowledge of architecture in brick and stone, and had been accustomed to build and carve in wood; hence one serious defect of the Amarapura Pagoda, which is conducive to its instability, is the use of wooden beams and joists in the interior aisles.

The best specimen of stone architecture at Pagan, if not in the whole Province, is the Nanpaya, erected in 1059 A.D. by Manuha, the last king of the Talaings. The wealth of its ornamentation lies in the frieze below the cornice, the corners of the building, and the frieze at the basement. The sculptor's art reached its climax in the decoration of the four pillars flanking the sanctuary in the main building. On the sides of each pillar are carved the four-faced Brahma, the Creator of the Universe, holding lotus flowers in each hand. The anatomy of the figure and its facial expression are perfect. The broad forehead, the firm mouth, the thin lips, and the well-developed chin indicate high intellectual power."

It is satisfactory to learn that as late as 1847 a Burmese architect could erect at Amarapura a building deserving to be called "a fair success." Probably, if encouragement be forthcoming, Burmese artists will appear capable of rivalling, even in these days, the glorious work of the olden time. But the needful encouragement is hard to find.

AṬPUR INSCRIPTION OF ŚAKTIKUMARA.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., (POONA).

THOSE, who are interested in the ancient history of Mewâr, cannot possibly overrate the importance, for settling the earlier portion of the genealogy of the Udaipur dynasty, of what Tod calls the "Inscription from the Ruins of Aitpoor." He has given a translation of this epigraph at the end of his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I,[1] but, like his other translations of old inscriptions, it is far from satisfactory. Nobody even knew where this "Aitpoor" was. Tod no doubt in one place says that *Ait* is a contracted form of *Âditya*, and that "Aitpoor" means the "city of the sun."[2] But this explanation by nom eans enables anyone to determine its whereabouts. In such a state of things only one hope remained. It was well-known that while Tod was writing his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, he received very great assistance from a Jaina Jati called Gyânchand, who was his constant associate during his peregrinations in Râjputânâ. This assistance has been freely acknowledged by Tod himself, whenever he speaks about old inscriptions and Sanskrit texts.[3] And it was hoped that everything would be clear only if Gyânchand's transcript of the Aitpoor inscription were traced in his *bhaṇḍâr*. But here again nobody knew where his *bhaṇḍâr* was. This mystery has now been unravelled by Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha, of the Râjputânâ Museum, Ajmer. As

[1] Pp. 756-7; all references to this work in this paper are made from the edition published by S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta, 1894.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 229 and note.

[3] *e.g., Ibid.* p. 18.

was surmised, Gyânchand's transliteration could also be traced in that *bhaṇḍâr*, and I am indebted to the Pandit for having supplied me with a copy of it, without which it would have been somewhat difficult to write this note.

Perhaps it would not be here quite out of place to say a few words about this **Gyânchand and his bhaṇḍâr**. He belonged to the Khaḍatara *gachchha*, and was a pupil of Amarchand. He was originally a native of Jaipur. Being thoroughly conversant with Sanskrit and the vernaculars of Râjputânâ, he was induced by Tod to remain with him and was treated with the greatest respect and consideration. By way of acknowledgment of the services rendered to him, Tod prevailed on Mahârâṇâ Bhîmsingh to grant to Gyânchand a few *bighas* of land near Mâṇḍal about two miles north-west of Bhilwâḍâ, a railway station in the Udaipur territory on the Ajmer—Khâṇḍwâ line. His pupil was Sivchand, and Sivchand's pupil Gaṇeśchand is now living at Mâṇḍal. In his *bhaṇḍâr* is an oil-painting drawn by a native painter, in which both Tod and Gyânchand are represented as sitting in a *shamiâna* on chairs near a table and engaged in their work probably of inspecting the materials gathered for the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. It has all the faults of a native painting, and yet it is not without interest.

Now, to turn to the **contents of the inscription**. It commences with the date: the 1st of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of [Vikrama-] Saṁvat 1034, and records the erection of a temple to the god Nâniga-svâmî. All this is written in prose and the remainder in verse. Verse 1 speaks of **Guhadatta** as a Brâhmaṇa (*mahî-deva*) belonging to the Brâhmaṇa family emigrated from Ânaṁdapura and as the **founder of the Guhila dynasty**. In his lineage were Bhoja, Mahendra, Nâga, Sîla, Aparâjita, Mahendra (II), Kâlabhoja, Khommâṇa, Mattaṭa and Bhartṛipaṭṭa (v. 2). After Bhartṛipaṭṭa, Siṁha became king, after him his son Khommâṇa (II), after him his son Mahâyaka, after him his son Khommâṇa (III), and from him sprang Bhartṛipaṭṭa (II), "who was the ornament of the three worlds" (v. 3). Verse 4 says that Bhartṛipaṭṭa II's queen was Mahâlakshmî of the Râshṭrakûṭa family, and from her he had a son named Allaṭa. Both Mahâlakshmî and her son Allaṭa are alluded to in an inscription found in the temple of Sâraṇeśvara near Udaipur and dated V. S. 1008 and 1010. In verse 5 we are told that Allaṭa had a queen named Hariyadevî, daughter of a Hûṇa prince, and that her fame shone in the form of Harshapura. The latter expression probably means that she founded the town of Harshapura. After Allaṭa his son Naravâhana became king (v. 6). Of Naravâhana an inscription, dated V.S. 1028 = A.D. 971, has been discovered at Ekliṅgjî, which has been published by me already. Owing to the transcript of Gyânchand not being clear after verse 6, I am not in a position to determine with certainty what was further intended to be said. But in all likelihood, what is meant is that Naravâhana's queen was of the Châhumâna family and the daughter of Jejaya, and from them sprang Sâlivâhana. His son was Saktikumâra, who obtained the glory of Bhartṛipaṭṭa and consolidated his kingdom (v. 9). This Bhartṛipaṭṭa must be Bhartṛipaṭṭa II, who is described in verse 3 as "the ornament of the three worlds." Verse 10 informs us that Saktikumâra established himself at Âṭapura, and the verse following is devoted to the praise of this town. Verse 12, which is the last, makes mention of a place called Vaṭasthâna. But what the sense of that verse is, is not clear from the transliteration, as it stands.

Of the localities just mentioned, **Vaṭasthâna** is probably Vasantgaḍh in the Sirohi State, five miles east of Piṇḍwâḍâ, a railway station on the Ahmedâbâd-Ajmer line. Here I found two inscriptions one of V.S. 682 and the other of V.S. 1099. Both give Vaṭa, Vaṭâkara or Vaṭasthâna as the old name of the place.[4] It is worthy of note that the place where Saktikumâra is represented to have been settled is distinctly called **Âṭapura**. Tod, however, in his translation of the inscription, calls it Aitpur. Forgetting that *t* in Aitpur is lingual and not dental, he no doubt takes it in another place, as we have seen above, to be dental, and derives *ait* from Âditya, and makes Aitpur to mean the "city of the sun." But Tod's Aitpur is really

[4] *Prog. Rep., Archæol. Surv. Ind., West. Circle*, for 1905-06, pp. 52-3.

Âṭapura, as Gyânchand's transcript unmistakably shows. It is unquestionably Âḍ or Âhaḍ, nearly two miles east of Udaipur. It is thus described by Tod in his "Personal Narrative:" "Ar or Ahar, near which we encamped, is sacred to the manes of the princes of Oodipur and contains the cenotaphs of all her kings since the valley became their residence. . . . . The ground is strewed with the wrecks of monuments and old temples, which have been used in erecting the sepulchres of the Ranas. The great city was the residence of their ancestors, and is said to have been founded by Asa-ditya upon the site of the still more ancient capital of Tamba-nagari, where dwelt the Tuar ancestors of Vicramaditya, before he obtained Awinti, or Oojein. From Tamba-nagari its name was changed to Anundpur, 'the happy city,' and at length to Ahar, which gave the patronymic to the Ghelote race, *viz.*, Aharya."[5] The present names of this place, it will be seen from the above, are Âḍ and Âhaḍ. Âḍ is, of course, a corruption of Âṭa [pura] mentioned in our inscription, and Âhaḍ of Aghâṭa—[pura] which is also referred to in several Mewâr and Mârwâr inscriptions. In the ruins of this very Âḍ or Âhaḍ, *e.g.*, the late Professor Bendall found another inscription of Śaktikumâra, in which in line 1 is mentioned *Śrîmad-Âghâṭâ*. This establishes the identity of Âghâṭa with Âhaḍ. Âhaḍ, like Nâgdâ near Ekliṅgjî, was one of the old capitals of the Guhilot dynasty. It is not unlikely that they were capitals of two different branches of the dynasty. It will thus be seen that the name Aitpur, an inscription of which was translated by Tod and about the whereabouts of which no information was so long forthcoming, is really Âṭapur, *i.e.*, Âḍ or Âhaḍ. And further it may be said that of the two inscriptions which Tod says he obtained at Âḍ, this is no doubt the one which he was able to get deciphered.

The importance, however, of this inscription chiefly consists in giving us reliable information regarding the earlier part of the dynastic list. No less than three such lists had already been supplied to us by the Râṇpur, Achalgaḍh and Chitorgaḍh inscriptions.[6] But none of these is complete, or of earlier date than the close of the thirteenth century. Our inscription, on the other hand, is of the tenth century, and gives a full dynastic list. The following table sets forth the lists specified in the four inscriptions just referred to:—

Serial No.	Râṇpur Inscription, dated V.S. 14[illegible]= A.D. 1439. I.	Achalgaḍh Inscription, dated V.S. 1342= A.D. 1285. II.	Chitorgaḍh Inscription, dated V.S. 1331= A.D. 1274. III.	Âṭapura Inscription, dated V.S. 1034= A.D. 977. IV.
	Bappa	Bappa	Bappa	
1	Guhila	Guhila	Guhila	Guhadatta.
2	Bhoja	Bhoja	Bhoja	Bhoja.
3	....	....	....	Mahendra I.
4	....	....	....	Nâga.
5	Śîla	Śîla	Śîla	Śîla (V.S. 703).
6	....	....	....	Aparâjita (V.S. 718).
7	....	....	....	Mahendra II.
8	Kâlabhoja	Kâlabhoja	Kâlabhoja	Kâlabhoja.
9	....	....	....	Khommâṇa I *alias* Bappa, abdicated his throne in V.S. 810.
10	....	....	Mallaṭa	Mattaṭa.
11	Bhartṛibhaṭa ...	Bhartṛibhaṭa ...	Bhartṛibhaṭa ..	Bhartṛipaṭṭa I.
12	Siṁha	Siṁha	Siṁha	Siṁha.
13	....	....	....	Khommâṇa II.
14	Mahâyaka ...	Mahâyika	Mahâyaka	Mahâyaka.

[5] Vol. I., pp. 745-6.

[6] *Bhâvnagar Pr. and Sk. Inscrs.* p. 114; *Ibid.*, p. 84; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI, p. 347; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80.

Serial No.	Râṇpur Inscription dated V.S. 1496= A.D. 1439. I.	Achalgaḍh Inscription dated V.S. 1342= A.D. 1285. II.	Chitorgaḍh Inscription dated V.S. 1331= A.D. 1274. III.	Âṭapura Inscription, dated V.S. 1034= A.D. 977. IV.
	Bappa	Bappa	Bappa	
15	Khummâṇa ...	Khummâṇa ..	Khummâṇa ...	Khommâṇa III.
16	....	....	....	Bhartṛipaṭṭa II married Mahâlakshmî of the Râshṭrakûṭa family.
17	Allaṭa	Allaṭa	Allaṭa	Allaṭa. V.S. 1008, 1010.
18	Naravâhana ...	Naravâhana ...	Naravâhana ...	Naravâhana, V.S. 1028. His queen was the daughter of the Châhumâna king Jejaya.
19	....	....	....	Sâlivâhana.
20	Saktikumâra ...	Saktikumâra ...	Saktikumâra ...	Saktikumâra, V.S. 1034.

1.—Guhila is the same as Guhadatta.

5.—Sîla must be the same as Sîlâditya, of whom an inscription has been found at Sâmoḷî in the Bhûmaṭ district, Mewâr. It is dated V.S. 703 = A.D. 646 (*Prog. Rep., Archæol. Surv., Western Circle*, for 1908-09, p. 48). The stone is now in the Ajmer Museum.

6.—This Aparâjita is doubtless identical with the Guhilarâja Aparâjita, whose inscription has been published by Prof. Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 31. The stone is in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur.

12.—Siṁha is referred to in an inscription of V.S. 1335 as *Srî-Ekaliṅga-Har-ârâdhana-Pâśupatâchârya-Hârîtarâśi-kshatriya-Guhilaputra-[Siṁha]-labdha-mahodayaṁ.* The stone was originally found at Chitorgaḍh, but has now been removed to the Victoria Hall, Udaipur (*Jour., Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. IV, Pt. I, p. 48).

16-17.—Bhartṛipaṭṭa II's queen was Mahâlakshmî of the Râshṭrakûṭa family, from whom sprang Allaṭa. Both Allaṭa and his mother are referred to in an inscription found in the temple of Sâraṇeśvar, near Udaipur. The inscription gives for him the two dates, V.S. 1008 and 1010 = A.D. 951 and 953 (*Bhâvnagar Pr. and Sk. Inscrs.*, p. 68). Allaṭa's wife was Hariyadevî, daughter of a Hûṇa prince.

18.—A record of Naravâhana's reign has been found at Ekliṅgjî, dated V.S. 1028 = A.D. 971 (*Jour., Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 166-7). His queen was the daughter of Jejaya, of the Châhumâna dynasty.

20.—For Saktikumâra the date V.S. 1034 = A.D. 977 is furnished by the Âṭapura inscription. Two other inscriptions have been found apparently of his reign (*Bhavnagar Pr. and Sk. Inscrs.*, p. 72; Professor Bendall's *Journey*, p. 82).

It will be seen that Lists I, II and III make Bappa the founder of the dynasty. But this is a mistake, which is excusable in such late records as those of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Our inscription, which is the earliest that contains a genealogical list, distinctly makes Guhadatta or Guhila the progenitor of the dynasty. Again, the Ekliṅgjî inscription of Naravâhana says:—

अस्मिन्नभूद्गुहिल[गो]त्रनरेन्द्रचंद्रः
श्रीबप्पकः क्षितिपतिः क्षितिपीठर[त्न] म्।

"In this (city), there flourished Srî-Bappaka, lord of the earth, the gem of the surface of the earth and the moon among the kings of the family of Guhila."

Now, if Bappa had been really the founder of the family and consequently a predecessor of Guhila even, he would never have been here described as belonging to the family of Guhila. But Bappa does not appear to be the name of a merely legendary or a later prince. For, as we have seen, he is mentioned in this Eklingjî inscription which is one of the early records of the dynasty. And now the question arises: with what early prince is he to be identified, for it must be remembered that Bappa, Bappaka, or Bâppâ is not an individual name, but rather a personal title. Tod also says the same thing when he writes "Bappa is not a proper name, it signifies merely a 'child'."[7] I do not, however, think that Bappa can here mean a "child." In my opinion, it is the same thing as Bâpâ or Bâvâ, a respectful term for ascetics. Again, it is worthy of note that Bappa is always popularly called **Bâpâ Râvaḷ** and supposed to be the pupil of Hâritarâśi. Now, Râvaḷ is the name of a sect of ascetics and also of their lay-followers. These Râvaḷs still abound in Mewâr, and are found also in Gujarât and Mahârâshṭra, even so far south as Sâwantvâḍî. I shall seize an early opportunity of writing a special note on this sect, but it is sufficient to say here that Bappa was called Râvaḷ because he joined that sect, of which Hâritarâśi was the head priest. And the name Bappa or Bâpâ becomes significant only if it is taken to refer to his having become a member of this sect. Now, in the *Ekaliṅga-mâhâtmya* composed during the reign of Râṇâ Kumbha, the following verses occur:—

श्रीमेदपाटवसुधामपालयद्बाप्पपृथ्वीशः ॥ १९
यदुक्तं पुरातनैः कविभिः ।
आकाशचन्द्रदिग्गजसंख्ये संवत्सरे बभूवाद्यः ।
श्रीएकलिङ्गशंकरलब्धवरो बाप्पभूपालः ॥ २०

Verse 20 thus simply gives [V.S.] 810 as the date of Bappa, but does not tell us to what incident in his life it refers. In another *Ekaliṅga-mâhâtmya*, but composed during the reign of Râṇâ Râyamalla, son of Kumbha, the following verse is given:—

राज्यं दत्त्वा स्वपुत्राय आथर्वणमुपागतः ।
खचन्द्रदिग्गजाख्ये च वर्षे नागह्रदे मुने ॥

This verse also furnishes the date [V.S.] 810 for Bappa, but tells us that this was the year of his bestowing his royalty on his son and becoming an ascetic. Now, with regard to the first verse mentioning the same date, it will be noticed that it is prefaced with the words *Yad-uktaṁ purâtanaiḥ kavibhiḥ*. I have shown elsewhere that wherever these words occur in Kumbha's *Ekaliṅga-mâhâtmya*, there the verse is borrowed from some old record. The date 810 for Bappa, therefore, deserves some credence. Let us now see with what Guhilot prince in the dynastic list this date enables us to identify Bappa. The date for Aparâjita is V.S. 718 and for Allaṭa 1010. Here, then, we have a period of 292 years extending over twelve generations. This calculation would give 24⅓ years to each one of these generations. The difference between 810, the date of Bappa, and 718, that of Aparâjita, is 92, and, by assigning 24⅓ years to each generation, we find that Bappa has to be placed in the fourth generation from Aparâjita. Now, the Guhilot prince, who was in the fourth generation from Aparâjita, is Khommâṇa I. Bappa must, therefore, be identified with this Khommâṇa.

There now remains one point to be considered in connection with the inscription. It is in respect of verse 1. The translation of it is as follows:— "Triumphant is Srî-Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila family, a Brâhmaṇa, and the delighter of the Brâhmaṇa family, emigrated from Ânandapura." Here then Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhilot family, is called a Brâhmaṇa, and spoken of as belonging to a family originally of Ânandapura, *i.e.*, Vaḍnagar; in other words **Guhadatta was a Nâgar Brâhmaṇa.** This points to the Brahmanic origin of the Udaipur dynasty, further proofs in support of which are by no means wanting. All these have been set forth by me in my paper on the Guhilots recently contributed to the *Jour. Beng., As. Soc.* I have also therein discussed the question how, if they were originally Brâhmaṇas, they came to be amalgamated with the Kshatriyas. I shall, therefore, refrain from dwelling on these points here.

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[7] Vol. I, p. 207, note §.

Text.[8]

संवत्सरशतेषु दशसु चतुर्विंशत्यधिकेषु[9] वैशाखशुक्ल प्रतिपदि सवत् १०३४ वैशाखशुक्लप्रतिपदातिथौ श्रीनानिगस्वामिदेवायतनं कारापितं[10] ॥ आनंदपुरविनिर्गतवि प्रकुलानंदनो महीदेवः। जयति श्रीगुहदत्त[11] प्रभवः श्रीगुहिलवंशस्य [॥ *] [१] यस्यान्वये जगति भोजमहेन्द्रनागशीला पराजितमहेंद्रजायतैकवीरः[12] [13]जातैर्यथार्कसमशोभितकालभोजखोम्माण —᷉᷉ नृपैः[14] सह भर्तृपट्टैः[15] ॥ [२] सिंघोभवत्तदनु तद्भूतोपि[16] जज्ञे खोम्माण इत्यथ सुतोस्य महायकोभूत्। खोम्माणमात्मजमवाप स चाथ तस्माल्लोकत्रयैकतिलकोजनि भर्तृपट्टः[17]॥ [३] राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भूता महालक्ष्मीरिति प्रिया। अभूद्यस्याभवत्तस्यां तनयः श्रीमदल्लटः [।] [४] स भूपति-या[18] यस्य हूणक्षोणीशवंशजा। हरियदेवी यशो यस्या भाति हर्षपुरद्वयं[19] ॥ [५] अविकलकलाधारो धीरः स्फुरद्वरलसत्करो विजयवसतिः क्षत्रक्षेत्रं क्षताहतिसंहतिः। समजनि जना — — — — प्रतापतरूद्भूतो विभवभवनं विद्यावेदी नृपो नरवाहनः ॥ [६] चाहुमानान्वयोद्भूता श्रीजेजयनृपात्मजा[20] [। *] राजा जयति[21] शालिवाहनः इति[22] ख्यातप्रतापस्ततः (?) [॥*] [८] ततः शक्तिकुमारोभूत्सुतः शक्तित्रयोजितः[23] [। *] भर्टपट्टाभिधा[24] श्रीश्च प्राप राष्ट्रमधापयत्। [।*] [९] श्रीमदाटपुर—युतालयं यस्य वास इति संपदां पदं। यत्र संति नृपपुंगवाः समं कल्पपादपपदातगामिनः ॥ [१०] —ख्यातं कनकाद्रिकंदरगृहोदीर्णप्रतापं दिवि ख्यातं नैकवणिग्विशालविभवोभूताभिशोभं शुभं। दोषो यत्र परं विशालनयनस्त्रीवारलोलेक्षणैः भृत्याद्दृष्टिमनानिनिर्थकलनांनीयत्तस्वच्छं नराः[25] ॥ [११] श्रीवटस्थाने समावासः पुरमास्तेव्यसंपदां। यद्यथा चिंतितं यत्र पुंसां भागे[26] ... ... ॥ [१२]

BOOK NOTICE.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. Bouddhisme; Opinions sur l'Histoire de la Dogmatique: Leçons faites á l'Institut Catholique de Paris en 1908. Paris 1909. GABRIEL BEAUCHESNE & CIE, éditeurs, 117, Rue de Rennes. 8°, VII, 420 pp, 4 francs.

WE are already in possession of a rich literature on Buddhism, and it might be urged that a new book on the same subject is somewhat superfluous. But if anybody thinks so, he will have to confess himself in the wrong after he has read M. Poussin's book. It is different from its predecessors. It is not a history of Buddhism, nor a systematical treatise of all its tenets. It aims at investigating the evolution of some of the leading ideas, more especially the Buddhist doctrine of salvation. Readers of the *Indian Antiquary* will know that M. Poussin is very well at home in the vast Buddhist literature, and they will expect to find in this new book much valuable information also about the history of the religion, the sects, and so forth. And they will not be disappointed. But, above all, the reader will be fascinated at the author's fine analysis from a religious point of view

Some of the best known and most widely read treatises on Buddhism are almost entirely based on the Sacred Books of one single Buddhist school, and their authors have not escaped the temptation of becoming themselves imbued with the theories of the sect whose books they are using. Even in Europe, amongst scholars who are not themselves Buddhists, we can with some right talk of Hînyânists and Mahâyânists. In most cases Buddhism has been viewed as a philosophy and not as a religion This is in accordance with the general tenor of the Pali canon. And the phenomenalistic view of the world, including the Buddha, which largely prevails in it, has influenced eminent scholars in their views on Buddhism. Now M. Poussin is undoubtedly right in reminding us that the philosophy of Buddhism, like Indian philosophy on the whole, is subservient to religious ends. If Buddhism were only, or principally, a philosophical doctrine, it would be difficult to understand its success in India. Even the most fundamental theories, the belief in *Karman* and in the

[8] This is nothing but a copy of the transcript prepared by Gyânchand Jati, now lying in the Jaina *bhaṇḍâr* at Mâṇḍal.

[9] Read चतुस्त्रिंशद°.   [10] Read कारितं.   [11] Read °गुहदत्तः

[12] जायतैकवीरः violates the metre and makes no sense This whole verse is cited in an unpublished copper-plate inscription found at Kadmâl, dated V.S. 1140, and referring itself to the reign of Vijayasiṁha. It gives the reading महेन्द्रभहैर्नवीरैः. The true reading appears to be महेन्द्रभटैकवीराः.

[13] Read जाता यथार्क°.   [14] Supply मत्तट before नृपैः in accordance with the Kadmâl inscription.

[15] This name occurs as भर्तृपट्टः also in the Kadmâl and Châṭsû inscriptions, though the later inscriptions have भर्तृभटः

[16] Read तस्य सुतोपि as in the Kadmâl inscription.

[17] See note 15 above.   [18] Read °तिः प्रिया.   [19] Read पुराह्वयं.

[20] This and the following are two lines from two different verses of two different metres.

[21] Read राजाजायत   [22] Read °वाहन इति   [23] Read °त्रयोर्जितः   [24] Read °पट्टाभिधाः

[25] The text of this and the following verse is corrupt and is full of mistakes.

[26] The inscription does not seem to have been completed here. Vaṭasthâna is perhaps given here as the original place of the person, who built the temple of Nânigasvâmî, and some further account of his family must have been contained in the lines following, which had been either lost or not transcribed.

impermanence of the *ego*, are not original in, or the exclusive property of, Buddhism, but had, long before Buddha, been coined by Brahmanic ascetism. Moreover, there have, from the oldest times, been conflicting philosophical views within Buddhism There have been personalists (*pudgalavâdins*) and phenomenalists (*skandhavâdins*), and even in such sayings as are recognised by all sects as the teaching of the Buddha himself, we can point out different ways of viewing one and the same question. It can be contended, and M. Poussin does so, that the founder himself would sometimes have been unable to define the most important ideas clearly A notion like *Nirvâna* cannot. on the whole, be satisfactorily explained. Even if we admit that the prevailing notion was negative, absence of misery, there will still be room for a double explanation. Happiness must be one of its aspects, and cessation of pain, which must be almost identical with cessation of existence, another. From the very beginning, therefore, there has been room for discussion and dissension. Nevertheless, all the various sects must be recognised as Buddhists, just as both Catholics and Protestants are Christians. I think that M. Poussin has done well in reminding us of such facts. His is an intensely religious mind, and he naturally perceives the religious aspect of Buddhism. Though the Buddha always appeals to the reasoning of his followers, his teaching is not a *drishti*, a theory, or *mata*, an opinion. In metaphysics he admits the ideas prevailing in his days, but shows to what consequences they lead. The aim of his teaching is to show the way to salvation. 'Buddhism is professedly no rationalistic system, it being a superhuman (*uttarimanussa*) law founded upon the decrees of an omniscient and infallible Master, and in such a creed mysteries are admissible' (*Kern*). The Buddha is a physician and his Law a healing art. And many of his sayings, such as the conflicting ideas of transmigration and impermanence, must be accepted unquestioningly on his word. His fundamental teaching is the doctrine of the middle path He starts from such notions as the world considers as proved. In order to attain salvation, it is necessary to believe in transmigration conditioned by one's acts ; otherwise nobody would renounce desire and lust, but it is also necessary to believe in impermanence, in order to obtain detachment and emancipation. In this theory of the middle path, M. Poussin sees the work of the Buddha himself, whose law he therefore claims as a religion. He urges that it is a mistake to judge about Buddhism according to European ideas. That mistake is at the bottom of much that has been written about the question whether the Buddha was or was not from the beginning considered as a god. M Poussin reminds us that the Indian idea of a god is quite different from the European. Even Brahmâ is not eternal, and the divine power is the result of sacrifice or of *tapas* And the ascetic can, by *tapas*, acquire such a power that he endangers the position of the gods It is doubtless true that at the time of the Buddha, the teachings of the Upanishads were not in sole possession of the ground. The Hindû gods and the ideas pervading Hinduism had already come into existence. And to a Hindû mind the Buddha, who was superior to Brahmâ and the other gods, was not an ordinary man. How could he then have had the power of continuing his life till the end of the Kalpa? It is a difficult, not to say an impossible, task to disentangle the history of the Hindû ideas of a supernatural being, of a *mahâpurusha* It is of course, quite possible that many notions belonging to them are ultimately derived from solar myths, though I think some scholars have been inclined to go much too far in adducing them. But there is no doubt that, to the first Buddhists the Buddha was such a *mahâpurusha*. Nobody can obtain salvation without the three refugees, the first of which is the Buddha. And I quite agree with M Poussin that the deification of the Buddha is old, and that it has grown out of the Indian soil, and also that the chief reason for the early success of Buddhism was that piety recognised in him a superhuman being. The frame of mind of the Hindû community in the days of the Buddha, and also of his followers in later days, was complex, and it is useless to try to reduce Buddhism into definite formulas. There have always been different views, some of which we know, while others are only known from the polemics of their adversaries. We do not as yet know more than a portion of Buddhist literature and I agree with M. Poussin that what we know is not, in its actual form, so old as some scholars maintain. We have so far only been able to follow the development of the theories of some few sects; we can, however, see that all sects have a stock of traditional sayings in common which seem to represent the teaching of the Buddha himself. If we want to build up a system from them, we must bear in mind that Buddhism is not alone, or, from the beginning, primarily a philosophical system, but a religion, a faith. It is M. Poussin's great merit to have laid stress on this, and that alone would assure his treatise on Buddhism a high rank, even if it did not abound in information about the varied questions connected with the development and history of Buddhist theology.

STEN KONOW.

THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM EAST BENGAL.

BY F. E. PARGITER, M.A., I C S. (RETD.).

THREE copper-plates with Sanskrit inscriptions were found in the Faridpur District in East Bengal, and Dr. Hoernle, who was then in India, hearing of them, succeeded after some difficulty in purchasing them on behalf of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Plate B was first discovered in 1891 and was mentioned by him in his "Note on the Date of the Bower Manuscript" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, 1892, p. 29 (at p. 44). The two other plates were discovered during 1892. He hoped to be able to decipher and publish them himself, but was unable for years to spare the time. At length he sent them to Prof. Kielhorn in March 1905 to be published, but they remained undisposed of on that scholar's death in 1908. They were then returned to Dr. Hoernle, and he asked me in October 1908 to take them in hand. It was with great pleasure that I assented to his request, because these plates come from a part of the country, with which my service under Government in East Bengal has made me familiar, and they raise various questions touching matters that formed a large part of my official duties. The greater part of this article was ready early in 1909, but it could not be completed till nearly the end of November for the following reasons :—

Recently a fourth plate has been discovered in East Bengal and apparently in the same district, and was brought to Dr. Hoernle's notice by Dr. T. Bloch, Archæological Surveyor of the Eastern Circle. He wrote in September 1908 that it had a marked resemblance in its commencement to the plate described in the *Indian Antiquary*, and asked for information about the latter. Dr. Hoernle replied that we had three similar plates which I was preparing for publication, and requested that the new plate or a transcript of it might be sent to me, so that all the plates might be dealt with together, or that at least our three plates might have the benefit of the light which the new plate might throw on them. In answer, Dr. Bloch stated after some delay that the new plate belongs to a Bengali gentleman, to whom it was returned and whose name he did not know, and that a rubbing which he made of it will be published in the Archæological Report for the year 1907—8. By the kindness of a friend in Calcutta, however, the new plate was traced out without difficulty, and a photograph of it was sent me. I am not at liberty to edit it as the Archæological Department proposes to publish it, but I am not precluded from using portions of it to solve some intricate points that arise upon these three plates. I found it necessary, besides, to obtain more information from East Bengal regarding certain land measures. These steps have delayed the publication of the plates longer than I had hoped.

The three plates are all in the Gupta character of the North-Eastern class. They resemble one another in many features of their composition and contents, and when compared help to elucidate one another very materially. I must further acknowledge the great advantage which I have obtained in Dr. Hoernle's opinion upon various points of uncertainty or difficulty, and I must thank Dr. Fleet for help and advice which he has most kindly given me in revising the proofs. I will first give a description, transcription and translation of each plate, then notice peculiarities in the script, thirdly discuss their age, and finally offer some general remarks on various interesting questions which they suggest.

A.—Grant of the time of Dharmāditya : the year 3.

This plate (the largest) is of dark-coloured copper ; oblong in shape, being $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, $4\frac{5}{8}$ broad, and $\frac{1}{10}$ thick, and without a rim. Including the seal it weighs 1 lb., 7 oz., 4 drams. It is written lengthwise on both sides, but not fully on the second side. It is in good preservation, except along the margins where in some parts it is almost obliterated.

The **letters** are of the Gupta character of the North-Eastern class, nearly ⅛ inch in size, clearly-cut, erect, well-shaped and rectilinear in appearance, with the wedge-shaped tops well-developed. The letters *ṣ* and *s* are made alike, but are generally distinguished in that the loop is round in *ṣ* and triangular in *s*.

Only two numeral signs occur, 3 for the regnal year and 5 for the day of the month. The 3 is expressed, in the usual ancient manner, by three horizontal strokes one above the other; and the 5 resembles the upper of the two Nasik forms, with the right limb, however, lengthened downwards (see Table IX of Bühler's *Indischen Palæographie*).

A circular **seal** is fastened on to a projecting portion of the plate on the left side and is lighter-coloured than the plate. It is 2¾ inches in diameter, with a rim around and external scroll-work projecting on either side. It is all in relief with a countersunk surface, and the whole is much decayed. The emblem occupies the upper ⅔ and can be seen to consist of a female figure standing in the middle with at least one figure kneeling on either side; above on either side is an elephant portrayed as if pouring water on the female. The **legend** in the lower ⅓ is so much corroded that only a few letters are clearly legible, but what can be discerned shows that it agrees with the legend on plate C and runs thus:—Vāraka-maṇḍala-viṣayâdhikaraṇasya.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and the whole is in prose except the concluding verse of imprecation. It contains many modifications of a Prakrit nature:—

The plural instrumental is formed with *-bhi*, as in *saṁkalpābhi* (l. 14), *asmābhi* (l. 16), *rājabhi* (l. 20); and this even in words where it ought to end in *aiḥ*, as in *śāstrabhi* (l. 21); but conversely we have the strange form *anai(ḥ)* for *ebhiḥ* (l. 22). In three instances the form *bhiḥ* appears, *asmābhir* (l. 9), *rājabhir* (l. 22) and *pitṛbhus* (for *pitṛbhis*, l. 26). The last occurs in a quotation and is not the scribe's own composition; moreover, the final consonant is necessary for the metre, but the two former cannot for certain be declared regular, for the final *r* may be a euphonic insertion (such as certainly occurs in plate C, l. 9), thus *rājabhi-r-anai(ḥ)*, and *asmābhi-r-akātye-r-bhūtvā*, where a second *r* is inserted.

Two irregular genitives occur, *adhyāyinasya* and *svāminasya* (l. 19). *Dhammaṇā* (l. 12, 17) appears to be Prakrit rather than an incorrect spelling of *dharmaṇā*, for *dharma* is written correctly in l. 13. *Vijñāptāḥ* appears for *vijñāpitāḥ* (l. 17) as also in plate B.

The affix *-ka* occurs freely, as in *viniyuktaka* (l. 3), *vikrīyamānaka* (l. 11), *mānakā* (l. 12, where it should be *mānikā*), and *likhitaka* (l. 20).

Three new words may be noticed, *sādhanika* (l. 7, 15), *apaviñchya* (l. 16), and *kṣeṇī* (l. 25), the first two of which are discussed in the concluding general remarks; and *ekātmya* (l. 9) as a noun may be added.

As regards **orthography** many mistakes occur and sandhi is not always observed. These errors are pointed out in the notes, but the principal peculiarities may be mentioned here.

Some confusion occurs among similar letters, especially dentals and cerebrals. Thus, nasals go wrong in *vikrīyamānakāni* (l. 11), *paścimeṇa* (l. 24) and *dakṣiṇeṇa* (l. 23); and once the sibilants, as *dṛsti* for *dṛṣṭi* (l. 12). *L* takes the place of *ḍ* in *ṣal-aṅga* (l. 19); and *ṛ* of *ri* in *kṛyā* (l. 14) as in plate C l. 3-4. Such confusions are common in modern vernacular Bengali. *B* is rare and *v* is written for it in *Amvariṣa* (l. 1) and *pravandhena* (l. 12); they are the same now in Bengali.

Letters compounded with *r* are often doubled, as in *maryyādā-caturddainārikya* (l. 10), *attra* (l. 13, 23), *vikkrīta* (l. 17), etc.; and even when the compound letters are initial, as in *ttrayam* (l. 17) and *ttri* (l. 23, 24). Doubling also occurs sometimes in *y* compounds, as in *addhyāsana* (l. 3).

On the other hand difficult compound-letters are simplified by the omission of the least important, as in *sakāśā(t) kṣettra* (l. 7), *samya(g)-dattāni* (l. 21) and *ś(l)okaḥ* (l. 25); to which may be added *akātye* for *ekāt(m)ye*. This may perhaps be due to pure ignorance of such letters on the scribe's part and not to Prakrit influences.

Visarga is sometimes omitted as in *purogā* (l. 6), and in the plural instrumentals as already mentioned. Anusvāra is omitted in *vikrita* (l. 17) and *viṣṭhāyā* (l. 26); wrongly inserted in *aṁttra* (l. 13) and *tāṁmra* (l. 17); and wrongly changed to *n* in *bhavatān* (l. 7).

The plate is dated the fifth day of the month Vaiśākha in the third year of the Emperor Dharmāditya.

Its object is to bestow, as a *public* meritorious gift, about 3 acres[1] of cultivated land (*kṣetra*) in the village Dhruvilāṭī on a Bhāradvāja brahman named Candrasvāmin. The donor, the Sādhanika Vātabhoga, bought the land from the mahattaras or leading men of the locality (no private owner is mentioned) at the established rate, for 12 dīnāras, and conveyed it to Candrasvāmin.

TEXT.

First Side.

1 Om[2] Svasty=Asyāṁ pṛthivyām=apratirathe Yayāty-Amvariṣa[3]-sama-dhṛtau ma-

2 hārāj-âdhirāja-Śrī-Dharmmâditya-rājye tat-prasāda-labdh-âspade mahārāja-Sthā-

3 ṇudattasy=ôddhyāsana-kāle sta[l][4]-viniyuktaka-Vāraka-maṇḍale viṣayapati-Ja-

4 jāvasy=âvogo [' *]dhikaraṇaṁ viṣaya-mahattar-Eṭita-Kulacandra-Garuḍa-Vṛhacca-

5 ṭṭ-Âluk-Ânācāra-Bhāśaitya[5]-Śubhadeva-Ghoṣacandr-Ânimittra[6]-Guṇacandra-Kālasa-

6 kha-Kulasvāmi-Durllabha-Satyacandr-Ârjjuna-Bappa-Kuṇḍalipta-purogā[ḥ*] prakṛtayaś=ca

7 sādhanika-Vātabhogena vijñāptāḥ[7] Icchāmy=ahaṁ bhavatān[8]=sakāśā[9] kṣettra-khaṇḍam=upa-

8 krīya brāhmaṇasya pratipādayituṁ Tad=arhatha matto mūlyaṁ gṛhītvā viṣaye vibha-

9 jya dātum=iti Yataḥ etad=abhyarthanam=adhikṛty=asmābhir[10]=akātyer[11]=bhūtvā pustapāla-Vi[na]-[12]

10 yasen-âvadhāraṇayā[13] avadhṛtam=Ast=îha viṣaye prāk-samudra-maryyādā catur-ddai[14]-

11 nārikya-kulya-vāpena kṣettrāṇi vikrīyamānakāni tathā-vāpa-kṣettra-khaṇḍala-

12 kṛta-kalanī-dṛsti[15]-mīttra-pravandhena[16] tāmrapaṭṭa-dhammaṇā[17] vikrayamānakā[18] Tac=ca

13 parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām=aṁttra[19]-dharmma-ṣaḍ-bhāga-lābhaḥ Tad=etāṁ pravṛttim=adhigamya nyāsā-

14 dho[20] sva-puṇya-kīrtti-saṁsthāpana-kṛt-âbhilāṣasya yathā saṁkalpābhi[s*] tathā kṛya[y=âdhṛ]-[21]

15 tya sādhanika-Vātabhogena dvādaśa-dīnārān=āgrato[22] datvā[23] Śivacandra-ha[sten=âṣṭa][24]-

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[1] See General Remarks, p. 213, below.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] Read *Ambarīsa.*

[4] Read *tad*; the *s* appears to be a mistake.

[5] Sic.

[6] Read *Anamitra.*

[7] Read *vijñāpitāḥ.*

[8] Read *bhavatām.*

[9] Read *sakāśāt*, the *t* being omitted, as it would require the complicated compound *tkṣe.*

[10] Read ° *âsmābhir.*

[11] Read *ekātmye.*

[12] Or perhaps *Vija-*; but *Vinayasena* is matched by *Nayasena* in plate B, line 7, and plate C, line 6.

[13] Sic: no sandhi.

[14] Read *dī-*; but the proper form would be *cāturdīnārikya* from *catur-dīnāra.*

[15] Read *dṛṣṭi.*

[16] Read *prabandhena.*

[17] Read *dharmaṇā.*

[18] Read *māṇikā.*

[19] Read *atra.*

[20] Read *nyāsâdheḥ*?

[21] For *kṛya*° read *kriya*°. The last two letters are illegible, but the reading must be *kriyayâdhṛtya* or something equivalent.

[22] Read *agrato.*

[23] Read *dattvā.*

[24] The last three letters are illegible except the vowel mark *e*, but by comparing the corresponding words in plate B, line 19, and plate C, line 19, it seems most probable that the reading should be *hastenâṣṭa-*.

Second Side.

16 ka-navaka-nalenām[25]=apaviñchya[26] Vātabhoga-sakāśe ['*]smābhi[r*] **Dhruvilātyām̐** kṣettra-kulya[27]-
17 vāpa-ttrayam̐ tām̐mrapaṭṭa-dhammaṇā[28] vikkrīta[m̐*][29] Anenapi[30] Vātabhogena
18 candra-tār-årkka-sthiti-kāla-sam̐bhogyam̐ yavat[31]=parattr=ânugraha-kām̐kṣiṇā Bharadvāja-sāgo[32]-
19 ttra-Vājasaneya-ṣal[33]-aṅg-âdhyāyinasya Candrasvāminasya mātā-pittror=anugrahā-
20 ya mudaka-pūrvveṇa pratipāditam=iti Tad=upari-likhitak-âgāma[34]-sāmanta-rājabhi[ḥ*] sama-
21 dhigata-śāstrabhi[r*] bhūmi-dān-ânupālana-kṣep-ânumodaneṣu samya[g*]-dattāny=api dānāni
22 rājabhir=anai[ḥ*][35] pratipādanīyāniti[36] pratyavagamya bhūmi-dānam̐ sutarām=eva pratipālanī-
23 yam=iti Sīmā-liṅgāni c=âttra pūrvveṇa Himasena-pāṭake[37] dakṣiṇena[38] ttri-ghaṭikā[39]
24 apara-tāmrapaṭṭaś=ca paścimeṇa[40] ttri-ghaṭṭikāyā Śila-kuṇḍaś=ca uttareṇa nāvātā-[41]
25 kṣeṇī Himasena-pāṭakaś=ca Bhavati c=âttra śokaḥ[42] Sva-dattam̐ para-dattām=vā yo ha-
26 reta vasundharām̐ śva[43]-viṣṭhāyā[m̐*][44] krimir=bhūtvā pacyate pitṛbhus[45]=saha
27 **Samvat[46] 3 Vaiśā di 5**

TRANSLATION.

Seal.

[The seal] of the government of a district in **the province of Vāraka.**

Plate.

Om ! Welfare ! During the sovereignty of the supreme king of great kings, **Śrī-Dharmaditya,** which *sovereignty* is without an adversary on this earth *and* is equal in steadfastness to Yayāti and Ambarīṣa—in the time of the reigning of the great king **Sthāṇudatta,** who gained[47] his dignity through his (Dharmāditya's) favour—in the province[48] of **Vāraka** which was entrusted to him

[25] There is some mistake here ; perhaps a letter has been omitted, and the reading should be *-nalenâṁśam.*

[26] This word occurs also in plate B, line 19, and plate C, line 19. It is discussed in the General Remarks, p. 213.

[27] These two letters are not quite clear, but what can be seen suggests *kulya.*

[28] Read *dharmaṇā.*

[29] *Vikrītaṁ* must be the reading. It clearly agrees with *vāpa-trayam.* The sentence must also end here, because the *m* if final would be written as anusvāra and might easily have been omitted ; but if the sentence does not end here the *m* would have taken up the initial *a* of the followed word, and been written *ma.*

[30] Read *anenâpi.*

[31] Read *yāvat.*

[32] Read *sago-.*

[33] Read *saḷ, i.e., ṣaḍ.*

[34] Read *°kâgama-.*

[35] This seems obviously to agree with *rājabhir,* and to be a peculiar instrum. plural from *idam* ; *anaiḥ* being formed by regular analogy from *anena* like *śivaiḥ* from *śivena.* Or we might read *enaiḥ* for *etaiḥ.* This is the only instrum. plural terminating in *aiḥ* in these three plates, this case being otherwise always formed with *bhiḥ* or *bhi,* cp. *śāstrabhi* in the previous line for *śāstraiḥ.*

[36] Read *°yānîti.*

[37] Read *pāṭako.*

[38] Read *dakṣiṇena.*

[39] Read *-ghaṭṭikā* as in the next line?

[40] Read *paścimena.*

[41] The first letter is intermediate between *nā* and *bhā* and might be read either way, though *nā* seems preferable.

[42] Read *ślokaḥ.*

[43] In some inscriptions the reading is *sa,* 'he' (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions,* pp. 104, 108, etc), but *śva* appears in others (*ibid.* pp. 128, 131, etc.).

[44] We may read *viṣṭhāyā(ṁ)* or *viṣṭhāyā(ḥ).* The former is preferable as it appears clearly in Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 108.

[45] Read *pitṛbhiḥ.*

[46] That is *saṁvatsare.*

[47] The expression *tat-prasāda-labdhâspade* agrees grammatically with *adhyāsana-kāle,* but in sense with *Sthāṇudattasya* : *°labdhâspadasya* or *labdhâspada-* would, therefore, be better.

[48] *Maṇḍala* here is larger than and includes the *viṣaya* or "district," which follows ; see General Remarks, p. 211, below.

A.—Grant of the time of Dharmaditya.—The year 3.

Front.

Back.

J F FLEET

SCALE ·8

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(Sthāṇudatta),[49] Jajāva as lord of the district has the direction and administration.[50] The leading men of the district, who were headed by Itita,[51] Kulacandra, Garuḍa, Vṛhaccaṭṭa,[52] Āluka, Anācāra,[53] Bhāśaitya,[54] Śubhadeva, Ghoṣacandra,[55] Anamitra, Guṇacandra, Kālasakha, Kulasvāmin, Durlabha, Satyacandra, Arjuna-bappa[56] *and* Kuṇḍalipta,[57] and the common folk[58] were apprised by the agent[59] Vātabhoga, thus:—" I wish to buy a parcel of cultivated land from your honours and to bestow it on a brahman; therefore *do* ye deign to take the price from me, to divide *the land* in the district and to give *it to me.*"

Wherefore we, giving heed to this request *and* being unanimous, determined *the matter* by a determination by the keeper of the records Vi[na]yasena. There is in this district the rule established along the eastern sea *that* cultivated lands are things which are sold according to the *rate of the* sum of four dīnāras for the area that can be sown with a kulya *of seed,*[60] *and that* the evidence of a sale is by the custom of *giving* a copper-plate, which *custom* applies immediately on seeing the counting made for the parcel of cultivated lands of such-and-such-sowing *area*; and then the feet of the Emperor receive the sixth part *of the price* according to the law here. Therefore the agent Vātabhoga, having adopted this procedure, *and* having by tendering the deposit [complied with it] by the act as well as by the intentions of one who has desired to establish the fame of his own merit, *and* having paid twelve dīnāras in our presence[61]—we, having severed *the land* according to

49 The reading is *stad-viniyuktaka-*, but the *s* appears to be a mistaken addition. If, however, it must be retained, we can only read *'ṣṭa-dviniyuktaka-*, "in the province of Vāraka, which is under eight pairs of *administrators.*" This would be permissible, because *sṭ* and *st* are sometimes confused in this plate as mentioned in the introductory remarks ; and it is quite possible there were eight or sixteen *viṣayas* in the province.

50 *Āyoga* means apparently the mandatory side of government—the appointment of officials and the issuing of orders and regulations—as distinguished from *adhikaraṇa*, which seems here to mean the administrative side (executive and judicial).

51 With this name compare Iṭa Bhārgava, the author of Rig-Veda X. 171.

52 With this compare Caṭṭopādhyāya, which is a common Brahman family-name in Bengal and is generally pronounced "Chatterji."

53 He appears again in plate C.

54 This word is a difficulty. If it be taken as a proper name, the construction of the long compound from *viṣaya-mahattareṭita* to *purogāḥ* is peculiar, because the word *puroga* (like *puraḥsara* in plate B, l. 8). at the end of a compound always, as far as I am aware, qualifies a succeeding noun of general import, and there would be no such noun here, for the words *prakṛtayaś ca* are clearly separate, so that *puroga* would have to qualify the first words of its own compound. It has been so translated. The construction and the sense might be better if instead of *°kānācāra-bhāśaitya* we might read *°kānācārā āśritya* ; and the meaning would then be :— "The leading men of the district, namely, Iṭita, etc., and Anācāra, on approaching (Vātabhoga), and the common folk who were headed by Śubhadeva, etc., were apprised by the agent Vātabhoga." The indeclinable verbal participle is used with considerable freedom in good Sanskrit, and accurate construction is hardly to be expected in these grants ; see *dattvā* in l. 15. The preceding sentence cannot run on into this sentence : *adhikaraṇam* by itself might be so read as in plate B ; but hardly *āyogo 'dhikaraṇam.*

55 He appears again in plate C.

56 See note in Fleet's G. I., p. 186, on *bappa*, "father." This name would apparently mean "Arjuna's father," a not uncommon way of mentioning a man at the present day also.

57 This is a peculiar name for a man. It invites comparison with the name of the town (and district) Tāmralipta, which was the capital of the people and country called Suhma and which is the modern Tamluk on the west side of the River Hooghly not far from its mouth.

58 *Prakṛtayaḥ* here must mean "the subjects, the common folk" and not "ministers." Ministers would have been mentioned first and not last, and had nothing to do with ordinary cultivated land. On the other hand the land was bought from the mahattaras and *prakṛtayas*, as is shown by the words *bhavatāṁ sakāśāt* (l. 7), *ekātmyebhūtvā* (l. 9) and *asmābhis* (l. 16). No private owner is mentioned, but the village is mentioned (l. 16). Hence the land appears to have been the common property of the village, so that all had to join in selling it, both Mahattaras and common folk.

59 *Sādhanika*; see General Remarks, p. 211, below.

60 See General Remarks, pp. 214, 215.

61 Or "in the first place." The sentence is left without a finite verb to complete it.

the *standard measure of* eight reeds *in breadth* and nine *in length*[62] by the hand of Śivacandra, have sold to Vātabhoga a triple kulya-sowing *area* of cultivated land in **Dhruvilāṭī** by the custom of the copper-plate.

This very Vātabhoga, who desires benefit in another world as long as *this land* shall be enjoyed while the moon, the stars and the sun endure, has joyfully, for the benefit of his own parents,[63] bestowed *the land* on Candrasvāmin, who is of the lineage of Bharadvāja, who is a Vājasaneya and who studies the six Aṅgas. Therefore the kings, who are neighbours to the above-mentioned grant *and* who have studied the scriptures, fully understanding that "gifts, although given absolutely to persons who rejoice in safeguarding or in discarding gifts of land, must be held valid by these kings," must scrupulously safeguard *this* gift of land.

And the boundary-indications *are* here *stated*: on the east, Himasena's portion of the village; on the south, the three ghāṭs[64] and *the land of* the other copper-plate; on the west, the paths to the three ghāṭs[65] and the Śīlakuṇḍa[66]; on the north, the ship-building harbour[67] and Himasena's portion of the village.

And here applies the verse: Whoever confiscates land that has been granted away by himself or granted away by another, he becoming a worm in a dog's ordure rots along with his ancestors.

In the regnal year 3; the fifth day of Vaiśākha.

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62 See General Remarks, p. 215.

63 The sentence might also be translated, "has joyfully bestowed it for the benefit of the parents of Candrasvāmin, who is of the lineage, etc.,": but the translation above is better, because (1) *Candrasvāminasya pratipād-tam* exactly tallies with *brāhmaṇasya pratipādayitum* in l. 8; (2) the words *mātā-pitror anugrahāya* obviously answer to the preceding *paratrânugraha*, which mean benefit for some one who was dead, that is, no doubt the donor's parents, while his own personal interest was fame as mentioned; (3) those words correspond to *mātā pitror ātmanaś ca puṇyâbhivṛddhaye* in plate B, l. 10, and plate C, l. 12, where the allusion is clearly to the donor's parents; and (4) the grant must be definitely made to some person and could hardly have been made vaguely "for the benefit of Candrasvāmin's mother and father," the former of whom did not need mention in such a transaction.

64 Reading *tri-ghaṭṭikā*, yet it may not be necessary to read so here. *Trighaṭikā* would have some reference to three pitchers, but I cannot suggest any application. *Ghāṭ* means steps leading down into water; here no doubt into the Śīlakuṇḍa.

65 The reading must be either *ttri-ghaṭṭikāyā Śīlakuṇḍaś ca* or *ṭtrighaṭṭikā Yāśīlakuṇḍaś ca*. The former is preferable, because (1) a village Śīlakuṇḍa-grāma is clearly mentioned in plate C, l. 23; (2) the two grants were close together, for this grant was in Dhruvilāṭī village (line 16) and so also was that grant (see notes to its east and west boundaries); (3) both grants have the same name Śilakuṇḍa as the western boundary, if we read Śīlakuṇḍa here; and (4) it is hardly likely there could have been two places called Śilakuṇḍa and Yāśīlakuṇḍa in almost the same situation. If then the former reading be right, we must read *tri-ghaṭṭikâyā(ḥ) i.e., tri-ghaṭṭikā+ayāḥ* (or *āyāh*) meaning "the tracks or footpaths leading to the three ghāṭs." With three ghāṭs it is highly probable there were several tracks from various groups of houses in this locality. In the Ganges delta a village does not always consist of one collection of houses, because the situation of the houses depends on the area of high ground available, for the whole country is flooded during the rainy season by the immense quantities of water brought down by all the rivers from the north, and houses can be built only on such pieces of higher ground as will enable them with a raised foundation to stand above flood-level. The situation of such pieces of high ground therefore determines the form and size of a village, and it may consist of two or more groups of houses, each of which groups is called a *pāṛā* (indigenous) or less commonly *basti* (Skt. *vasati*).

66 Śīlakuṇḍa here must be distinguished from Śīlakuṇḍa-grāma in plate C, l 23. *Kuṇḍa* means a large pool or pond. Sheets of water of all kinds and sizes are common in the Ganges delta, being the remains of old water-courses or depressions, and have various names according to their formation and size, such as *dahā*, *bāuṛ* *bil*. Śīlakuṇḍa was no doubt such a piece of water, and Śīlakuṇḍa-grāma would have been the village adjoining it.

67 *Nāvātā-kṣ ṇī* must, as Dr. Hoernle suggests, be *nau* (or *nāva*) + *ātā* + *kseṇī*. *Kṣeṇī* is evidently a modification of *kṣayana* 'a harbour', with a fem. termination. *Āta* or *ātā* means the frame of a door, and here in conjunction with *nau* must mean a ship's frame. *Nau* here should be translated by the word 'ship' and not 'boat'. Boat-making in this region requires very little frame-work and no harbour (dockyard) for boats are made on the banks of rivers anywhere. Frames and dockyards are only necessary for large vessels and ships; yet all country-built ships are small even at the present day. There must have been a river to the north into which the harbour or dockyard opened.

B.—Second grant of the time of Dharmāditya.

This plate (the smallest) is of copper, less dark than plate A ; oblong in shape, being 6 inches long, $4\frac{1}{8}$ broad and $\frac{1}{10}$ thick ; and without a rim. With the seal it weighs 1 lb., 0 oz., 13 drams. It is written lengthwise on both sides and both sides are completely filled, so that there is no room for the date. It is in fair preservation except that letters near the margin are sometimes illegible.

The letters are of the Gupta character of the North-Eastern class, about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in size, but the two sides display a marked difference. On the first side they are fairly well cut and erect, though their shapes are neither good nor neatly finished. On the second side they slope slightly and are often poorly cut, and their shapes are ill-made; indeed in many instances the engraver has bungled his work either by bad workmanship or by mistakes, so that some letters appear as indistinct blurs. It would seem as if the second side were done by a different hand of little skill. Ṣ and s are so much alike that no consistent distinction is perceptible.

A circular seal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, is fastened to the left side of the plate, and is lighter in colour. It has no proper rim. It is in low relief and is much decayed. The emblem in the upper $\frac{2}{3}$ represents a female figure standing in the middle, with what looks like a sapling tree on her right; and close to her left is a very small figure standing. On either side, but not above her, appears an elephant semi-erect. The legend is so much corroded that only a few letters are legible, but what can be made out agrees with the legend on plate C ; thus :—Vāraka-maṇḍala-visayâdhikaraṇasya.

The language is Sanskrit, and the whole is in prose except the two concluding verses of imprecation. The peculiarities which have been noted in plate A appear here and rather oftener. The following may be specially mentioned :—

The Prakrit forms *laddha* (l. 3) and *jaṁma* (l. 18) occur. The plural instrumental is formed with *-bhi* as in *pitṛbhi* (l. 27), but the form in *-aiḥ* occurs perhaps in l. 9-10 ; the plural genitive *viṣayāṇaṁ* (l. 8) occurs; the plural ablative *bhavaddhyo* (l. 13) ; *vikriyantāni* as nom. pl. neut. of a pass. present participle (l. 14) ; and perhaps the plural accus. neut. *ksettrā* (l. 9).

Brāhmaṇa is treated as if ending in *an*, so that the dative becomes *brāhmaṇe* (l. 11) ; but for *brāhmaṇā* (l. 20) we should probably read *brāhmaṇāya*. *Śloka* is neuter in *ślokāni* (l. 24); and other irregularities are *vijñāptāḥ* (l. 8) ; *pratipāditum* (l. 11-12) ; and *arhattya* (l. 12).

The affix *-ka* appears in *viniyuktaka* (l. 5) and *kriyamāṇaka* (l. 13).

The particle *iti* appears in the form *-ti*, if my emendations in l. 12 are valid ; and a euphonic *r* is inserted between two vowels in *bhavaddhyo-r-eva* (l. 13).

Several new words appear, as *kāraṇḍaya* (l. 5), *apariñchya* (l. 19) ; which are discussed in the concluding general remarks ; *vijñāpa* (l. 12), and perhaps *mṛddha* (l. 17), which are discussed in the notes; and *daṇḍaka* (l. 23) has probably the new meaning of "mast (of a ship)."

The general impression is that the scribe was less literate than the author of plate A.

This is displayed also in the orthography, where the faults are similar to those in plate A, but sometimes gross as in *Devājisineya* (l. 10-11), *samvava* (l. 6), *jyeṣra* (l. 7), *prārk* (l. 13) and *tyāni* (l. 25).

Sandhi is not regularly observed, and *n* appears for *m* in *bhavatān prasādād* (l. 9).

Letters compounded with *r* are often doubled here as in plate A; thus *maryyādā-caturddīnārikkya* (l. 13), etc. ; and even when initial as in *kkrīta* (l. 20).

This plate was executed during the Emperor Dharmāditya's reign, but as already mentioned bears no date.

Its object is to bestow, as a private meritorious gift, some land (its quantity cannot be made out) which was apparently mostly waste or fallow, on a Kāṇva-Lauhitya brahman named Somasvāmin. The donor was Vasudeva-svāmin (apparently a brahman) who was an official supervising the customs-dues in the district (see General Remarks, p. 212 below). He bought the land from a mahattara named Thoḍa or Thoḍasa, at the established rate, for 2 dīnāras and conveyed it to Somasvāmin.

TEXT.

First Side.

1 Svasty=Asyām=pṛbhivyām [68]=apratirathe Nrga-Naghuṣa [69]-Yayāty-A-
2 mbarīṣa-sama-dhṛtau mahārājâdhirāja-Śrī-Dharmmāditya-bhaṭṭāraka-rā-
3 jyai [70] tad-anumodanā-laddh-âspado[71] Navy-Âvakāśikāyāṁ mahā-prati-
4 hār-oparika-Nāgadevasy=âddhyāsana-kāle [*]nen=âpi Vāraka-maṇḍala-
5 viṣay-âdhiniyuktaka-vyāpāra-kāraṇḍaya[72]-Gopāla-svāmī
6 Yato=[*]sya samv[y*]avaharato [73] Vasudāva [74] -svāminā sādaram=abhigamya
7 jyeṣra[75]-kāyastha-Nayasena-pramukham=adhikaraṇam=mahattāra- [76]
8 Somaghoṣa-purassarāś=ca viṣayāṇaṁ [77] mahattarā vijñāptāḥ [78]
9 Icchheyam=bhavatāu=prasādāú=yath-ârgheṇa bhavaddhyo-r=eva [79] kṣettrā [80] khaṇḍalakai-
10 r[81]=kkrītvā mātā-pittror=ātmanaś-ca puṇy-âbhivṛddhaye guṇavat-Kāṇva-dvā-
11 jisineya[82]-Lauhittya-sagottrāya brāhmaṇe Somasvāmine prati-
12 pāditu[m*] [83] Tad=arhattyassad [84] =vijñāpa vasānyānamāṁsamvitakumvi [85] etad=āv=â-
13 bhyarthānam [86] =adhikṛtty=âsty=etat=prārk[87] =kriyamāṇaka [88] -maryyādā catur-ddīnārikkya-
14 kulya-vāpena kṣettrāṇi vikrīyantān=îty[89]=asmād=Vasu-svāminaḥ

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[68] Read *pṛthivyām*.

[69] Read *Nahuṣa*.

[70] Read *rājye*.

[71] Read *labdhâspadasya*.

[72] It appears to be *kāraṇḍaya* rather than *karaṇḍaya*, because the end of the top line of the letter *k* is turned distinctly upwards.

[73] Compare *vyavaharata* in plate. C, l. 5-6. The fourth plate (see p. 193) reads clearly *Yato[*]sya vyavaharatah*.

[74] Read *Vasudeva*.

[75] Read *jyeṣṭha*.

[76] Read *mahattara*.

[77] Read *viṣayāṇām*.

[78] Read *vijñāpitāḥ*.

[79] This is meant for *bhavadbhya eva*.

[80] This seems meant for *kṣettrāṇi*.

[81] Or *khaṇḍalakaih*, as Dr. Hoernle reads it.

[82] Read *vājasaneya*-; the mistaken *d* may have crept in through some fancied connexion with *Bharadvāja*; see plate A, l. 18, and plate C, l. 14.

[83] Read *pratipādayitum*.

[84] Read *arhathâsmad*-

[85] All the letters are clear except that the *nyā* might be read *bhyā*. These words are puzzling, but seem to be resolvable if we note that they must contain an infinitive after the word *arhatha*, and that the request must be concluded with *iti*. As there is only one vowel *u*, the infinitive is probably to be found at the end in the letters *vitakum*, and the correct reading should probably be *vibhaktum*, the letters *ta* and *bha* being similar, and the *t* having been forgotten in the compound *ktu*. The preceding *sam* may or may not belong to this verb. The concluding *mvi* is probably intended for *m-iti* (a *t* closed at the base would become *v*), that is *m iti*. *Vasū* is probably a mistake for *vasū*; and *vasū* might stand either for *vasūḥ* (nom pl). or for *vasāt* (abl. sing.) which would become *vasān* before the following *nyā*, and one *n* might be dropped out of the compound *nnya*; compare *sakāśā* for *sakāśāt* in plate A l. 7. The latter alternative agrees better with the style of this inscription, but the meaning is the same in either way. The words then would run thus *asmad-vijñāpa-vasū nyānamāṁsam vibhaktum iti*; but *nyānamāṁsam* remains unintelligible whether we read it as *nyānam āṁsam*, *nyūnam=âṁśam* or (taking the *sam* with *vibhaktum*) *nyūnamāṁ*.

[86] Read *evâbhyarthanam*.

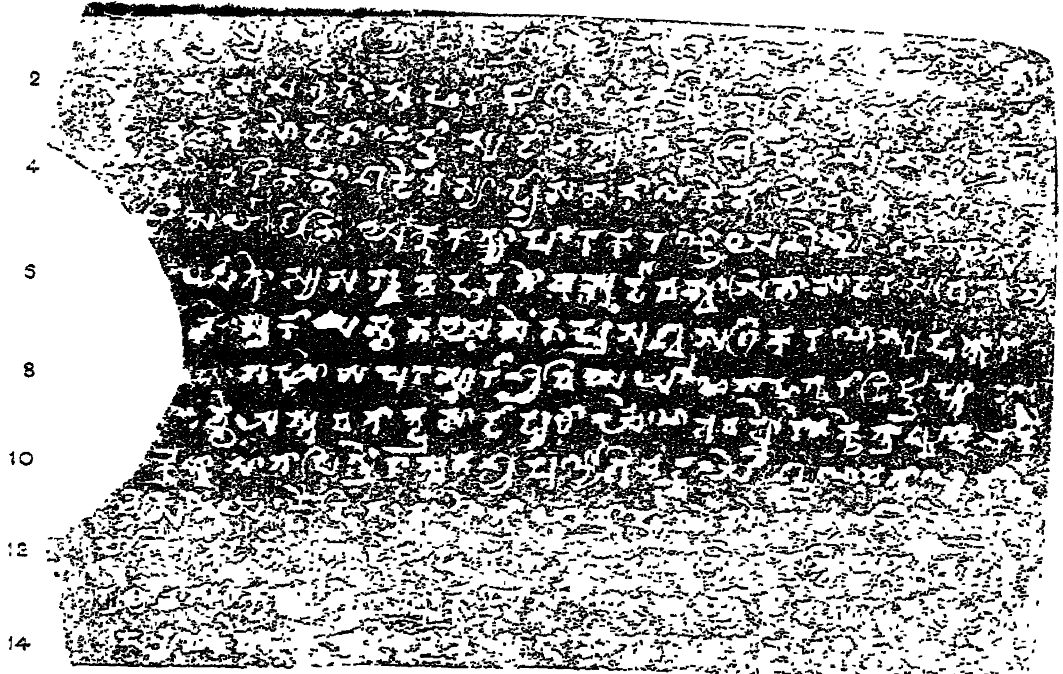
[87] Read *prāk*.

[88] *Vikrīyamāṇaka* would be better.

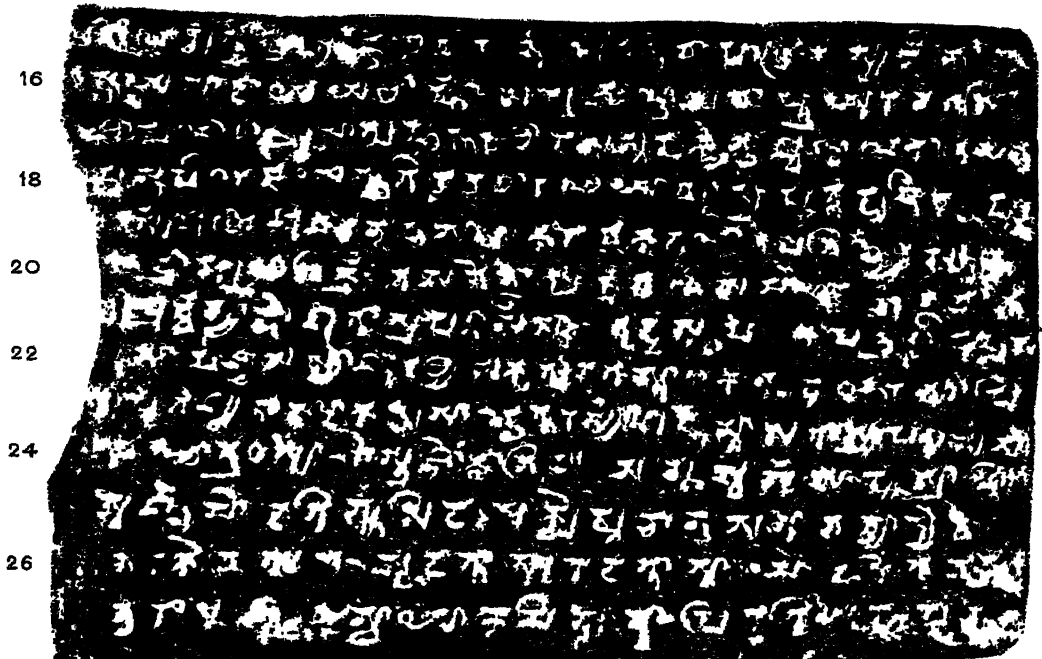
[89] Or *vikrīyatāmîty*. It appears to be meant for a present participle, nom. plural neuter. *Vikrīyanta iti* would be better.

B.—Second grant of the time of Dharmaditya.

Front



Back.



J F. FLEET.

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Second Side.

15 khila . . . . -[90] kulya-vāpasya pravartta[91]-vāp-âdhikasya dīnāra
16 dvaṁyam [92] =ādāya yath-ârhan=ca ṣaṣṭharggaṇḍayavāptrayurasmāni-[93]
17 śātpalāni śrīmān[94]-mahattara-Thoḍa-saṁvaddha [95]-kṣettra-khaṇḍalakātasanī [96]
18 pustapāla-Jaṁmabhūter=avadhāraṇay=âvadhṛttya pūrtteddhunivada [97]-putata-[98]
19 dharmmaśīla-Śivacandra-hast-âṣṭaka-navaka-nalen=âpavinchya [Va*]sude-
20 va-brāhmaṇā [99] vikkrītam=Aten=âpi [100] kkrīta[ṁ*] । Sīmā-liṅgāni c=âttra
21 pūrvvasyāṁ soga [1]-tāmrapaṭṭa-sīmā । [2] vṛddha-stha-paṭṭuki-parkkraṭi[3]-vṛkṣa-sī-
22 mā paścimasyāṁ gorathya-sakṛtparabhāstāṭakasthadvaṇḍerasyāpi-
23 ṇḍetiścya [4]-nau-daṇḍaka-sīmā । uttarasyāṁ Gargga-svāmi-tāmrapaṭṭa-sīmā
24 Bhavanti c=âttra dharmmā[5]-śāstra-ślokāni [6] ‖ Ṣaṣṭim varṣa-sahasrāṇi
25 svargge modati bhūmida[ḥ*] ākṣepta [7] c=ânumantā ca tyāny[8]=eva
26 narake vaset । Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yo hareta vasu-
27 ndharā[ṁ*] śva-[vi]ṣṭhāyā[ṁ*] kṛmir=bhūtvā pitṛbhi[ḥ*] saha pacya[te]

TRANSLATION.

Seal.

[The seal] of the government of a district in **the province of Vāraka.**

Plate.

Welfare. During the sovereignty of the supreme king of great kings, Śrī-**Dharmāditya** the Emperor, which *sovereignty* is without adversary on this earth, *and* is equal in steadfastness to Nṛga, Nahuṣa, Yayāti and Ambariṣa — in the time of the reigning of the Uparika Nāgadeva, chief warden of the gate, in **New Avakāśikā**,[9] who (Nāgadeva) gained his dignity through gratifying that *Dharmāditya*, Gopāla-svāmin *is* the customs-officer,[10] appointed *as such* in-chief in this district within **the province of Vāraka** by this very (Nāgadeva). Whereas, while he (Gopāla-svāmin) is administering affairs, Vasudeva-svāmin respectfully approached and apprised both the *district* government, wherein the oldest kāyastha Nayasena is the chief, and *also* the leading men of the districts, foremost of whom is the leading man Somaghoṣa,[11] thus :—"I would wish through your

[90] These five akṣaras look like *satvātprapyardha*, but the engraver has bungled some of them, and they are unintelligible.

[91] So the letters appear.

[92] Read *dvayam*.

[93] These are what the letters appear to be, but I can make nothing intelligible of them and the last akṣara is illegible. The first two might be read *saṁva*.

[94] The *śrī* is not free from doubt.

[95] These two akṣaras are badly written. The first might be *st*, or *s* or *m* combined with *v* or *r*; the second is *ddha* or *dva*. Only three combinations seem possible for the whole, (1) *Thoḍa-saṁvaddha* (for *saṁbaddha*), or (2) *Thoḍa-sastaddha* (for *saṁstabdha*) or (3) *Thoḍasa-mṛddha*. See note in the translation.

[96] The last three letters might perhaps be read as *nasabhī*, but yield no sense.

[97] This is what these six akṣaras appear to be, but they are not clear. The first three may be meant for *pūrvedyu(s)*, but I can make nothing of the last three.

[98] The letter *pu* would seem to be a badly formed *pra*; the first *ta* has been inserted beneath; and there is blurred vowel mark above which might be *ī*. The word is probably *pratīta*; see plate C, l. 18-19.

[99] Read *brāhmaṇāya*.

[100] Read *Anenâpi*.

[1] The first of these two akṣaras is so badly cut, that it is difficult to say what it is really.

[2] The word *dakṣiṇasyāṁ* has been omitted here.

[3] Read *parkaṭi*.

[4] This is what all the letters after *gorathya* appear to be, but I can make nothing intelligible out of them. All the words from (and including) *gorathya* to *sīmā* constitute one compound, as appears by the analogies of all the other boundaries.

[5] Read *dharma*.

[6] *Śloka* is ordinarily masc.

[7] Read *ākṣeptā*.

[8] Read *tāny*.

[9] See General Remarks, p. 210 *infra*.

[10] See General Remarks, p. 211 *infra*.

[11] Sen (*sena*) and Ghosh or Ghose (*ghoṣa*) are common family-names among kāyasthas in Bengal at the present day.

honours' favour to buy at the proper price from your honours cultivated lands with portions;[12] and, in order to augment the merit of my mother and father and mine own *merit*, bestow *it* on the virtuous brahman Somasvāmin, who is of the lineage of Kaṇva, is a Vājasaneya and is a Lauhitya[13]: therefore do ye deign in compliance with my intimation[14] to sever off a portion *of land* . . . ."

Wherefore we, giving heed to this very request, have—because there is a rule established regarding things transacted in the eastern region, namely, that cultivated lands are sold at the *rate of the* sum of four dīnāras for the area which can be sown with a kulya *of seed* [15] — taken from this Vasu-svāmin a couple of dīnāras for [so many] [16] kulya-sowing *areas* of waste land plus a pravartta [17] - sowing *area*, and have according to the value . . . . and have determined by the record-keeper Janmabhūti's determination . . . . the compact portions of cultivated land belonging to the leading man Thoḍa[18] . . . . and have yesterday (?) severed *the lands* off according to *the standard measure of* eight reeds *in breadth* and nine reeds *in length* by the hand of trusty and upright Śivacandra . . . . and have sold *them* to the brahman Vasudeva. He has bought *them*.

And the boundary-indications *are* here *stated*: on the east, the boundary of Soga's (?) copper-plate *land*; [on the south] the boundary marked by the old-standing paṭṭuki[19] and parkaṭi[20] trees; on the west the boundary marked by the bullock-cart track . . . . and the ship's mast,[21] on the north, the boundary of Garga-svāmin's copper-plate *land*.

And here apply the verses of the Dharma-śāstra. The grantor of land rejoices sixty thousand years in Svarga: may both he who annuls a grant and he who abets *such an act* dwell just so many *years* in hell. Whoever confiscates land that has been granted away by himself or granted away by another, he becoming a worm in a dog's ordure, rots along with his ancestors.

[12] If Dr. Hoernle's reading *kṣettrâkhaṇḍalakam* be taken, the meaning would be "an unbroken (or compact) area of cultivated land." This would agree with *sambaddha*, if that is the correct reading, in l. 17. The subsequent description of the land, so far as it can be made out, hardly suggests one compact block, and certainly shews that the greater portion was waste land.

[13] *Lauhitya* is derived from *lohita*, and might mean either "a descendant of Lohita," or "one who dwells by the river Lohita (the Brahmaputra)." One group of Viśvāmitra's descendants was named *Lohitas* or *Lauhitas* (Harivaṁśa xxvii, 1465; xxxii, 1771; Brahma Purāṇa x, 62), but he was not a Kāṇva.

[14] *Vijñāpa*; this is a new word, unless it is a mistake for *vijñāpana*.

[15] See General Remarks, p. 214 *infra*.

[16] The words which are illegible no doubt state some number.

[17] This is what the word appears to be; but whatever it be, its meaning must be some measure smaller than half a kulya, because the price for all the land, waste and cultivated, was only two dīnāras. I cannot, however, find any word with a suitable meaning.

[18] The only two readings which make any sense are *Thoḍa-sambaddha-kṣetra* and *Thoḍasa-mṛddha-kṣetra*, and I have taken the former in the translation because it requires no new word; but the latter reading is well worth attention. *Mridhā*, or vulgarly *mirdhā*, is a title common in this region at the present time; it is applied to a zamindar's head peon and is also a surname. It has no derivation that I know of, and is probably an old indigenous word; and if Sanskritized for such an occasion as this grant would naturally be written *mṛddha*. The meaning then would be "the portions of cultivated land belonging to the leading man Thoḍasa Mridhā." This makes better sense, as the land does not appear to have been compact, and I am inclined to think this is the true meaning of these words.

[19] *Paṭuka* is a gourd, *Trichosanthes diœca* (Mon.-Will. Dict.), and *paṭṭ.kā* is a name of the betel-nut palm; and there are other plants or trees of similar names. A plant like the gourd would be a quite possible land mark, for I have found equally temporary things specified as boundary marks in old land measurement papers in this region; but the epithet "old-standing" shows that some large tree is meant.

[20] *Parkaṭī* is the waved-leaf fig-tree, *Ficus infectoria*.

[21] *Nau-daṇḍaka*; or it may mean only a boat's pole; but an old ship's mast is more likely to have been erected than a boat's pole. *Daṇḍa*, or rather its vernacular form *dāṛ*, when used in connexion with a boat, generally means an 'oar' now; but I think I have heard *daṇḍa* used also for a 'mast.'

C.—Grant of the time of Gopacandra: the year 19.

This plate appears to be of copper, but is of a brown colour and looks as if there is a good deal of iron in it. It is oblong, being $6\frac{1}{3}$ inches long, $4\frac{3}{4}$ broad and $\frac{1}{14}$ thick; and has no rim. With the seal it weighs 1 lb., 1 oz., 12 drams. It is not quite as large as plate A, and is considerably lighter. It is written lengthwise on both sides, but the second side is not completely filled. The latter side is in fairly good preservation (parts indeed are very fresh), except along the margin; but the first side has become so badly corroded that a great portion of it is wholly undecipherable. Fortunately the portion that has remained legible contains many of the important particulars, and by means of careful scrutiny and comparison with plate B, to which its contents bear considerable resemblance, I have, I hope, been able to restore some portion, which is not in itself legible, but the remains of which quite accord with the readings proposed. This last portion is printed in *italics* in the transcript.

The letters are of the Gupta character, about $\frac{1}{7}$ inch in size, They are clearly though not deeply incised, gracefully shaped, erect and well spaced apart. The tops have a small wedge-shape often but are quite as often almost a line. *Ś* and *s* are distinguished generally as in plate A, but on the seal *ṣ* has a different form more like its shape in the Devanāgarī alphabet. The later form of *y* ( ) appears here.

Only two numerical signs occur, *viz.*, 10 + 9 for the regnal year. The 10 is like the sign found in the Bower MS. (see plate IX in Bühler's *Indischen Palæographie*), except that the curves on each side are more open, so that the upper part resembles the letter *ṇ* in these inscriptions. The 9 is an upright with a small horizontal bar projecting from the top to the right: the lower part of it is only faintly visible in the original, and has failed to appear in the plate.

A circular seal, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter, is fastened to the left side of the plate, and is like the plate in appearance. It has a low double rim, and on either side small scroll-work. It is in relief with a countersunk surface, but the emblem is in high relief, standing above the rim. It is so badly corroded that nothing definite can be made out; but the legend, which occupies the lower $\frac{1}{3}$, is in very fair preservation and runs thus:—Váraka-maṇḍala-viṣayâdhikaraṇasya.

The language is Sanskrit, and the whole is in prose except the concluding verse of imprecation. The composition appears to be as good as that in plate A, if not better; but the opportunity of discovering peculiarities is small because so much is illegible.

A few instances of Prakrit nature appear here: thus, the plural instrumental is formed with *-bhi* in *pitṛbhi* (l. 25); *guṇavanta* (l. 12-13) stands either for a crude base or for a dative; and *pratipāditum* occurs for *pratipādayitum* as in plate B.

One new word, *vyāpāraṛdya* (l. 3) occurs if my reading is right, and is discussed in the General Remarks (p. 212). *Kulavāra* (l. 18) appears with a new meaning.

As regards orthography, peculiarities occur similar to those in plate A; thus *kṛyā* for *kriyā* (l. 3), and *vikk iyamānāni*, incorrectly (l. 17).

Letters compounded with *r* and *y* are doubled, as in *maryyādā catur-ddīnārikkya* (l. 16), etc., and when even initial as in *kkrītvā* (l. 20).

In two instances *svāmine* (l. 13, 20) has lost its final syllable, apparently by accident.

The transcript must not be taken as reproducing the orthography as it was originally, because the vowel marks have often suffered more than the consonants, and the latter without the former can only be now transcribed as possessing simply the inherent *a*; thus, for instance, *sagottra* (l. 14) was no doubt *sagottrā* originally, and *Kaṇa* (l. 13) most probably *Kāṇva*. Such defects are not real errors.

This plate bears as its date only the 19th regnal year of the Emperor Gopacandra.

Its object was to bestow, as a private meritorious gift, about one acre[22] of cultivated land, apparently in village Dhruvilāṭī (the same as in plate A) on a Kāṇva-Lauhitya (?) brahman named Bhaṭṭa Gomidatta-svāmin. The donor was Vatsapāla-svāmin (apparently a brahman) who was a kind of customs officer (see General Remarks p. 212), and he bought the land from some Bhāradvāja brahmans (l. 14) at the established rate. The price is not stated but must have been about 4 dīnāras. He then conveyed it to Gomidatta.

Text.

First Side.

1 Svasty=Asyām=pṛthivyām=apratirat*he* *Yayāty-A*mvar*īṣa-sama-dhṛtau* *ma*hā-
2 rājâdhirāja-Śrī-Gopacandra*-bhaṭṭāraka-rājye .. ..[23] la*bdh-âspa-*
3 *da*sya Navy-Âvakāśikāyāṁ mahā-prati[hāra-vyā]*pāraṇḍya-dhṛ*ta-mūla-ku-[24]
4 y-âmātya[25]-Uparika-Nāga*devasy=â*dhyāsana-*kāp*e[26] Vāruka-ma*ṇḍa*la-viṣaya-
5 vyāpārāya viniyukta-Vatsapāla-[svāmi]nā[27] .. ṣṭha[28] [vya]vahara-
6 tā[29] jyeṣṭha-kāyastha-Nayasena-pra*mukham=a*[dhika]*ra*ṇa .. ..[30]
7 ttara-viṣaya-kuṇḍa-pa .. .. ha .. .. .. Gho-
8 ṣacandr=Ânācāra-Rā*jya* .. .. la .. .. va*ha* .. maha-
9 ttarā[ḥ*] pradhāna[31] -vyāp[āriṇaḥ ?] .. .. *ya* .. .. ra .. .. .. mana-
10 sā yathârha[ṁ vijñāptāḥ *I*] *I*[ccheyaṁ] bhavat*āṁ* *pras*[ādād] .. .. *mahā-ko-*
11 ṭṭika*nā*ma .. .. *pa* .. .. *tta* .. .. *dbhyo* kṣettra-kulya-
12 vāp-aikaṁ yath-âr*gheṇ=opakkr*iya mā*tā-pi*ttro[r=ā]*tmanaś=ca*[32] puṇy-âbhivṛddhaye [gu-]
13 ṇavanta[33]-Kaṇa-*Va*jasinaya-[*Lau*]*hattya*[34]-[bha]ṭṭa[35]-Go*mi*datta-svāmi[36] pra-
14 *tipādituṁ*[37] Ta*d=a*rha[tha] *Bha*radvājā sagottra[38] *bha*vanto ['*]smatto mūlyam=ādā-
15 ya .. .. dhainamasa[39] .. .. ṅkatamata[40] [yata etad=a]*bhya*[rthanam=adhikkṛ-]

Second Side.

16 [ty]=âgamyamānā prāk-pravṛ*tti*-maryyādā catur-*ddīnā*[ri]*kkya-kulya*-vāp*e*na[41] [kṣettrā-]
17 ṇi vikkrīyamānān=îti pustapāla-[Na]ya*bhū*tis[42]=tra[43]-*sthā*l-âvadhāraṇa-
18 y=âvadhṛtya viṣay-âdhikaraṇen=âdhikaraṇaka-*jva*na[44]-kulavārān=prakalpya pra-
19 tīta-dharmmaśīla-Śivacandra-hast-âṣṭaka-navaka-nalen=âpaviñchya Vatsapāla-
20 svāmi[45] kṣettra-kulya-vāp-aikam=vikkrītaṁ.Anen=âpi kkrītvā bhaṭṭa-Gomidatta-svāmi-
21 ne puttra-pauttra-krameṇa vidhinā pratipāditaṁ Sīmā-liṅgāni c=âttra
22 pūrvvasyāṁ Dhruvilāty-agrahāra-sīmā dakṣiṇasyāṁ Karaṅka[ḥ*]
23 paścimasyāṁ Śīlakuṇḍa-grāma-sīmā uttarasyāṁ Karaṅka-sī-
24 mā Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā yo hareta vasundharāṁ
25 Samvat 19 śva-viṣṭhāyā[ṁ*] kṛmir=bhūtvā pitṛbhi[ḥ*] saha pacyate

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[22] See General Remarks, p. 216.

* The akṣara *Go* is quite plain in the original plate, though it does not come out clearly in the reproduction.

[23] These letters are illegible, but should be equivalent to *tat-prasāda* in plate A, l. 2, or *tad-anumodanā* in plate B, line 3.

[24] It might perhaps be read *kṛ*, which is no doubt right. *Kriyā* is written *kryā* in plate A, l. 14.

[25] The *mā* was omitted and was added by insertion beneath. [26] Read *kāle*. [27] See lines 19 and 20.

[28] Or perhaps *sya*. Compare plate B, l. 6, note 7. The reading should probably be *tasya*.

[29] Read *vyavaharato*. Compare plate B, l. 6.

[30] The last two akṣaras should probably be *maha-*, but so much as appears on the plate hardly agrees therewith.

[31] The akṣara *dhā* approximates to *pā* but agrees with *dhā* in l. 17. [32] Compare plate B, l. 10.

[33] Read *guṇavat* as in plate B, l. 10, or *guṇavate* separately.

[34] Read *Kāṇva-rājasaneya-lauhitya*; compare plate B, l. 10-11. [35] See l. 20. [36] Read *svāmine*.

[37] The same error as in plate B, l. 11, 12. Read *pratipādayitum*.

[38] Read *sagotrā*, agreeing with *bhavanto*. [39] Instead of *dhai*, we might perhaps read *pai*.

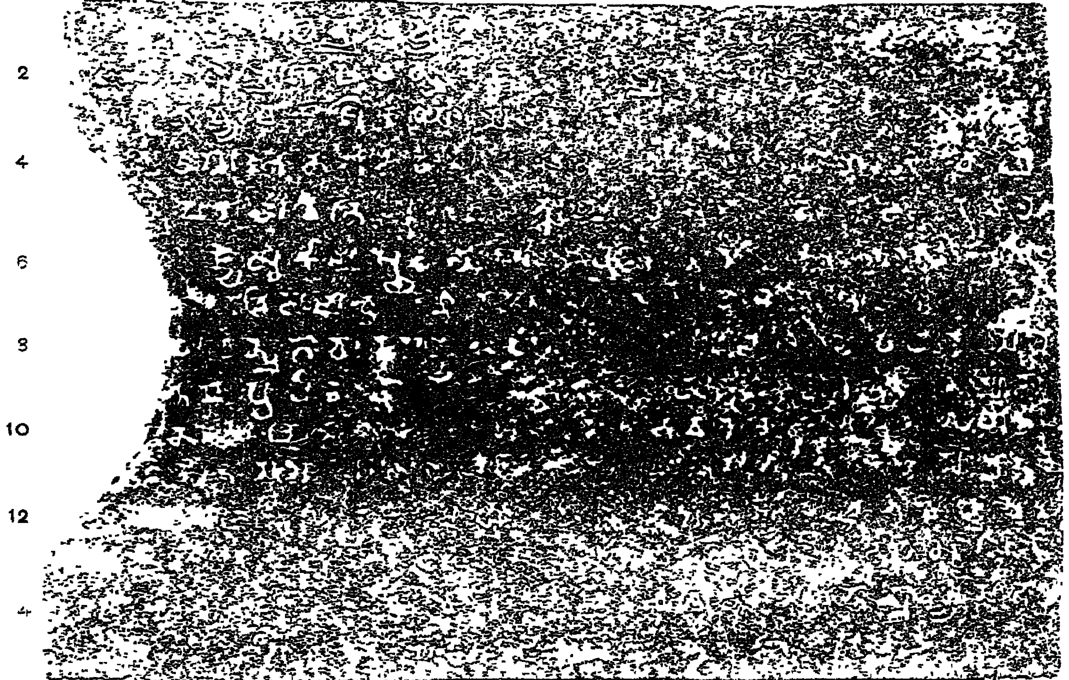
[40] Read perhaps *aṁśam aṅk.tum iti*, the vowel marks being lost. The rest of this line is so much blurred that only two or three letters can be distinguished with any certainty. Its purport must have been to the effect indicated by the akṣaras suggested, which are compatible with so much of the letters as remains.

[41] The *pa* appears to be inserted above and between *vā* and *na*. [42] Read *bhūtes*. [43] Read *tri*?

[44] *Jva* might be read as *śu*; but read probably *jana*. [45] Read *svāmine*; the termination is omitted as in l. 13.

C.—Grant of the time of Go[illegible].—The year 19.

Front.



Back.



J. F. FLEET.

SCALE ·8

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TRANSLATION.

Seal.

[The seal] of the government of a district in **the province of Vāraka.**

Plate.

Welfare. During the sovereignty of the supreme king of great kings, Śrī **Gopacandra,** the Emperor, which *sovereignty* is without an adversary on this earth, *and* is equal in steadfastness to Yayāti and Ambarīṣa—in the time of the reigning of the Uparika Nāgadeva, chief warden of the gate and the minister entrusted with the principal business of regulating trade in **New Avakāśikā**[46], who (Nāgadeva) gained his dignity [through the favour of that *Gopacandra*]—while he is administering affairs, Vatsapāla-svāmin, who is appointed over trade in *this* district in the province of **Vāruka,** becomingly [apprised] *both* the *district* government, wherein the oldest kāyastha Nayasena is the chief, *and also* the leading men. . . . . [foremost among whom are] the leading men Viṣayakuṇḍa(?), ... Ghoṣacandra, Anācāra, Rājya- . . . . and *also* the principal [traders (?)] . . . . with [respectful?] mind, thus—"[I would wish] through your honour's favour to buy at the proper price about so much cultivated land as can be sown with a kulya *of seed*[47] from . . . . Mahā-koṭṭika (?), Nāma- . . . . and, in order to augment the merit of my mother and father and mine own *merit*, to bestow it on the virtuous Bhaṭṭa Gomidatta-svāmin, who is of the lineage of Kaṇva (?), is a Vājasaneya and is a Lauhitya: therefore let your honours, who are of the family of Bharadvāja deign to take the price from me and to mark off a portion (?) [of about a kulya-sowing *area* of cultivated land"(?)].

Wherefore we [giving heed to this request] have—because the rule established regarding practical affairs in the eastern region is being *now* acknowledged[48] *here, namely,* that cultivated lands are sold at the *rate of the* sum of four dīnāras for the area that can be sown with a kulya *of seed*[47]—determined *the land* by the record-keeper [Na]yabhūti's determination in three places (?) and have constituted as referees (or arbitrators)[49], the government officials together with the government (administrator) of *this* district, and have severed it off according to *the standard measure of* eight reeds *in breadth* and nine reeds *in length*[50] by the hand of trusty and upright Śivacandra and have sold about one kulya-sowing *area* of cultivated land to Vatsapāla-svāmin. He has bought it and bestowed it on Bhaṭṭa Gomidatta-svāmin with the right of succession to son and grandson.

And the boundary-indications *are* here *stated.* On the east, the boundary of the royal grant to brahmans[51] in **Dhruvilāṭī** village; on the south, Karaṅka; on the west, the boundary of **Śīlakuṇḍa** village[52]; on the north, the boundary of Karaṅka.

Whoever confiscates land that has been granted away by himself or granted away by another, he becoming a worm in a dog's ordure, rots along with his ancestors.

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46 See General Remarks, p. 210 *infra.*

47 See General Remarks, p. 214 *infra.*

48 *Āgamyamānā.* *Ā-gam* means "to attain, have recourse to."

49 The word *kulavārān* occurs also in the fourth plate (see p. 193)—thus, *Karaṇika-Nayanāga-Keśav-ādīn=kulavārān=prakalpya,* "having made the karaṇika (official?) Nayanāga, Keśava and others the kulavāras." As Government officials are clearly mentioned in this plate and apparently so in the fourth plate, *kulavāra* would seem to mean a referee or arbitrator or umpire, to whom reference could be made in case of disagreement. This is a new meaning of the word, and it may perhaps be explained as = *kula-vara,* "a choice man of good family."

50 See General Remarks, p. 215 *infra.*

51 *Agrahāra.*

52 Śīlakuṇḍa village must be distinguished from Śīlakuṇḍa in plate A, l. 24; see note thereto.

AGE OF THE PLATES.

Plate A is dated in the third year of the Emperor Dharmāditya, and plate B, though undated, belongs to his reign. Plate C is dated in the nineteenth year of the Emperor Gopacandra. The Uparika Nāgadeva governed the *maṇḍala* or province, and Nayasena was the chief administrator of the *viṣaya* or district in both plates B and C, but Sthāṇudatta ruled the *maṇḍala* and Jajāva the *viṣaya* in plate A. Hence it is clear that plates B and C stand together and plate A stands apart. If then Dharmāditya reigned before Gopacandra, the order of the plates must be A the oldest, B next and C latest; but if Gopacandra preceded, the order must be C, B, A.

It may also be noted that Anācāra and Ghoṣacandra were mahattaras in plates A and C (many other names in plate C being illegible), and Śivacandra was land-measurer in all three plates. With a certain amount of similarity there is however far more diversity, and Anācāra and Ghoṣacandra are named in different order in plates A and C. There can be no doubt that the same persons are meant by the same names in the plates, for it is hardly possible that so many different persons of the same names could have occupied the same positions on these different occasions in the same locality,[53] and there is no indication that any of the plates are forgeries. Since the oldest and the latest plates must be A and C, it follows that all the plates were executed within the lifetime of three persons, Anācāra, Ghoṣacandra and Śivacandra.

The question, which of the orders, A, B and C, or C, B and A, is the right one is solved in two ways, first, by the use of the various signs for the letter *y*, and secondly by the references to the land-measurer Śivacandra.

Two forms of the letter *y* are found in plate A, [glyph 1] and [glyph 2]. They occur uncompounded 25 times clearly; and [glyph 1] is used in 15 of those instances and [glyph 2] in 10. It may be noted that initial *ya* in the 4 places where it occurs[54] is written with [glyph 1], and initial *yo* in the single place where it is found (l. 25) is written with [glyph 2]. No particular choice is apparent as regards medial *y*, except that *yi* in the 2 places where it occurs (l. 8 and 19) is written with [glyph 2].

In plate B the same two forms are found and occur uncompounded 23 times legibly, but the second form [glyph 2] is preferred, for it is used 13 times clearly and 3 times probably, while [glyph 1] occurs only 3 times clearly and 4 probably.[55] It may be noted that initial *ya* (l. 1, and probably 6 and 16) is written as before with [glyph 1], and initial *yo* (l. 26) with [glyph 2]. As regards medial *y*, the form [glyph 1] is confined to *ya* and *yā* and probably to one case of *yu*, while [glyph 2] appears to be used with any vowel.

In plate C we have the same two forms and a new form [glyph 3]. This plate is so much corroded that the instances in which the forms can be unmistakably distinguished are only 11; of these [glyph 2] is used in only 3 places,[56] while [glyph 3] is used in 8.[57] In 2 other places [glyph 3] seems to be used,[58] and in 5 others the form is probably [glyph 2] or [glyph 1], but in no instance does [glyph 1] appear for certain.

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[53] See the remarks about the situation of the grants, p. 216 *infra*.

[54] L. 1, *Yayāty*; l. 9, *yataḥ*; l. 14, *yathā*; l. 18, *yavat*.

[55] Clearly, l. 1, *Yayāty* (bis); l. 3, *kāśikāyāṁ*. Probably, l. 5, *visaya*; l. 6, *yato*; l. 13, *kriyamāṇaka*; l. 16 *vāptrayu*.

[56] L. 3, °*kāśikāyāṁ*; l. 5, *vyāpārāya*; l. 6, *Nayasena*.

[57] L. 6, *kāyastha*; l. 7, *viṣaya*; l. 17, *vikkrīyamānāni* and [*Na*]*yabhūti*; l. 18, °*yâvadhṛtya* and *viṣaya*; l. 42, *yo*; l. 25 *viṣṭhāyā*.

[58] L. 12, °*vṛddhaye*; l. 13, *vajasinaya*.

Hence it appears that the form [illegible] which is commonest in plate A yields the chief place to the form [illegible] in plate B, and almost, if not quite, disappears in plate C; and in plate C, though [illegible] persisted, the form [illegible] decidedly predominates over it. Dr. Hoernle has shown[59] that [illegible] and [illegible] are the oldest forms and [illegible] the latest; and it seems to me that the form [illegible] is an intermediate modification of [illegible]. The various shapes of these letters in these plates and in the fourth plate (when it is published) will show readily how the earliest passed through the intermediate forms into the latest form. It follows, therefore, that plate A is the oldest, plate B the second and C the latest ; and also that the new form [illegible] was introduced in the short time that elapsed between plates B and C.

Coming to the second criterion we find a noteworthy difference in the way in which the land-measurer Śivacandra is mentioned. In plate A, he is referred to by his bare name (line 15,) but in plate C, he is styled *pratīta-dharmaśīla*, "trusty and upright" (l. 18-19) and in plate B he is certainly styled *dharmaśīla* (l. 19) and also *pratīta* if my reading is right (l. 18). These epithets are put into the mouths of the local folk and could have been given him only after he had earned their high opinion by long and upright service; hence he must have been an old man when plates B and C were granted, and a young man with his reputation to make when plate A was executed. It follows, therefore, that the order of the plates is A, B and C.

Both these lines of argument, therefore, make it clear that **plate A is the oldest, plate B next, and plate C is the latest.**

The personal references in these plates afford further valuable information towards fixing the interval of time within which these plates were executed and towards computing the length of Dharmāditya's reign.

Śivacandra could not well have obtained his office before he was about 18 years old, and could not well have performed its duties much beyond 70 years of age, indeed 70 years mean a very advanced age for active work among the people of the delta. Hence it is hardly possible that his total period of service could have been more than 55 years. At any rate, if we confine our attention to these plates and leave out of consideration any margin of service before the first plate and after the last, it may be concluded with reasonable certainty that his period of service between plates A and C could not have exceeded 55 years. This is an extreme estimate. The period may have been shorter, even considerably shorter, and in fact 40 or 45 years are more probable ; still 55 years may be taken as the maximum interval possible between plates A and C.

These remarks equally affect the two mahattaras Anācāra and Ghoṣacandra, who witnessed the first and last grants. The longer the period between these grants, the younger must their ages have been at the time of the first, and they were mahattaras or leading men even then. This consideration also suggests that 40 or 45 years would be a more probable interval, though one of 55 years is not impossible.

From Dharmāditya's third year, then, to Gopacandra's nineteenth year we have a maximum possible interval of 55 years, that is, a maximum possible length of 40 years for Dharmāditya's reign.

Further, since plates B and C belong to the period of Śivacandra's mature service, and plate A to his youth, it is a reasonable inference that the interval between A and B is greater than that between B and C. This is corroborated by the reference to Nayasena, the chief of the adhikaraṇa in B and C. In both he is styled the oldest kāyastha. As C is dated in Gopacandra's nineteenth year, and B belongs to some unknown time in Dharmāditya's reign, it is clear there was an interval of at least 18 or 19 years between them, and it could not well have been much longer, because

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[59] Note on the Date of the Bower MS., *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, 1892, p. 29.

Nayasena could hardly have occupied the position of oldest kāyastha in the administration much more than 18 years. We obtain, therefore, a minimum possible interval between plates B and C of 18 years, and the maximum could not be much greater. Plate B must therefore, in all probability, date from the closing years of Dharmāditya's reign ; and it is impossible that any reign could have intervened between him and Gopacandra unless it were very brief.

The conclusions, therefore, as regards **the relative order of the plates,** to which these considerations lead are these :—

1. Dharmāditya had a maximum possible reign of 40 years, and its probable duration was some years shorter (at least in this province).

2. Plate A was executed in his third year, and B in the closing years of his reign.

3. Gopacandra succeeded him, with no one intervening unless it was for a very short interval.

4. Plate C was executed in his nineteenth year.

5. The new form of the letter y [illegible] came into use in this part of Bengal during the period comprising the last years of Dharmāditya and the first 19 of Gopacandra, that is, within a period of some 20 years or not much more.

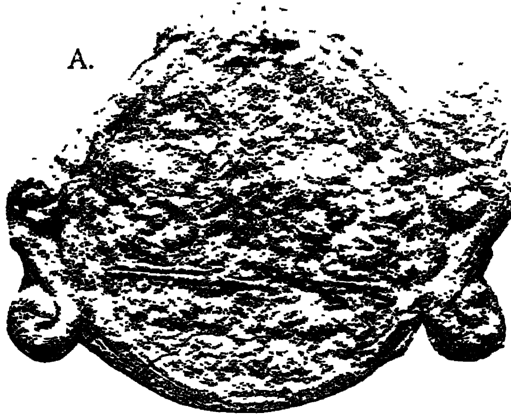
As regards **the approximate date** of these plates, Dr. Hoernle has very kindly given me his opinion. He has made a special study of the period to which these grants belong, and his opinion is far superior to any that I can offer.

From the graphic evidence of these inscriptions (which has been noticed above) and of the Bower MS. and other inscriptions, Dr. Hoernle assigns these three plates to the **sixth century A.D.** The full discussion of all that evidence will be published by him in his forthcoming Introduction to the Bower MS. and in a separate article in which he proposes to consider the chronology of these three grants. He thinks that the Emperor **Dharmāditya** is the Emperor **Yaśodharman,** who took the title Viṣṇuvardhana when he became emperor, and who was apparently known popularly as Vikramāditya. He was reverenced as an ideally upright and just monarch, and may well, therefore, have been popularly known as Dharmāditya also. He conducted a successful *dig-vijaya* or conquest of India during the four years A.D. 525-529 and established his supremacy in 529-30. It is presumably from that year that we should reckon his acknowledged reign, at least in the extreme eastern portion of his realm where these grants were made, because he had to acquire both the title of emperor and also that of Dharmāditya in this outlying province. That is therefore the basal date in calculating the dates of these plates. His third year then would have been **A.D. 531**, and that is the date of the first grant A. According to the above conclusions his reign would have ended in A.D. 568, and the second plate B, which was executed in the closing years of his reign, may be dated about 567. **Gopacandra** would have succeeded in **A.D. 568**, and his nineteenth year would have been 586 ; and this would be the date of the third plate C. These dates allow the maximum interval of 55 years between the first and the third grants. If the interval was less, the date of plate A would remain A.D. 531, and dates of B and C would be shifted earlier so as to suit the interval adopted.

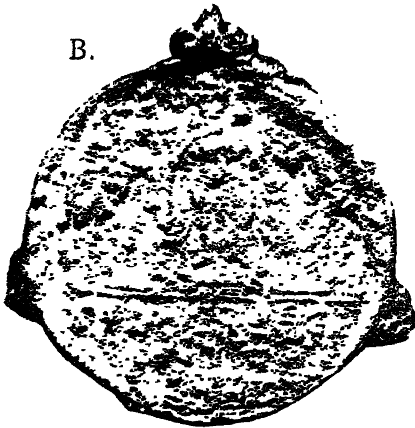
Dr. Hoernle is further inclined to identify the Emperor **Gopacandra** with Prince Govicandra (= Gopicandra), who is mentioned in a certain confused tradition cited by Tārānāth in his Thibetan History of Buddhism in India. That tradition seems to suggest that Govicandra was a grandson of Bālāditya and was son of the last Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta II, whom Yaśodharman displaced. If this identification is permissible, it can be readily seen why Govicandra *alias* Gopacandra should, while reigning (it might be) only over this extreme eastern province, take the title of emperor given him in plate C ; he would have been simply asserting his right to the title held by his ancestors, the Gupta Emperors.

Seals.

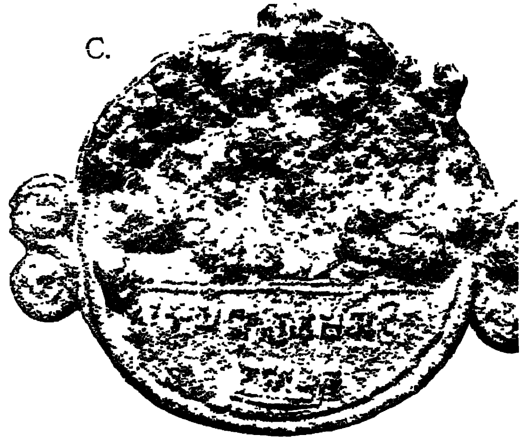
A.



B.



C.



SCALE ·8

W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., COLLOTYP

It may be further suggested, Dr. Hoernle thinks, that the termination assigned above to Dharmāditya's reign, namely A.D. 568, need not mean that he died then, but would imply simply that his sovereignty in this extreme eastern province came to an end then, while he may have continued to reign over the remainder of his territories. Yaśodharman's wide empire began to break up towards the close of his reign, and the outlying provinces would naturally have been lost first. Gopacandra may thus have wrested this eastern province from the empire, and established his independent sway over it many years before the time when Yaśodharman *alias* Dharmāditya actually died.

GENERAL REMARKS.

Topography.

The first point that calls for notice is the *maṇḍala* or **province** in which these grants were made. It is clearly named **Vāraka** in plates A and B [60] and in the seals attached to all the plates, and reads **Vāruka** in plate C. **Vāraka** was no doubt the correct name. This is an entirely new name of which nothing was known before, and it has left no modern representative. Perhaps it may be connected with the modern **Barind**, that is, **Barendra**, Sanskrit **Varendra**, which denotes a tract of high ground of stiff red clay lying east and west across the middle of North Bengal. Varendra, which literally means "lord of Vara," no doubt signified the "noblest portion of Vara," because at the present day in North Bengal the words *barindra* and *barind* denote also (1) high ground not submerged in the floods during the rainy season, and (2) main land, as distinguished from alluvial formations. What *vara* (or perhaps *vāra*) meant it is difficult to say, because it is probably an indigenous word Sanskritized. Presumably it denoted some kind of country, perhaps all the alluvial lands and islands of the Ganges delta; see the remarks below. *Vāraka*, as a natural derivative from it, might easily have been given as the name to the province comprising all those lands and islands. If this were so, *Varendra* would have appropriately denoted the high tract bounding the *vara* on the north.

The main stream of the Ganges, which now joins the Brahmaputra, the ancient Lohita, at the north of the Faridpur District, where these grants were found, must at that time have been rather one of the large streams in the western or middle part of the delta. In those days the Brahmaputra, after leaving Assam, turned eastward under the Garo hills, passed round east of Dacca, and so found its way into the sea; and its mouth must have been practically the same as at present, namely, the Meghna. There would thus have been a large region between the main stream (or streams) of the Ganges on the west, the Brahmaputra on the east, and the sea on the south; its northern limit was probably the Barind. That region no doubt constituted the *maṇḍala* or **province of Vāraka.**[61]

The province thus consisted of the delta formed by the Ganges and the River Karatoyā (the modern Kurattee) and other rivers from North Bengal. At the present time the delta has been largely filled up with the immense quantities of earth washed down by all those rivers and also by the Brahmaputra, and many of the rivers themselves have become narrowed and much blocked with silt. But at the time of these grants, they must have been wider and more powerful streams, and must in the southerly part of their courses have been estuaries rather than ordinary rivers. The southern belt of the delta was no doubt then, just as now, covered with dense forest more or less swampy.

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[60] So also in the fourth plate (see p. 193).

[61] It agrees no doubt with the region Samataṭa in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 501.

The delta has also been growing southward into the Bay of Bengal with the alluvium brought down. What the rate of increase is is not known, but thirteen centuries have made some difference. At the time of these grants, therefore, the sea must have been appreciably nearer, if not so much in actual distance, yet certainly in accessibility ; and the tide, which now flows some 80 miles up the Hugli, must have penetrated well up into the province through all the large estuaries and rivers of that time. The rivers were interlaced with a network of small streams, many of which can be traced at the present day. Thus the whole region consisted of islands of all degrees of separation. This is borne witness to by Kālidāsa, who was practically a contemporary of these grants. When mentioning this country in the Raghuvaṁśa he speaks of it as consisting most noticeably of islands amid the streams of the Ganges, *Gaṅgā-sroto-'ntareṣu* (IV. 36).

In such a country boats were indispensable, and the business of life could not have gone on without them. Kālidāsa noticed this also for he describes the people as *nau-sādhanodyatān* (*ibid.*), and Mallinātha explains this as *naubhiḥ sādhanair udyatān sannaddhān,* which means that they used boats for all the business of life including war and were expert in all nautical resources. In such large rivers widening into tidal estuaries ordinary boats alone would not have been enough, and they must have had large boats or rather small ships as well, as indeed they have at the present day. [62]

Government.

The plates show that the province of Vāraka was governed as a local kingdom under the supreme monarch or emperor, who is called *mahārājādhirāja*, *bhaṭṭāraka* and *parama-bhaṭṭāraka.* In plate A the local ruler was the mahārāja Sthāṇudatta. In plates B and C no such king is mentioned, but we have instead the Uparika Nāgadeva governing the province. He is styled *mahā-pratīhāra*, "chief warden of the gate," and this designation is amplified in plate C by the explanation that he was some kind of chief minister, *mūla-kriyāmātya* (which will be considered further on) ; so that Nāgadeva was not a mahārāja by title, but rather a great officer who had been appointed to the position formerly held by Sthāṇudatta. Evidently, therefore, some change or re-construction had taken place in the provincial government.

Navyāvakāśikāyām seems obviously composed of *navya* + *avakāśikā*. I felt inclined to take it as the name of a town, the provincial capital, "New Avakāśikā," but Dr. Hoernle suggested it might mean "during the new or recent interval," and refer to some kind of interregnum. It hardly looks like the name of a town, nor does it seem possible to resolve the compound so as to make it mean a second Kāśī (Benares). It seemed, therefore, that his suggestion must be right.

This expression is used in plate B during Dharmāditya's sovereignty, and in plate C during Gopacandra's sovereignty ; hence the idea of an interval can hardly refer to the supreme sovereignty. On both occasions the Uparika Nāgadeva was governing the Vāraka province and the word cannot refer to his rule. But, as already mentioned, while plate A makes the mahārāja Sthāṇudatta lord of the province, plates B and C place the chief minister, the Uparika, in that position. It seemed natural then to conjecture that Sthāṇudatta had died, the then mahārāja was a child (or his kingdom was in abeyance) and the minister had been appointed to govern the province during the interval. This explanation appeared to satisfy all the conditions of both position and time.

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[62] See note to *nāvātā-kṣeṇī* on p. 198 above.

But the fourth plate (see p. 193) militates against this view. It states that Samācāradeva is the supreme monarch and adds that Jīvadatta who is the chief officer appointed over Suvarṇa-vauthya is the Uparika in Navyâvakāśikā, which he obtained through paying court to Samācāradeva, and under him Pavitraka is the ruler of the district in Vāraka province.[63] The context here seems incompatible with treating *navyâvakāśikā* as anything but a place. Moreover that grant is dated in Samācāradeva's fourteenth year so that it must be at least 14 years later than plate C,[64] and the expression " the new (or recent) interval " can hardly be applied to a period not less, and probably considerably more, than 32 years. *Navyâvakāśikā* must therefore mean a town, " **the New Avakāśika,**" which would be **the capital of the Vāraka province.** It is true we know of no such town,[65] but neither did we know before of the province Vāraka, which these plates (and also the fourth plate) make quite clear. The province must have had some capital.

The *maṇḍala* was, as appears from these plates, divided into a number of *viṣayas* or districts and these were under local administration which is styled *adhikaraṇa*. The district was either under a single *viṣayapati*, "lord of the district," as in plate A (l. 3); or was managed by a Board of Officials, of whom one was *pramukha*, "chief," as in plates B (l. 7) and C (l. 6).[66] No name is given to this district in these grants, but as this region consisted largely of islands as already mentioned, it is very probable that the viṣayas were islands.

It may be noticed that the *pramukha* in both these plates was a *kāyastha*, in fact the same person Nayasena, who was the *jyeṣṭha* or oldest kāyastha. Is this the earliest instance of the mention of this caste ?

Officials.

Under the district *adhikaraṇa* were subordinate officials or persons, of whom the following are mentioned, (1) the *Sādhanika*, (2) the officer who looked after the *vyāpāra*, (3) the *mahattaras*, (4) the *pustapāla*, and (5) the land-measurer. These will be considered in order.

The word **sādhanika** does not occur in the dictionaries. It is a noun of agency formed from *sādhana*, and would seem to mean a person who transacts any kind of business or who carries any matter through. In plate A it seems to denote some agent, attorney or factotum, and he was no doubt appointed by the lord of the district to transact business generally on his behalf. The comparison made further on between him and the *vyāpāra* officials points in that direction. It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that Kālidasa uses this very word *sādhana* with reference to this very region in the Raghuvaṁśa, where he speaks of the people as *nau-sādhanodyata*, which has been noticed already.

The position of the **vyāpāra** officials depends on the meaning of the terms used, namely, *vyāpāra-kāraṇḍaya* in plate B (l. 5), and in plate C *vyāpāraṇḍya* (as I read it, l. 3), and *vyāpāraya viniyukta* (l. 5); and perhaps there is a third reference in *pradhāna vyāp[āriṇaḥ....?*] in the same plate (l. 9).

Vyāpāra in ordinary Sanskrit means " occupation, business, trade or profession," with reference to persons, but here it certainly seems to have the more special meaning of " trade, traffic, commerce," with reference to merchandize. It has this special meaning in Bengāli, where *bepārī* (Skt. *vyāpārin*) means " merchant, trader," and more particularly " a trader who carries his goods about to different marts, an itinerant trader."

[63] Etac = caraṇa-karala-yugal-ârādhan-opātta-navyâvakāśikāyāṁ Suvarṇṇa-vauthy-âdhikṛt-ântar-âṅga-Uparika-Jivadattas. For *karala* read *kamola*, and probably *°kṛtottarâṅga* for *°kṛtântarâṅga*. Of *vauthya* I cannot make any sense, but with *Suvarṇa-vauthya* compare *Kiraṇa-Suvarṇa* in Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 504.

[64] The new form of the letter *y* (see p. 203) occurs in this plate.

[65] I cannot suggest any identification of it.

[66] So also in the fourth plate.

The word **kāraṇḍaya** is not given in the dictionaries. It seems to be formed from *kāraṇḍa*, which would be a noun of agency formed from the root *kṛ* or the word *kāra* with the termination *aṇḍa*. This termination is mentioned by Whitney (Grammar § 1201) as a very rare one for which no authority can be cited in literary Sanskrit. *Kāraṇḍa* would, therefore, mean apparently "one who manages, directs or regulates." *Kāraṇḍya* would be a noun formed correctly from it to mean "the business of managing," or "the duty of directing," or "the office of regulating." *Kāraṇḍaya*, the word used, might either be a secondary form of *kāraṇḍa* or an inaccurate form of *kāraṇḍya*; and the former seems more probable from its position and context. It seems fairly certain that *vyāpāra-kāraṇḍaya* must mean "one who has to regulate trade."

Vyāpāraṇḍya (if the reading is correct) would be a word of precisely similar formation from the root *vyā-pṛ* or the word *vyāpāra*. *Vyāpāraṇḍa* would mean "one who manages trade," and *vyāpāraṇḍya*, "the business of managing trade."

The two words *vyāpāra-kāraṇḍaya* and *vyāpāraṇḍya* therefore refer to the same thing, and show that there was an official who was charged with the duty of looking after trade, a minister of commerce in fact: and this is clearly what the third expression *vyāpārāya viniyukta* implies. The fourth phrase *pradhāna-vyāp[āriṇaḥ ..?]* seems to refer rather to the principal traders or merchants.

The large rivers in this province and the proximity of the Orissa and Chittagong Coasts afforded great facilities for riverine and coastal trade, and the people were largely occupied in boating and shipping as already mentioned. There can be little doubt that they engaged in shipping. Trade must have been very brisk in the province, and such a department of commerce must have been a most important source of revenue. Its duties would have been to levy customs-dues on foreign trade and octroi on internal trade; and it would no doubt have been expected to look after harbours and marts in order to maintain trade, and probably to exercise some kind of maritime jurisdiction. It must have been a most lucrative office. At the date of the latest of these grants, plate C the Uparika himself had charge of this department.

The management of the department obviously required that there should be one or more officials in each *viṣaya* or district, local customs officers in fact; and the descriptions of Vasudeva and Vatsapāla in plates B and C shew that such was the arrangement. The former is styled *viṣayādhiniyuktaka-vyāpāra-kāraṇḍaya*, and so appears to have been the chief Customs Officer in this district. The latter is described as *viṣaya-vyāpārāya viniyukta*, and was presumably a subordinate officer. Both of them were brahmans. These offices must have been very lucrative, and both these men might well afford to make these grants.

The Sādhanika was clearly a person of higher authority than the officer who looked after the *vyāpāra*, as appears from the following reasons:—

The Sādhanika was the donor in plate A; the donors in plates B and C were *vyāpāra* officers. The latter made their application for the purchase of the land to the adhikaraṇa and the mahattaras, and so the seal of the adhikaraṇa was affixed to the grants; the former addressed the mahattaras directly and yet got the seal affixed to his grant.

The donor in plate B proceeded respectfully (*sādaram*), worded his proposal deferentially by using the form *iccheyam*, and explained fully the merits of his purpose. The donor in plate C acted similarly, so far as the text can be made out. But the Sādhanika communicated his proposal in a manner rather curt and imperative. He spoke plainly (*icchāmi*), emphasizing his wish by adding the pronoun *aham*, and stated his purpose without going into particulars. The others asked for the land as a favour (*bhavatām prasādāt*); he rather demanded it (*bhavatāṁ sakāśāt*). Their object was simply to augment their parents' merit and their own (*abhivṛddhaye*), as any private person might;

his was (besides benefitting his parents who were apparently dead) the aim of a person of position to establish the fame of his own merit (*kīrtti-saṃsthāpana*), the accomplishment of which followed naturally on the intention (l. 14).

The mahattaras were the men of position in the villages, the leading men.[67] The word occurs in the *Daśakumāra-carita*, where Vikaṭavarman, king of Videha, when disclosing his secret machinations to Upahāravarman, speaks of a *janapada-mahattara* as being his confidential agent (Part II, ucchvāsa 3, Upahāravarman's story). Some may have reached this position by ability and age, but some no doubt were such by inheriting wealth, for Anācāra and Ghoṣa-candra, who were mahattaras in both plates A and C, must, as explained above in the discussion of the age of the plates, have been quite young men at the time of plate A and could hardly have had any claim to such a status except on the ground of their wealth. A man born to a position is not ordinarily known by his son's name, so that Arjuna-bappa, "Arjuna's father," in plate A, had probably reached his position by age.

The mahattaras were no doubt of different castes also, as the variety and character of their names suggest. Kulasvāmin in plate A was probably a brahman, as in the other cases where a name ends in *svāmin*. As parts of other names may be noticed *Caṭṭa* (plate A) and *Ghoṣa* (plates A, B and C). Caṭṭopādhyāya (Chatterji) and Ghoṣa (Ghosh or Ghose) are common surnames now, the former among brahmans, and the latter among kāyasthas. Vṛhaccaṭṭa would mean either "big Caṭṭa" (from his size), or the "elder Caṭṭa" or even "great Caṭṭa" (from his status) as distinguished from some other Caṭṭa: the word *baṛa* "great" is used in these senses at the present day. Kuṇḍalipta (plate A) and Viṣayakuṇḍa (plate C) appear to be (partially, at least) indigenous names and not of Aryan origin.

The pustapāla or keeper of the records may have been a village official or an official of the *viṣaya*. The allusions suggest that he was subordinate to the mahattaras and therefore a village official. If he were a district official, they would have had to make some application to him at head-quarters to examine his records and give them information, but in all the plates they speak of him as carrying out the investigation on their behalf and seemingly under their order, so that his determination was their act.

What he had to ascertain was no doubt the title to the land; for that was all that could be learnt from the records, unless we add the area and quality of the lands. It appears, therefore, that lands must have been held in private ownership and not always in joint village right, that records of all such information were kept by an official, and the title to land was ascertained through him when any transfer of (at least) a public or semi-public kind took place.

No designation is given to the man who measured and divided off the land which was the subject of the transfer. But a special word is used to describe his work, namely, *apaviñchya*, the past indeclinable participle from the root *apa-viñch*. The root *viñch* is not given in the Dictionaries, and *vich* which is given has no meaning of dividing or severing. This root is no doubt to be connected with the root *vic*, "to divide, sever." *Vich* would be a natural modification of *vic*, if one may judge from modern linguistic tendencies, for *c* and *ch* are very little distinguished in East Bengal, and *ch* generally and *c* often have the sound *s* in those parts

[67] A common title for the head man of a village in East Bengal now is *mātabbar* or *mātabar*. This word also means "worthy of respect, eminent, principal." It is said to be a Mohammedan word and is generally derived from the Arabic معتبر *mu'tabar*, "trustworthy, reputable." As a *title*, however, it seems to me to be more probably a corruption of *mātar-bar*, that is, *mahattara-vara*, "the chief of the leading men." No doubt the Arabic word, however, has blended with this derivation to produce the present significance of the term.

now. The insertion of the nasal may be explained in two ways: (1) *vic* is conjugated in the 7th class with an inserted nasal, as *vinakti*, and the nasal might easily persist in this local variation; or (2) nasals are often inserted superfluously in East Bengal.

Tenure of land.

The references to the mahattaras and others seem to warrant certain inferences regarding the ownership and sale of land, in addition to what has been said above.

In plate B the owner who sold the land was the mahattara Thoḍa or Thoḍasa, and in plate C the owners were certain Bhāradvāja brahmans. In plate A no private owner is mentioned, but the collective body of mahattaras and common folk sold the land, so that the land must apparently have belonged jointly to all the villagers.[68] In these plates, then, we appear to have instances of **individual private ownership** in plate B, **joint-family ownership** in plate C and **joint village ownership** in plate A. The rights of private ownership, however, were subject to certain limitations as the procedure adopted in the transfer of the lands indicates.

The private owners did not sell their land direct to the purchaser, but he made his request to purchase to the leading men, and the transfer was arranged through them and effected by them. In every case the alienation of land was an act which took place before the leading men of the village. In fact, the alienation of land and the introduction of a new owner were evidently matters which concerned the whole village, and to which the consent of the village through its leading men was indispensable from beginning to end, although the land might belong to a private owner.

Price of land.

An interesting fact mentioned in all three plates is that there was an **established rule (maryādā) fixing the price** at which cultivated land was sold in this region. In plate A it is said to be a rule prevailing along the eastern sea, *prāk-samudra* (l. 10); in B it is expressed more generally as regulating the transaction of business in the east, *prāk-kriyamāṇaka* (l. 13), and so also in C, *prāk-pravṛtti* (l. 16). The region referred to was evidently the whole of the country bordering on the Bay of Bengal, for the word *prāk* is very wide and is not qualified by any territorial word, such as *viṣaya* or *maṇḍala*, and it is stated as a matter of course that the general rule held good in this district. The present Faridpur district, where presumably these grants were made, does not abut on the sea now and could not have done so at the time of these grants, but from the description of the delta given above the district must have been more closely connected with the sea then, and might well come under a rule prevailing along the eastern sea.

That rule was that the **kulya-vāpa**[69] **was priced at 4 dīnāras.** This phrase must, as Dr. Hoernle suggested to me, mean "so much land as is usually sown with a kulya of seed," and that would be of rice, for the only staple crop in lower Bengal is rice (paddy). This would not, however, mean that the seed was sown broadcast, because rice is not sown in that way in Bengal, except in land recently cleared of forest, where it is impossible to plough and prepare

[68] See note 58 on p. 197 above.

[69] The term *kulya-vāpa* suggests an explanation of the word *droṇ* which is the name of the largest land-measure current in the eastern districts of Bengal, namely, that it denoted originally the quantity of land which could be sown with a bucketful of seed. Its size, however, is now very much greater, for it contains 16 *kāṇis* (the *kāṇi* is noticed further on) and comprises many acres, and a bucketful of seed could never provide for that extent. Moreover the *kulya*=8 *droṇas* (Mon.-Will. Dict.), and yet the *kulya-vāpa* was much smaller than the modern *droṇ*, as will be explained; so that there has been an inversion of the application of these two terms.

the ground because the ground is full of tree roots. Rice is ordinarily sown in seed-plots, which are carefully prepared and tended, and the seedlings when of a large size are transplanted out into the fields. So better results are obtained, and a larger area can be effectually planted. This was the practice at the time of these grants also, because Kālidāsa uses it as a simile in describing Raghu's conquest of the Vaṅgas: he says Raghu uprooted and replanted them (*utkhāta-pratiropita*) like rice plants (Raghuvaṁśa IV. 37). This practice, no doubt, went back to the earliest times. The *kulya-vāpa* would presumably be the area which could be planted out with the seedlings grown in the nurseries from a *kulya* of rice-seed.

Measurement of land.

The **kulya-vāpa** appears, however, to have acquired a definite value (and that would be a natural tendency), for there can be no doubt that it is expressed by the words *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala*, which occur in all these grants, though the quantity of land conveyed in them is different. We may attempt to fix its area.

The commonest land-measure in the eastern districts of Bengal has been the **kāṇi**, though it is now being superseded by the standard Government bighā. It is not a square, but an oblong. Its dimensions vary in different localities, its measurements being 24 × 20 reeds, or 24 × 16, or 12 × 10. The reed (Bengali *nal*, Sanskrit *nala*) consists of a certain number of cubits (Bengali *hāt*, Sanskrit *hasta*), and the cubit varies according to the length of the lower arm (*hāt*, *hasta*) from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. The *hasta* originally was probably that of the measurer, or (if some uniformity was aimed at) that of the local rājā or landowner. It has been found in this part of the country to vary now from 18 to 21¼ inches. Again the number of cubits that constituted a reed has also been found to vary, being 16 or, various figures intermediate between 10 and 5. A *kāṇi* may, therefore, vary from about 7 acres to ⅜ acre in different localities.

The *kāṇi* no doubt, however, gives a clue to the system of measurement referred to in these grants. The words *aṣṭaka-navaka* cannot be applied to the word *hasta* which precedes them, because that would mean the reed was 8 or 9 cubits and so not a definite length. They cannot be read as meaning 8 + 9, that is, 17 cubits, because the affix *ka* indicates that *aṣṭa* and *nava* are separate quantities, and because such a construction is most unlikely in these matter-of-fact grants. The term *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* must, threfore, mean 8 reeds in breadth and 9 reeds in length, and this area no doubt constituted the **kulya-vāpa.** We may read the words *Śivacandra-hasta* which precede that term as meaning either "as measured by the hand of Śivacandra," or "according to the length of Śivacandra's lower arm (the cubit)." Practically, however, the difference is unimportant, and in neither case is the length of the cubit indicated. The actual size of this area would depend, as in the case of the *kāṇi*, on the number of cubits in the reed and the length of the cubit.

In old days measurements were not precise, and as the cubit is now found to vary from 18 to 21¼ inches and cannot naturally vary much more, we should probably be not far wrong in estimating its length at 19 inches in these grants.

The question of **the number of cubits contained in the reed** is more difficult. It seems fairly clear, however, from inquiries, that the further back we go, the larger was the reed. Local opinion has always asserted that there was a fixed rate of rent for the unit of area, and it is no doubt correct, just as these grants state distinctly that there was a fixed price for the unit of area. In modern times when landlords have wished to exact more rent, it has been a very common device to try, while acknowledging the rate of rent, to reduce the size of the unit of area, that is, to diminish the length of the cubit or reed or both. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose (and recent inquiries in land-settlement appear to indicate) that the

number of cubits contained in the reed was large originally and has gradually decreased. I know of no cause that might render the reverse process probable. Moreover, it has been found in this district of Faridpur that in localities, where the *kāṇi* was only 12 × 10 reeds, the length of the reed was far greater than that given to it in other localities where the *kāṇi* measured 24 × 20 or 24 × 16 reeds. In these grants the unit (the *kulya-vāpa*) consisted of only 8 × 9 reeds, and we should probably be not far wrong in taking the highest figure mentioned above for the number of cubits in the reed, namely 16. If these arguments are reasonable, **the kulya-vāpa consisted of 8 × 9 reeds,** the reed being about 16 cubits long and the cubit about 19 inches; that is, its area was a little larger than an acre. A *kulya* of seed could certainly provide for this area (and probably more), if it contained 8 *droṇas* or bucketfuls (Mon.-Will. Dict.).

The quantity of land then conveyed by plate A was something more than 3 acres, and that in plate C a little more than one acre; while that in plate B cannot be deciphered, but may have been more than half an acre (for which 2 dīnāras would be paid), because it was largely waste land.

Situation of the grants.

In conclusion we may notice the situation of these grants. Plate A says expressly that the land was situated in **Dhruvilāṭī** (l. 16), and Himasena's portion of the village, which was the boundary on the north and east, was no doubt also in the same village, as the word *pāṭaka* without the mention of any village almost necessarily implies. The land in plate C also was either in **Dhruvilāṭī** or immediately adjoined it. Its boundary on the west was the boundary of **Silakuṇḍa** village, and therefore it could not have formed part of that village. The boundaries on the other sides are not said explicitly to have been village boundaries, and therefore the land may have belonged either to **Karaṅka,** which bounded it on the north and south and would seem to have been a village, or to **Dhruvilāṭī,** the agrahāra portion of which bounded it on the east. Two of the mahattaras in this plate, Anācāra and Ghoṣacandra, appear also in plate A and the land-measurer was the same, hence it is reasonable to infer that this grant also belonged to the same village **Dhruvilāṭī.**

Plate B does not mention any village with regard to the grant or its boundaries; but it lay within the same *viṣaya* administrated by Nayasena as the land in plate C, and further it had the same land-measurer as the two other plates; hence in all probability this grant also belonged to Dhruvilāṭī or its immediate neighbourhood.

Thus plate A certainly and plates B and C probably belonged to the village Dhruvilāṭī.

Dhruvilāṭī was evidently a large *grāma*, because it had a large number of mahattaras (plate A). Further, none of these grants, except perhaps that in plate A, was large enough for the complete support of a brahman, and the grantees would have had to depend on their religious functions to provide additional means; there were besides several other grants to brahmans in this locality. Thus a community of brahmans was settling down here, and none but a flourishing *grāma* could have supplied them all with sufficient religious duties. The place evidently had attractions for them, and we may even conjecture that Dhruvilāṭī was the capital of this *viṣaya*.

I have examined the large Revenue Survey map of the Faridpur District (on the scale of one mile to the inch) to see whether any of the villages named in these plates could be traced out at the present time, but found nothing in point, except perhaps a village called Dhoolut, that is, correctly spelt, Dhulat. This might be an easy corruption of Dhruvilāṭī, even if we suppose that Dhruvilāṭī was the ordinary name of the place and not a Sanskritized form of it. **Dhulat** is situated in long. 89° 28½′, lat. 23° 43½′, that is, about 28 miles W.N.W. of Faridpur town.

THE PALI INSCRIPTION AT SARNATH.

BY PROF. DHARMANANDA KOSAMBI, POONA.

THE Pâli inscription on a fragment of a stone-umbrella discovered at Sârnâth, Benares, is important. It was found by Dr. Sten Konow and published in the *Epigraphia Indica* (July, 1908). This was brought to my notice by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, and, at his instance, I am writing the following note.

The text of the inscription according to the photo-litho is as follows:—

(1) *Chatt[â]r=imâni bhikkhavê ar[i]yasachchâni*

(2) *katamâni chhattâri dukkha[ṁ] di(bhi)kkhavê arâ(ri)yasachcha[ṁ]*

(3) *dukkhasamudayaṁ ariyaya(sa)chchaṁ dukkhanirô lha ariyasachchaṁ*

(4) *dukkhanirôdha-gâminî cha paṭipdâ ari[ya]sachchaṁ.*

The inscription contains a short enumeration of what is known as the four noble truths (*chattâri ariya-sachchâni*). Dr. Sten Konow, in his article, says that though he has not found the exact quotation in the Pâli canon he does not doubt that the passage cut on the stone is meant as a quotation. In this connection, I may be allowed to point out that the quotation can be traced in the Pâli canon. The last chapter of the *Saṁyutta-Nikâya*, called *Sachcha-Saṁyutta*, refers in one way or another to the four noble truths. It has ten *Vaggas* (divisions), each of which contains ten *suttas* (lectures), so that the whole chapter contains one hundred *suttas*. Of these *suttas*, the third and fourth *sutta* of the second *Vagga* called *Dhamma-chakka-pavattana-vagga*, and the seventh, eighth and ninth *suttas* of the third *Vagga* called *Kôṭigâma-vagga*, **begin with the same passage as that given in the inscription.** The Burmese text of these *suttas* reads thus:—

(1) चत्तारिमानि भिक्खवे अरियसच्चानि ।

(2) कतमानि चत्तारि ? । दुक्खं अरियसच्चं,

(3) दुक्खसमुदयं अरियसच्चं । दुक्खनिरोधं अरियसच्चं ।

(4) दुक्खनिरोधगामिनि पटिपदा अरियसच्चं ।

But the Siamese text slightly differs from the Burmese. It reads दुक्खसमुदयो for दुक्खसमुदयं and दुक्खनिरोधो for दुक्खनिरोधं; but the rest is the same as in the Burmese text. In both the texts, the word भिक्खवे is not repeated a second time as in the inscription. That is the only difference between the text and the inscription.

Dr. Sten Konow reads *samudaya* and *nirôdha*, but in the photo-litho, given by him, they may be read as *samudayaṁ* and °*nirodhaṁ*. And even if one does not discern any dot over the words here, such dots are not unfrequently omitted in inscriptions and have to be supplied; but there is certainly nothing like °*samudaya* and °*nirôdhô* in the photo-litho. From the usual genders of the words, one may consider the Burmese reading to be erroneous and that of the Siamese text to be correct. But the present inscription shows that the former, notwithstanding the use of the neuter gender therein, is correct. The occurrence of this text in the *Dhamma-chakka-ppavattana-vagga* shows that it was appropriately inscribed in the place where the "turning of the wheel of law" was first made.

MISCELLANEA.

REGNAL YEARS.

IT is generally known to students of ancient Indian history that there prevailed in India, from very early times, the custom of recording dates according to the regnal years of the kings of the country. This custom not only existed before the use of eras, which commenced with the so-called Vikrama era beginning in B. C. 58, but also continued for a long time alongside of the use of eras. And our settlement of exact details in Indian political chronology has been facilitated almost as much by the dating in regnal years, found sometimes alone, and sometimes in combination with a date in an era, as by any other assistance.

Cases, however, are met with, in which there is a difficulty about reconciling statements thus presented to us. And a pointed instance is found in connection with the Western Chalukya king Kîrtivarman II. Of this ruler we have three fully dated records, as follows :—

(1) The record on the Ainûli plates, belonging, in respect of the properties granted by it, perhaps to the Kulbarga District of the Nizam's Dominions, perhaps to the neighbourhood of Rôṇ in the Dhârwâḍ District: for part of the text, with a facsimile, see the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore for 1908-9, p. 12*a*. This is dated on Âshâḍha śukla 8, Śaka-saṁvat 671 expired, = 28 June, A. D. 749, in the fourth year of the reign.

(2) The record on the Kendûr plates, belonging to the Hubḷi tâluka of the Dhârwâḍ District: edited, with a facsimile, in *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 202. This is dated on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Vaiśâkha, Śaka-saṁvat 672 expired, = 26 April, A. D. 750, in the sixth year of the reign. We must remark, however, that there was no eclipse—(not even an invisible one)—on the stated day. There was, in fact, no eclipse of the moon at all in A. D. 750. Nor was there any lunar eclipse in Vaiśâkha in A. D. 751. There was such an eclipse, visible in India, on 7 April, = Vaiśâkha full-moon, A. D. 749: but that was in Śaka-saṁvat 672 current (not expired, as stated in the record).[1]

(3) The record on the Vakkalêri plates, belonging to the neighbourhood of Hângal in the Dhârwâḍ District: edited, with a facsimile, in *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, p. 202. This is dated on the full-moon day of Bhâdrapada, Śaka-saṁvat 679 expired, = 2 September, A. D. 757, in the eleventh year of the reign. Here, in the specification of the year, the actual reading, which is quite legible, is *vô=smâbhir=gava-saptaty-uttara, etc.*, in which *rgava* is taken as a clerical mistake for *rnava*: it is quite admissible as such; and it cannot, in point of fact, be well understood in any other way.

Taking these three dates in the order in which the months stand in the lunar year, we find that—

From (2) the full-moon day of Vaiśâkha in April, A. D. 745, should be in the first year of the reign.

From (1) Âshâḍha śukla 8 in June, A. D. 746, should also be in the first year

From (3) the full-moon day of Bhâdrapada in August, A. D. 747, again should be in the first year.

And it is seen at once that there is no way of bringing these results into agreement, even if we take them in pairs instead of all together That could not, in fact, be done, even if in (2) we should apply the Śaka year as current, though the record specifies it as expired, in order to accept the eclipse A D. in 749 : to do that, would only enhance the difficulty.

The above three dates, and some others also are for the present a puzzle, the solution of which is not apparent.

Now, there are two occasions from which regnal years might most appropriately be reckoned : the date of accession, or of usurpation of the sovereignty; and the date of anointment to the sovereignty The latter event would but seldom be coincident with the former. An Indian anointment would generally be deferred to the occurrence of an auspicious moment selected by the astrologers. Also, other causes for delay might occur. Such of the records of Aśôka as are dated in his regnal years at all, are dated specifically according to the number of years elapsed from his anointment; and in his case the circumstances were as follows: he did not succeed to the throne peaceably, in the natural order of things, but seized it against opposition even if he did not actually usurp it: it took him four years to make his position secure: and it was only then that he found it practicable to have himself anointed, and to treat his reign as having really begun. Something of the same kind occurred in the case of the Western Chalukya

[1] The editor of this record has said (*loc. cit.*, p. 201) :—"It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore, the date in this grant, which admits of verification, is correct." It is difficult to imagine the point of view from which such a remark could be made. The fact that a date presents details which admit of verification is no proof that the date is correct: the point depends upon whether those details, when examined, are or are not found to be correct. The date before us is not correct: either (like some others) it asserts an eclipse which may have been expected as the result of calculation, but which did not really occur; or it states or defines the Śaka year wrongly.

king Pulakêśin II., who had to overcome a general state of anarchy before he could consolidate his power, and have himself formally recognized as king by anointment. Again, the Mahâvaṁsa indicates another occasional reason: it tells us that king Vijaya of Ceylon postponed his anointment because he had not a consort of Kshatriya birth. also, that king Paṇḍuvâsa did the same because he had no consort at all.

Some kings, again, were anointed twice. That a practice of second anointments existed is shown by the fact that the ancient Sanskṛit books give elaborate rules both for the *abhishêka* or ordinary anointment of kings, performed on the recognition of their succession, and for their *punar-abhishêka* or reanointment, usually performed at the end of a *râjasûya*-sacrifice, celebrated as a token of the attainment of supreme dominion. And we have two historical instances of re-anointment, though the occasion was not exactly that. King Dēvānaṁpiya Tissa of Ceylon was first anointed in the natural course of things: and then, five and a half months later, he had himself reanointed because some presents sent to him by Aśôka happened to include certain articles, amongst them being a right hand conch-shell (a very rare shell, with its spiral turning to the right instead of the left), which constituted the paraphernalia for an anointment. And another great king of Ceylon, Parakkamabâhu I, was first anointed and crowned when, in accordance with the recorded wish of his predecessor, he was made king by the ministers, on the eve of the commencement of the war with the pretender Mâṇâbharaṇa, and was anointed again some two years later, when the contest was ended and his dominion was fully established. In such cases dates may have been recorded sometimes from the first anointment, sometimes from the second, and possibly without an explicit statement in either direction.

Again, there was a custom in India according to which kings not only selected their successors, but also installed, crowned, and anointed them as such, in the post of Yuvarâja, literally "young king" or Uparâja, "secondary king," and gave them an active share in the government. And any particular king may sometimes have counted his regnal years from his appointment in that capacity.

Reasons for discrepancies in regnal reckonings might be found in any such circumstances as those indicated above. Others may be conjectured; such as a gradual extension of sovereignty, with an absorption from time to time of new territories by conquest. And, as it is desirable to bring together any hints that may be helpful, especially as the practices of royalty would appear to have been always much the same all over the world, it seems useful to reproduce some information about varying customs in the reckoning of regnal years in European countries which is found, with much other interesting matter, in a work by Sir Harris Nicolas, K. C. M. G., entitled "The Chronology of History," which was published in or about 1838 and is now difficult of access. We therefore quote the passage from the second edition, pp. 270—82, as follows: —

REGNAL YEARS OF SOVEREIGNS.

One of the most important and usual dates, as well in this as in other European countries, is that of the year of the reign of the Sovereign in which an event occurred, or by whom any public instrument was issued. Although Justinian was the first Emperor who adopted this practice,[2] it was before in use by the barbarian Kings whose dominions were formed out of the ruins of the Empire, and particularly by the French Monarchs. But the epoch fixed upon as the commencement of the regnal years of the French Kings, was not always strictly marked in instruments. Whenever the date was introduced by the Merovingian Monarchs, the expression was, "Given in . . . . year of our reign;" which form was continued until the time of Louis le Debonnaire. Under the Carlovingian Princes, so low as the first three reigns of the third race, notaries stated that the act was done in the year of the reign of such a King; but after Philip I., the custom of the Merovingian Sovereigns was partly revived. The grand Feudatories of the crown also dated "in the reigns of the Kings of France." During an interregnum, it was usual to date from the death of the preceding King; and there are instances of this being done even during the reign of his successor.

[2] In September, A. D. 537, De Vaines' Dictionnaire Raisonné de Diplomatique, art. "Dates;" from which learned work the remarks in the text on the regnal years of the French and other Foreign Monarchs have bee translated.

The dates of regnal years have been extremely various; and it is scarcely possible to reconcile many of them with any general principle, or to make them agree with each other, or with History. This fact has often caused documents which were unquestionably authentic, to be rejected as forgeries. It is necessary to remember [271] that the reign of one King often formed several epochs. That of Charlemagne, for example, presents no less than three: his reign over France; over the Lombards; and his Empire. Some Kings dated from their Coronation, which, in early periods, frequently occurred in the lifetime of their fathers; from their accession to the Crown; from their marriages; from their conquest, at different periods, of other kingdoms, etc. Many sovereigns computed their reigns from the entire revolution of one regnal year; while others included the fractions of a year; that is to say, a Prince having ascended the throne in the middle, or towards the close of a civil year, that year was reckoned as an entire year.

Bulls.—The date of the regnal year of the Emperors was first introduced into Bulls by Pope Vigilius, in the sixth century; and the custom was continued until the middle of the eleventh century. After the establishment of the Empire of the West by the French Monarchs, the dates of their coronation succeeded that of the Greek Emperors in Bulls; but in the tenth century the regnal years of the Emperors were again used. After the time of the Emperor Otho this custom fell into desuetude, and no instance is known of its occurrence subsequent to the year 1038. The genuineness of any Bull in which such a date is introduced, since that period, is therefore open to much suspicion. From what has been just said, it is to be inferred that the omission of the date of the Emperors in Bulls, from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eleventh century, ought not to create a doubt of their authenticity: that a Bull anterior to the sixth, and subsequent to the eighth century, which contains the date of the reign of an Emperor of Constantinople, ought, at least, to be suspected; and that if it contains the date of an Emperor of the West between 919 and 962 it is evidently false.

Ecclesiastical Instruments—The Churches of Spain and France dated their acts from the reign of their Kings, as early as the sixth century, as appears by [272] the council of Tarragona in 516, and by the fifth council of Orleans, which is the first dated from the reign of a King of France. This date was afterwards very generally adopted: and in the eleventh century, the custom became nearly universal.

Public Acts and Charters.—It has already been observed that Justinian first ordered the regnal years of the Emperors to be inserted in public acts; but though this fact is certain, it is not unlikely that such a date may be found previous to his reign. From the second to part of the third century, the reigns of the Emperors were usually reckoned from the time when they assumed the title of "Augustus," and not from the period when they were recognised as Emperors by the senate. From the close of the third, and in the fourth century, the reigns were computed from the time when they were made Emperors.

The following observations on the date of the regnal years of the Sovereign Princes will be divided according to centuries.

The Fifth and Sixth Centuries.

The acts of the first Kings of France, besides the date of the day, contained the date of their reign; and they omitted that of the Emperors, to show their independence of Imperial supremacy. The dates of private charters of the Romans and Gauls, in the sixth century, were nearly the same, and only differed from each other by the former being dated more frequently in the years of the consulate of the Emperors, and the latter more frequently in the years of the reign of their Kings. The last date often caused much confusion, as the regnal years of a Prince did not then always commence with his accession, but occasionally with the civil year; so that it was sometimes requisite to compute their reigns by the current year, and sometimes by the year which ended on the anniversary of the day on which they mounted the throne.

The Seventh Century.

[273] In the seventh century, the regnal years of the French Kings were so commonly used that in many instances no other date occurs. In Italy they still dated in the year of the Emperors.

The Eighth Century.

Charlemagne, until the year 800, used both the date of the years of his reign in France, and of his reign in Italy. As these events have several distinct epochs, that practice often creates embarrassment. The death of his father, King Pepin; his coronation; and the death of his brother, Carloman, after which he reigned alone, are all periods from which his reign in France is dated. During the interregna, or in the time of Princes who were not recognised as Kings, private charters of this age (in places where it was customary to use the regnal year) were dated in such and such year after the death of the last King.

The Ninth Century.

In the succeeding centuries, especially from the ninth, in France and Germany, the years of the reigns of Sovereigns were frequently reckoned, when indicating a new regnal year, from the commencement of the civil year, which then began at Christmas. Thus, a Prince, having ascended the throne on the 20th of December, would call the period from that day to the 25th of the same month the *first* year of his reign; and his *second* regnal year commenced from the 25th, because regard was only paid to the civil year, and not to the revolution of 365 days from the beginning of the reign. Besides this mode of computing the regnal years in the ninth century, they were dated from different epochs.

The dates in the acts of Louis le Debonnaire are reckoned from two epochs—his reign over Aquitaine, [274] and his Empire. The years of his reign in Aquitaine were only reckoned from Easter day, 781, on which he was crowned King at Rome, though he had been named King of Aquitaine from his birth. The epoch of his Empire was fixed to the 28th of January, 814, though he was crowned Emperor in the month of September, 813.

Four epochs are to be discovered, from which the years of the reign of Lothaire were computed. The first was from the 31st of July 817, when he was associated in the Empire by Louis le Debonnaire; the second began in 822, when he was sent to the Kingdom of Italy; the third in 823, when he received the Imperial Crown from the hands of the Pope; and the fourth in 840, when he succeeded his father in the Empire.

The acts of Louis II., son of the Emperor Lothaire, were also dated from four epochs. The first from the year 844, when he was declared King of Italy; the second from the year 849, when he was associated in the Empire by his father; the third from the 2nd of December, 849, the day of his coronation as Emperor; and the fourth from the 28th of September, in the year 855, when he succeeded his father.

In dating the acts of Charles the Bald, no less than six epochs were used. The first was from the year 837, when his father gave him the Kingdom of Neustria; the second from the year 838, when he was made King of Aquitaine; the third from 839, when the lords of that Kingdom swore fealty to him; the fourth from 840 when he succeeded Louis le Debonnaire; the fifth from the 9th of September, 870, when he was crowned at Metz as King of Lorraine; and the sixth and last from the 25th of December, 875, when he was crowned as Emperor.

Charles le Gros, likewise, used divers epochs. The first was the death of his father, the 28th of August, 876; the 2nd from the year 879, when he was made King of Lombardy; the third from Christmas, 880, the day on which he was crowned Emperor; the [275] fourth from the 20th of January, 882, the day of the death of his brother Louis, King of Austrasia, or Eastern France; the fifth from the year 884, in which Carloman, King of France, died.

Louis of Bavaria, also, dated from divers epochs. The first was from the end of the year 825; the second from the year 833 or 834; the third from the year 838; and the fourth from the year 840. It is presumed that the commencement of the reign of King Eudes was dated from several epochs; the two principal of which are the years 887 and 888: this last being that of his coronation. The first epoch of the reign of Arnould is from the month of November, 887, when he was declared King of Germany, on the deposition of Charles le Gros; the second is from the year 894, when he went into Italy; and the third from the year of his elevation to the Empire, in 896.

Other Kings dated more commonly from one epoch, namely, from the beginning of their reign. It is necessary to be observed that Sovereigns were not always acknowledged immediately on their accession, in all parts of the kingdom; for this sometimes did not take place for two, three, or four years afterwards. Thus, the beginning of the same reign varies in different provinces.

The most usual date in the private charters of the ninth century, is that of the reigns of Kings and Emperors. It has been already said, that it was usual to date from the death of a King. In this century, charters were occasionally dated, during an interregnum, in the reign of Jesus Christ ("regnante Christo"), which formula was even used in countries where a King existed but had not yet been acknowledged.

The Tenth Century.

In this century, many Sovereigns dated their instruments from different epochs of their reign. Charles le Simple used four:—the first was the 28th of January, [276] 893, the year of his coronation; the second, the 3rd of January, 898, the year of the death of King Eudes, when he became master of all the French monarchy; the third, the 21st of January, 912, the year of the death of Louis of Germany, when he began to reign in Lorraine; the fourth, was the year 900, when he was acknowledged in Aquitaine. Raoul dated from the year of his coronation, 923. Louis d'Outremer generally dated from his coronation, in 936; but sometimes from the death of his father, Charles le Simple, in 929. Lothaire, son of Louis d'Outremer, very rarely dated his public acts from his association in the throne in the year 952, during his father's lifetime, but commonly from his coronation, in the year 954. Louis V., son of Lothaire, and the

last King of the second race, was associated in the regal dignity in the year 979, by his father, with whose name his own is joined in some instruments; but he is not known to have granted any after the death of Lothaire.

Under the third race, public acts varied much in their dates. Those of Hugh Capet are dated from his election, in the year 987; and in 988, when he associated his son Robert with him in the throne: the greater part of his instruments are dated from both epochs.

It must not be forgotten that the revolution of the regnal year was not always computed from the time of the coronation, but from the first day of the civil year The observation relative to the private charters of the preceding century is also applicable to this. The Kings were not always acknowledged by all the provinces under their dominions immediately after their coronation; and in the interregnum it was usual to date "from the reign of Jesus Christ," or from the death of the last King. In Italy, the date of the reigning King was always used. The Emperors of Germany in this century usually dated from their elevation to the throne: but as they did not bear the title of Emperor until after they were crowned as such, they sometimes dated from the period when they received the Imperial [277] crown. Some of them used many other epochs, with reference to their acquisitions, as well by succession as by right of conquest.

The Eleventh Century.

It was especially in the eleventh century that the Ecclesiastical calculation began to be attended to; and it is evident, by the accumulation of dates introduced into charters, that a knowledge of the subject was much cultivated: but the different modes of reckoning the years, and the very frequent variations in the dates of the reigns of the Kings of France, are a source of great perplexity to chronologists. Their public acts often show many fixed points, derived from certain events, which deserve to be considered as epochs; but there are others, and in great numbers, which, from the faults of the copyists, or from the different periods at which the French Kings were successively acknowledged by their provinces and their subjects, from the different manner of beginning the civil year and the years of the reigns, or from our ignorance as to what may have served as epochs, confuse those who seek to reconcile all the dates which occur therein, with each other. The observation applies particularly to this century although the preceding is not free from similar inconveniences. It is, however, sufficient to mention the fixed epochs of this period which have been most used in dates: for to such acts as are otherwise dated, the preceding observation applies.

The first epoch of the reign of King Robert is the 30th of December, 987, the day on which he was crowned: but his coronation is more frequently assigned to the 1st of January, 988; and these two epochs are improperly confounded, because the regnal year was reckoned according to the civil year. The third is from the death of Hugh Capet, who had associated Robert in the throne, on the 24th of October, 996, which epoch is the best known, and most followed. A fourth [278] was the second coronation of Robert at Rheims, in 990 or 991, but this was rarely used.

Henry the First was crowned at Rheims on the 14th of May, 1027, during his father's lifetime, and succeeded him on the 20th of July, 1031. These are the only two dates derived from known and settled points.

Charters of unquestionable authenticity differ from each other in the reign of Philip the First, in which there were at least four epochs. The first was the day of his coronation, the 25th of May, 1059; the second, from the death of King Henry, his father, the 4th of August, 1060; the third, from the time when Philip assumed the government of the Kingdom, in 1061; the fourth, from the death of Count Baldwin, his guardian, in 1067.

The public acts of the Emperor Henry the Second are dated from two epochs: from the 6th of June 1002, on which day he succeeded his father, Otho III.; and from the 14th of February, 1014, on which he was crowned Emperor. His successor, Conrad II. also reckoned both from his accession to the throne, and from his coronation as Emperor. Henry III. added thereto the epochs of his association in the throne by Conrad III., and of his coronation at Soleure, as King of Burgundy, in 1038. Henry IV. reckoned from the year 1054, when he was declared and crowned King of Germany; from the 5th of October, 1056, when he succeeded his father; and from the 31st of March, 1084, when he received the Imperial crown. The Kings of Spain rarely use the years of their reign.

Remarks on the use of the regnal year in the diplomas of the Kings of England, will be found in another part of the volume.[a]

The Twelfth Century.

The dates of the reigns of the Kings of France in the twelfth century were still taken from different epochs. [279] Louis le Gros reckoned the years of his reign from his association in the

[a] Vide pp. 283 et seq. postea.

throne by his father, and from his coronation after his father's death; the first of which events is fixed to the year 1099, and the second to the 3rd of August, 1108. In the first period, instruments were often dated from the joint reign of the father and the son, and sometimes from the reign of either of them separately: in the second, many acts were dated, precisely, from the month of August, 1109, and not from the beginning of the civil year; so that acts, of the year 1109, were nevertheless dated from the first year of the reign of Louis VI. It is singular that Louis le Gros should sometimes, in his acts, have added the years of the reign of his Queen to those of his own: and it is no less extraordinary that he should have admitted the years of the reign of his eldest son Philip, and especially those of Louis le Jeune, after their respective coronations in 1129 and 1131; and that he should have mentioned, in his dates, the consent of his children.

Louis VII. was consecrated on the 15th of October, 1131, and assumed the administration of the Kingdom during the long illness of his father, whom he succeeded on the 1st of August, 1137 or 1136. All these events have served as epochs whence part of his acts are dated. Moreover, he was crowned four times: the first time at his consecration, and the three others at his successive marriages, which perhaps form four additional epochs. He also dated from the birth of his son, Philip-Augustus; and sometimes the date of the reign is not found in his acts. Philip-Augustus was consecrated at Rheims, on the 1st of November, 1179, and crowned, a second time, at St. Denis, on the 29th of May, 1180, and succeeded his father on the 18th of September in the same year, from which three epochs his public instruments, as well as historians, date the years of his reign.

The great vassals of the crown showed scarcely any other mark of dependence on the Kings of France than [280] dating their charters in the years of their reign: but even this was not always observed; and when they did so, they added thereto the regnal years of some other Sovereign.

The Emperors of Germany in this century dated from two epochs; from their elevation to the throne of Germany, and from their coronation as Emperors, with the exception of Conrad III., who always dated from the years of his reign only, even after he received the Imperial crown. In Spain, the dates of the regnal year were still rare, but in the charters of the Kings of England and Scotland they often occur. This date was always used in private charters.

The Thirteenth Century.

In the thirteenth century, important documents are easily distinguished from those of less moment, by the date of the reign, which does not occur in the latter

The coronation of Philip-Augustus, during the life of Louis le Jeune, his father, on the 1st of November, 1179, and the death of the latter, formed two epochs for dating his regnal years

Louis VIII., the first Capetian King, who was not crowned during the lifetime of his father. dated from the beginning of his reign only. Although Saint Louis did not attain his majority until the 25th of April, 1236, he always dated his acts from the death of his father, and from the year of his coronation, in 1226. Philip III. dated from his coronation, in 1270. Philip IV. rarely used the date of his reign, but only the date of the current year. The Emperor Frederick II. dated from four epochs;—first, from his coronation at Palermo, as King of Sicily, in 1198; secondly, from the day of his election as successor to the Kingdom of Germany in 1212, and not from the day of his coronation; thirdly, from the 22nd of November, when he received the Imperial crown at Rome; fourthly, from his title of King of Jerusalem, which he assumed [281] in 1226, during the life of Jane of Brienne. Nevertheless, the date of the regnal year does not always appear in the acts of this Prince. The Emperor Philip, and his successors, dated from their coronations.

The years of the reign are frequently omitted in the acts of the Kings of Spain. The Kings of England dated either from their coronation, or from the year in which they were acknowledged as Kings; but this date is not always found in the acts of the Kings of Scotland.

Among the dates of private charters, that of the reign of the Sovereign Princes is usual: but sometimes, as in Normany [*sic*], they are only dated at the place, on the day, and in the current year In England, the date of the reigning Prince was generally introduced.

The Fourteenth Century.

In the fourteenth century, the dates of the years began to be derived from one epoch. Louis X, although King of Navarre as early as 1307, only dated his acts from his reign over the French, that is, from the year 1314, after the death of his father. After the death of Louis X, in 1316, the regency of the Kingdom was conferred upon his brother, Philip le Long. In the interval from the 8th of June, 1316, to the 9th of January of the same year (*i e.*, 1317, the year having begun at Easter), the day of his coronation, he issued many acts in quality of Regent. But these two Kings, and

many of their successors in this century, did not date from their reign, but only used the common dates of place, day, and the current year. The only exceptions are some acts of John II. and of Charles V.

The Emperors often dated from the year of their reign, though from only one epoch : they only added thereto the date of the place, day, and current year. The Kings of Spain and Sicily dated nearly in the same manner. The charters of the Kings of England differed little in this respect from those of other Sovereigns; and it is to be remarked, only, that Edward III. sometimes used the [282] the date of his reigns in France as well as in England.[4] In France, as well as in England, private charters were sometimes, in this century, dated from the reigns of the respective Monarchs.

The Fifteenth Century.

In the fifteenth century, Charles VII, Louis II, and the two following Kings of France, dated in the years of their reigns, but always from one epoch only; whereas the Emperors of Germany still dated from many epochs, *viz.*, from their accession to the throne of the Romans, of Hungary, of Bohemia, etc., and from their Imperial coronation. But these various dates, both in this and in the following century, were specified by the common formula—" Of our reign in Hungary, the year," etc.—" Of our reign in Bohemia, the year," etc. While the Duke of Albany administered the affairs of Scotland, the public instruments were dated in the years of his government.[5]

The Sixteenth Century.

In the acts of the Kings of France in the sixteenth century, the dates of the place, of the day, of the current year, and of the reign, uniformly occur.

NOTE ON THE TERM REGNAL.

The term regnal, " pertaining to the reign of a king, " seems to deserve a comment. Appropriate as it is, and obvious as seems to be the existence of it, it is only now making its way into dictionaries, and is not found in all of them. Yet it is not of recent invention. Sir Harris Nicolas, to whom the necessity for such a word naturally suggested itself, found this term a subject for special notice and inquiry: and the result was that he carried back the existence of it to 1615, as shown in the following remarks, which we quote from a footnote on page 283 of his book:—

The necessity of a word to express the sentence—"years of a King's reign,"—might almost justify the creation of one for the purpose; but though the appropriate word " *regnal* " does not occur in any dictionary, there are early authorities for its use, in the sense in which it is employed in the text. In the dedication of Hopton's " Concordancy of Years," to Lord Chief Justice Coke, first published in 1615, he says, " After, as induced by complaint of some, I observed the inconveniences that happened to the vulgar wits and mean capacities, in the calculation of the expiration of time by such rules and computations as is now extant, occasioned chiefly thereunto by the participation of every one *regnal* year with two *ecclesian* years; because the year of any Prince's reign (as yet) began in one year of our Lord, taking part of the same, ending in the next, and participating likewise thereof; by which means, when a question is made by the *regnal* year only, the common doubt is, to which year of our Lord it answers unto : or, a question being made by the year of our Lord, without mention of the *regnal* year, to know if it answer to the year of the King that did take beginning or ending in the *ecclesian* year." In the preface to the " Chronica Juridicialia, " published in 1685, the word *regnal* also occurs. After noticing the civil and astronomical years—" thirdly, there is what we call the year *regnal*; and that beginneth on the day, and at the immediate moment, of the decease of each last preceding King, to the rightful heir and successor of this Imperial crown."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPERSTITION AND THE INQUISITION AT BOMBAY IN 1707.

" UPON a dream of a Negro girl of Mahim that there was a Mine of Treasure, who being overheard relating it, Domo. Alvares and some others went to the place and Sacrificed a Cock and dugg the ground, but found nothing, they go to Bundara at Salsett, where disagreeing, the Government there take notice of the same, and one of them, an Inhabitant of Bombay, is sent to the Inquisition at Goa, which proceedings will discourage the Inhabitants. Wherefore the Generall is desired to Issue a proclamation to release him, and if not restored in 20 days, no Roman Catholick Worship to be allowed on the Island."

Bombay General Letter, dated 17*th Mar*, 1707.
Bombay Abstracts, Vol. I., p. 78.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[4] Vide p. 318 postea.

[5] For example:—" Datum sub testimonio magni sigilli officii nostri, apud villam de Innerkethyne, decimo nono die mensis Augusti, anno Domini 1423, *et Gubernationis nostræ tertio*."—Fœdera, vol. X, p. 299.

GAZETTEER GLEANINGS IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY MAJOR. C. E. LUARD, M.A., I.A.

The Buddhist Caves of Central India.

Introductory Remarks.

THE Buddhist Caves of Central India, the relics of the last refuge of Buddhism, are met with in two districts of Central India, **in Northern Mālwā**, where there are several groups of caves and **in the Vindhya hills at Bāgh.**

The caves belonging to the **Mālwā series lie at Dhamnār and Poladungaḍ in Indore State, Rāmāgaon and Hātēgaon in Tonk, and Kholvī, Awar and Benaiga in Jhālāwar.** Hātēgaon is said to be near Rāmāgaon, but is not given in the Survey Maps (see *infra* Map of the *Mālwā Caves*). The caves at Dhamnār and Kholvī are described by Cunningham in Vol. II of his series of *Reports* and will not be dealt with here, though some views of the former will be given at the end of this article. Bāgh and Poladungaḍ will be described in detail. The caves at the other places mentioned lie outside the Central India Agency and have not been visited by me. From all accounts, however, they appear to be similar to those at Dhamnār. All these caves are comparatively late, and fall **between the seventh and ninth centuries of the Christian era.**

The southern **series of caves at Bāgh** have already formed the subject of two papers, one by Lt. Dangerfield in Vol. II, p. 194, of the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, and the other by Dr. E. Impey in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, p. 543. The latter is very full, but is not accompanied by illustrations, and I have, therefore, to all intents, re-produced it here, with such modifications as have appeared necessary.

Buddhism in Central India.

The Brahmanism, which was established over most of India north of the Narbadā river by the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., appears to have given place to Buddhism in the sixth and fifth centuries. The early Buddhist books actually mention a king **Pajjota of Ujjain**, and various tales are narrated of his relations with other rulers. Even if he was not a genuine historical personage, the inference may be made that Buddhist princes then ruled in these parts. In the third century B.C., the vigorous Buddhist propagandism of the Mauryan Emperor **Aśoka** brought this form of religion to the front, and all the stupas round Bhilsa, including the famous Sāuchī Tope and the similar tope which once stood at Barhūt besides numerous remains at Udayagiri and Beshnagar, prove the influence exerted by this faith throughout the tract now included in the Central India Agency. Epigraphic records shew, moreover, how generally the faith was followed, as they record gifts from every class of society. Not only royal personages, but great merchants, trade guilds, simple shopkeepers, scribes, private householders, and even labouring men, record their gifts at the shrines[1].

With Aśoka's death, Buddhism rapidly decayed and by the middle of the first or the commencement of the second century A.D. it exerted very little influence, its followers being chiefly monks or nuns living in retirement. This decay, once set in, continued and was no doubt hastened by the foreign **Kshatrapas**, who held Mālwā from 120 A.D. to 400 A.D. If not actually very strict

[1] See J. F. Fleet—Gupta inscriptions in *Corpus Inscriptorum Indicarum*, Vol. III. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II., 87, 366. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, 138 ; Vol. XXI, 225.

Saivas, they were at any rate indifferent to Buddhism. The final blow to the faith was given by **the Guptas**, who were most orthodox Hindus, even to the extent of reviving the ancient royal *aśvamedha* ceremony. The Buddhist pilgrim from China, **Hiuen Tsiang**, who visited Central India in the seventh century (640-644 A.D.), remarks on this decay of Buddhism, on the emptiness of the religious houses and the absence of Buddhist princes[2].

Buddhism, inherently unsuited to everyday life, continued to decay and was finally relegated to such secure retreats as were afforded by these caves situated in the heart of the forest; and these dwellings, far from large settlements, may possibly have been the very last refuges of the faith in all India.

The importance of Buddhism in this part of India is also shewn by the names of several local scholars of the faith which have come down to us. Between the fifth and seventh century A.D. **Dharmaraksha, Guna-bhadra, Paramārtha** (of Ujjain) and **Atigupta** (also of Ujjain) all visited China to study Buddhist lore[3], while a Chinese scholar **Hsuan-tai** came to Central India[4].

THE BAGH GROUP.

Village of the Bāgh.

The village of Bāgh, from which the caves near by take their name, lies about 800 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of the Vindhya hills, in 22° 22′ N. and 74° 48′ E. and **belongs to the Gwalior State.** It is situated on the prolongation of the metalled road from Mhow to Sardārpur[5]. The situation is picturesque, as the village stands on the Bāgh river with thick forest round it. **The Bāgh river,** which only flows for eight months of the year, takes a very sinuous course and its sandy boulder-strewn bed is traversed four times by the road leading to the caves, three and a half miles from the village.

Of the history of this place nothing is really known, though tradition, as is usual in the case of such caves, assigns it great importance. Lying on a route from Gujarāt, it may possibly have had some prominence, but was certainly never a very large place. The signs of early settlement which remain are situated on and round a hill to the north of the present village. A rough stone wall runs along the western and part of the northern edge of this hill, and traces of old foundations are also visible upon it. Below the hill stands the **Baghēśvarī temple.** It is a reconstructed building made up of portions of a twelfth century temple. Two records of St. 1900 and 1919 refer to the rebuilding. Between this temple and the hill side are many traces of foundations. The site has been used as a quarry, and a small Îd-gâh near the river is built of old bricks from these remains. The bricks appear to be of some age, being of the large size found near Ujjain and on other ancient sites. The destruction of the original temple is accounted for by the existence, hard by, of a small Muhammadan fort with a square tower at its southern end. A pointed gateway with an arcaded top leads into it.

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[2] Beal—*Buddhist Records of the Western World* and *Si-yu-ke.* Cunningham—*Ancient Geography.*

[3] *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripittaka* by Bunigu Nanjio, pp. 411, 416, 423, 437.

[4] Chavannes.—*Mémoré composé à l'époque de la grande dynastié Tang,* etc., p. 34.

[5] The portion beyond Tānda is not yet metalled, although it is laid out up to 10 miles north of Bāgh.

Though Bāgh is not mentioned in the *Aīn Akbarī*, it must have been included in the Kotrah mahal of the Māndu Sarkār and was no doubt an out-post on the Gujarāt route. Another similar out-post existed at Tānda.

On the road to the caves, which lies east of the Baghēśvarī shrine, are some carved stones representing females, one carrying a child. They have been mutilated, but were originally good pieces of work cut in a different sandstone to that of the hill in which the caves lie.

Tradition assigns the old wall and settlement generally to a Rājā Mardhaj. Later on it fell to one Rājā Bāgh Singh, whose descendants, still locally termed *rājā*, live at Girwānī, a village close by. The place fell to Sindhia in the eighteenth century and hence its present inclusion in the Gwalior State.

The Caves at Bāgh.

The caves lie in the face of a sandstone hill which rises above the Wāgh or Bāgh and Girnī rivers, and are known locally by the generic term applied to all such excavations as the *Pānch Pāṇḍu kā Guphā*, the Buddhist figures in the second cave (of which there are, however, eight) being supposed to represent the five Pāṇḍava brothers.

The hill in its general aspect is given in Plate I, figs. 1 and 2. It is notable as being the only outcrop of sedimentary rock in this basaltic region, and consists geologically of Nimār sandstone, a softer rock than most of the Vindhyan series. It is often highly ferruginous and was used for smelting iron, until competition with imported metal killed the industry. Superimposed on the sandstone is a band of claystone, often as much as 20 feet in thickness. The destruction which has overtaken all but one of the caves is due to the weight of this moisture absorbing band. The cliff has an average elevation of about 150 feet above the river bed and lies approximately north-east by south-west, the caves facing about north-west. This aspect must have made them dark even when in good repair, as they never received full sunlight, and it is difficult to explain how all the elaborate frescoes, with which the caves are ornamented, were carried out.

The caves, of which there were once eight, occupy a frontage of 700 yards. They are not all contiguous and were undoubtedly excavated at different times as necessity dictated. (See general folding plan of the Bāgh Caves attached.) Generally speaking, the caves consist of a *vihāra* or central hall with a *dāghoba* in a chamber in rear, forming a small *chaitya* hall or chapel, while the sides are occupied by cells for the monks, a colonnade running before the larger excavations.

Bāgh Group. Cave No. 1.

The Griha Cave.

Cave No. 1 lies to the extreme north-east end of the cliff, but presents no features of special interest. The excavation is 23 feet by 14 feet. It was supported on four pillars, each formed of an octagon standing on a square plinth terminating in a spirally fluted column. The pillars are much eroded and the roof must soon fall. A portico, which formerly stood before the door, has already gone.

Not far off, to the south-west of this cave, are apparently traces of an excavation, but the collapse of the hill-side makes identification impossible. It may have been only a commencement.

Cave No. 2 at Bāgh.

The "Gusain's" Cave.

Cave No. 2, which derives its present title from a *gusain* who now occupies it, is perhaps the most interesting of the series, as it is certainly the most complete. The claystone band is here narrow, while the sandstone is more compact, and consequently the roof has not fallen in.

This cave is now approached by a steep flight of steps which leads to the central door (See Plate II, figs. 1 and 2); a portico originally protected the entrance, but it has fallen in. The floor has been plastered with cow-dung to make a terrace, but from traces in the upper portion and the remains of a pilaster, it is evident that there was once a colonnade of pillars before the doors. The side walls projected beyond the portico and so admitted of the excavation of two niches. In the south-western niche is a modern figure of Ganēśa (Plate II, fig. 3)[6] usurping the earlier "Buddha's seat," which the emblems still above the niche prove the place to have originally been. The north-eastern niche still holds an image of Buddha, but it is badly defaced. He is represented in the *lalitāsana mudra* with the usual attendants, and over him a dome with figures bearing garlands above it.

The cave possesses five doorways, of which all, except the central entrance, are now blocked. (See Plate II, fig. 3.) These doors respectively lighted the central hall, very faintly the *dāghoba* at the end, the side aisles and cell entrance. The central door is 10′ × 5′-3″[7] and is ornamented with five lintels. The side doors are 8′ × 4′. The interior walls of the cave are so blackened by many years of smoke that no sign of frescoes is traceable, but as the walls are all plastered, the probability is that they were once adorned with paintings.

The shape and size of the cave can be seen from the attached folding **plan of Cave No. 2.** It consists of a large hall 85′-6″ × 86′, possibly 86 feet square [88 ft. sq.][8]. Twenty massive pillars with four pilasters on the outer walls, make it a twenty-four pillared cave. In the centre are four circular columns reeded spirally (Plate II, fig. 4). These were necessitated by the weak nature of the sandstone, and are found also in other caves of the series.

The roof is 14 feet from the ground, but the pillars are only 11 feet high, the difference between them being made up by what in a wooden structure would have been a beam, 2 feet thick, on which the top of the pillars abut. **These "beams" of stone are cut everywhere and are relics of the wooden structural buildings with which the excavators were familiar**[9]. The pillars are very fine and are all varieties of a square, having a diameter of between 5 and 6 feet [4 and 5 feet]. They stand on a pedestal one foot high surmounted by a torus and cornice, from which the shaft springs. The shaft is square to a height of 3¼ feet. It then becomes a dodecagon for 3 feet, a spiral for 1½ feet, and finally a dodecagon again for one foot. On this rests the abacus-bearing bracket architrave. Though the pillars vary in detail, this is the general type.

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[6] See Poladungaḍ Caves Pl. II, fig. 3. The figs. have been misplaced.

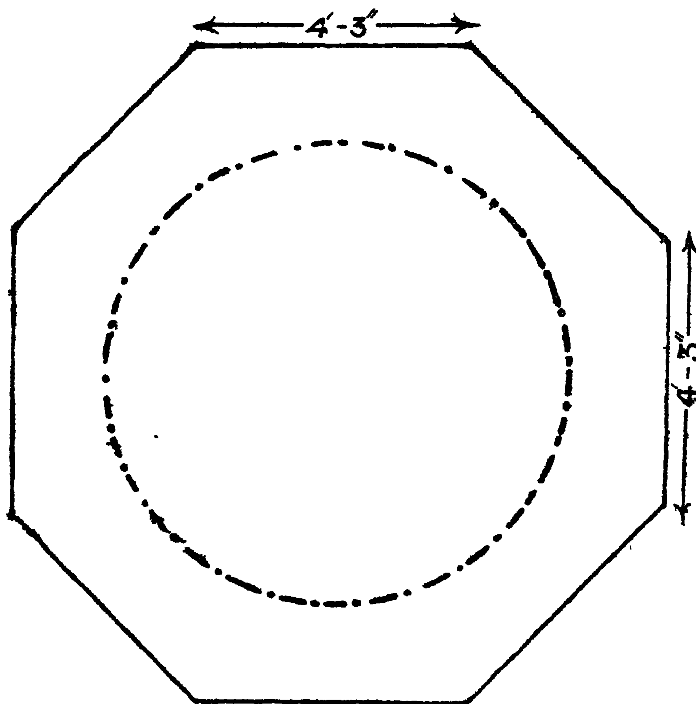
[7] Dr. Impey's measurement was 10′ × 5¼′.

[8] The measurements were made very carefully, but in such dark places necessitating the use of torches, and with so much damage as has taken place in many of the caves, it was not easy to measure with absolute certainty. Dr. Impey's figures are given in brackets for comparison, where they differ.

[9] The ribbing of cave roofs to represent beams and even the use of actual beams is met with in early caves. At Dhamnār, stone-ribbing is used. *Cf.* Fergusson and Burgess.—*The Cave Temples of India.*

The cells round the cave number eighteen, seven on either side and four in rear. A space to the width of two cells is used in making the ante-chamber to the sanctum, in which the *dāghoba* stands. The cells are not symmetrical, but are about 9 feet square (see *plan*). One cell corresponds roughly to each inter-columniation.

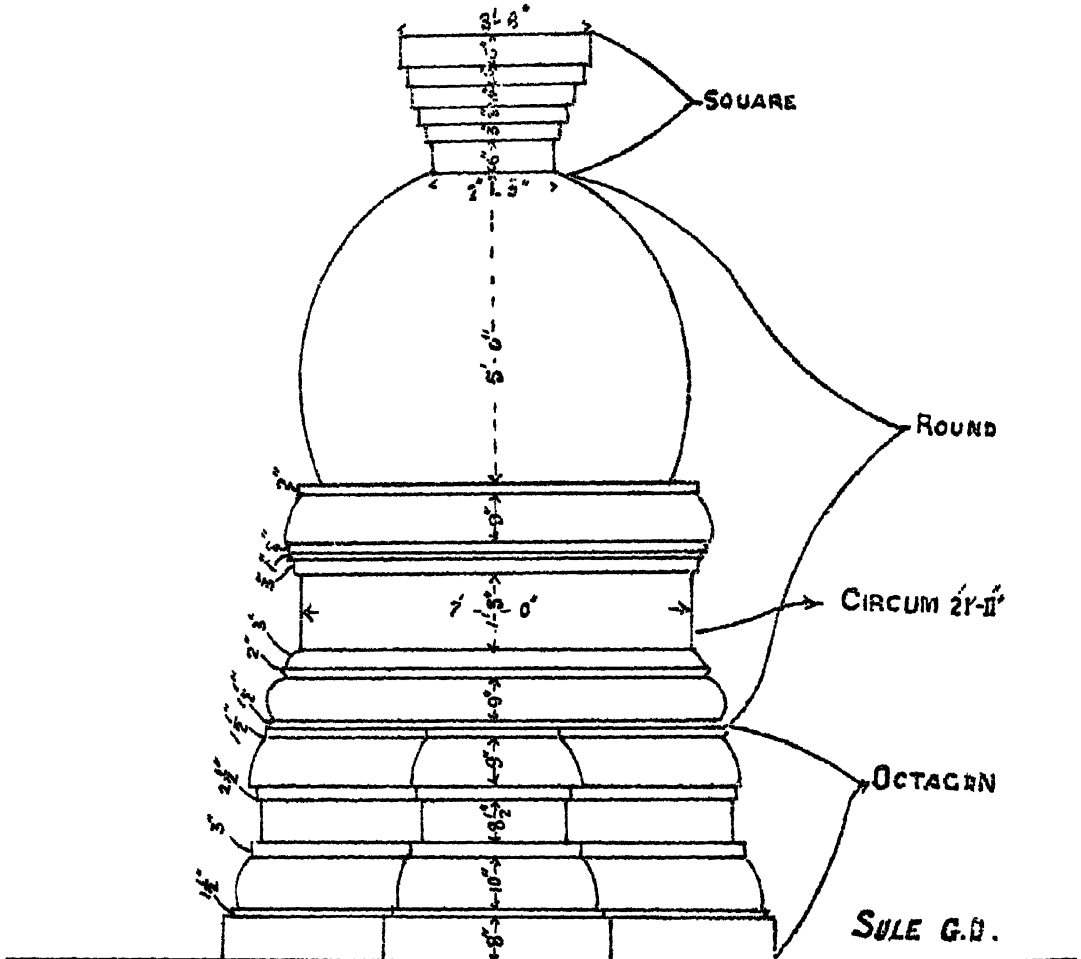
The ante-chamber to the sanctum lies in the centre of the rear wall. It is 26′-6″ × 16′ [26′ × 12′] and is open in front, save for two octagonal pillars. Against its north-eastern and south-western walls are the groups of figures described below. From the centre of the ante-chamber, in rear, a door, 15′ × 6′, leads to the sanctum a chamber 20′-3″ × 17′-10″ and 17′-6″ high [20′ × 18′ × 17′]. Within the sanctum is a *dāghoba* of the usual type. The *dāghoba* is 17′-6″ high and is connected with the roof of the chamber.



PLAN OF STUPA IN CAVE No. 2.

Sule. C.D.

On an octagonal base a cylinder crowned by a section of a sphere is superimposed. The usual *hti* crowns the summit. It is quite plain save for a few astragals.



In the side walls of the ante-chamber are two narrow recesses, 9½ feet from the floor, popularly said to have been treasure chambers.

From the first cell in the north-east wall a series of cells opens out and rises to the summit of the cliff. The passage is now blocked with debris washed in from above. Careful examination of the top of the hill disclosed no definite outlet, though possibly a depression full of detritus surrounded by a stone wall once marked the exit. There is no doubt, however, that this passage did once lead, to the plateau above.

The most interesting objects in this cave are the figures. There are two groups of three personages each and two single figures. The groups are situated on the sides of the ante-chamber, and the single figures on either side of the doorway leading to the sanctum.

The two groups represent in each case a Bodhisatva (or Buddha ?) and two attendants, and are, except in minor details, identical. Their general appearance is given in Plate III, figs. 1 and 2. They stand in recesses and are very well executed. The photographs do not do justice to the contemplative expression of the central figure[9]. It differs in both instances in refinement of features from the rock hewn representations of Buddha at Dhamnār and Kholvī, which have countenances of the usual negroid type.

The central figure of the Bodhisatvas is :—in the north-eastern group (Plate III, fig. 1) 8′-8″ high, 2′-8″ across the shoulders, with a foot of 1′-2″ ;—in the south-western group 9′-5″ high (Plate III, fig. 2). In each case the hair is close and curling, the face fine with a straight, well-modelled nose, short neck, and ears carrying ear-rings which do not quite reach the shoulders. The *janeo* is worn and the clothes are of fine muslin, reaching down to the ankles, but leaving the right shoulder bare. No ornaments are worn on arms or legs. The right hand is in the *vardha mudra,* extended downward with palm open. The left hand, resting on the shoulder, holds up the loose end of the muslin robe, that falls in folds over the arm. In execution the north-eastern figure is rather the more finished of the two. A lotus flower forms the pedestal in each case.

The supporters are also very much alike. They are 6′-10″ in height in the south-western, and 6′ south-eastern group. The right supporter wears a *mukut,* which is highly ornamented and bears a figure of Buddha on the front. A jewelled belt slung like a *janeo* crosses the breast. A jewelled belt also surrounds the waist, and necklaces, amulets and bracelets complete the adornment. The only garment is a muslin loin-cloth. The right hand holds a *chaori,* while the left rests on a knot of the loin-cloth. In the south-western figure a lotus forms the pedestal[10]. The other supporter has no *mukut,* but simply wears the hair dressed like a wig. The clothes and ornaments resemble those of the right supporter. In the north-eastern figure the right hand carries a lotus flower and in the south-western figure some fruit. The left hand rests on the thigh.

The two remaining figures stand as *dwārpālas* at the sanctum door (Plate IV, figs. 1 and 2), one on the north-east (fig. 1) and the other on the opposite side (fig. 2)[11]. Though thus placed, they bear none of the usual insignia of *dwārpālas,* and are moreover very richly dressed[12]. Each is five feet in height and stands on a lotus pedestal three inches high. The south-western figure is not so richly adorned as the other. Each has on a *mukut* with a figure of Buddha on the centre of it, ribands lie on the shoulder and bangles and necklaces are worn, while a jewelled belt (*janeo ?*) falls across the chest; and in the north-eastern figure, a richly jewelled waist-belt supports the clothing, which consists of a long *dhotī* reaching to the ankles. The most marked variation is the presence of a halo in the north-eastern figure, which is also generally speaking superior in its details to the other. The right hand of the north-eastern figure is broken, the left rests on the thigh. The south-western figure a flask (?) is held in the left hand, while the right points to the ground. It is curious that no other cave of this series contains any figures at all, not even the rougher representations of Buddha so common at Dhamnār and Kholvī.

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[9] Flash-light photographs were taken by Ashgar Alī, photographer to the Gwalior State Gazetteer Office, under the direction of Raī Bahādur Pandit Dwārka Nath, State Gazetteer Officer—The trouble taken by these two State Officials in assisting me in my investigation of the caves was infinite, and deserves all praise.

[10] It may have existed in the other group and have been worn away.

[11] Dr. Impey states that they were coloured. There are no signs of this now.

[12] They are perhaps also Bodhisatvas, as Bodhisatvas of royal decent were usually given crowns.

Cave No. 3 at Bāgh.

This cave is one of the minor excavations of the series and appears to have been an adjunct of that which has just been examined. It is well decorated, but has no *dāghoba* in it and seems to have been a residential excavation only, perhaps used by the superior members of the brotherhood. This cave never had a portico, but opened directly on to the valley through an ornamental façade. Of this façade part remains, showing the tigers' heads used in ornamenting it. This façade and some of the pillars of this cave, which has become in part filled with debris, are shown on Plate V, fig. 1.

The cave is very plain in design, but was originally plastered for painting, though only the cells appear to have been actually ornamented with frescoes. It is difficult, however, to understand how the frescoes were done, as the cells are even now, when much of the front has fallen away, almost pitch dark. The frescoes consist of decorative and conventional designs, as well as representations of Buddhas, disciples and monks. Almost all have been defaced until the pictures themselves are unrecognizable, but the general style can still be seen. Two paintings of monks will be found on Plate VI, figs. 1 and 2, both taken from cell doorways[13]. The colouring of the caves was usually simple, but, inside the cells, the floral designs on the ceilings and the figures of men were often elaborately coloured.

The figures in the cells were also generally surrounded with ovate halos (*mandorla*) forming a frame to the whole figure.

The outer hall of Cave No. 3 is 28′-6″ × 40′ and the ceiling was originally supported by six octagonal pillars of which only two are now intact. On the north-east side are six cells. Of these four are grouped round an inner hall, into which what may have been intended for a *dāghoba* chamber projects. Three rough hewn doorways lead into a large chamber, 39′-9″ square [50′ × 56′ (?)]. It is incomplete and shews many signs of being in a state of excavation, when it was abandoned. It is probably a later addition. The total length of the cave from front to back is about 130 feet, and the general height is about 16 feet. (See folding Plan of Bāgh Cave No. 3 attached.)

Cave No. 4 at Bāgh.

The Rang Mahal.

Between Caves Nos. 3 and 4 are 200 yards of solid rock, and the two are quite unconnected. Cave No. 4 is, or rather was, the most magnificent cave of the series, both in structure and ornamentation, having indeed received its name of **the Rang Mahal**, or Painted Hall, from the frescoes with which it is adorned. The front of the cave was originally protected by a grand portico, which included Cave No. 5 in its sweep, and has a total length of 223 feet[14], excluding the cells at either end, but including the partition wall. The portico was supported on twenty octagonal pillars, some traces of which remain, a pilaster completing the façade at each end. The height of the portico was 14 feet, the width 10 feet; the pillars being 3 feet to 3½ feet in diameter. Steps originally led down to the stream, but the only approach at present is at the north-east end by a mean foot-path (Plate VII).

On approaching this cave the first object met with is a colossal figure of Buddha, which can be seen in a gap in the trees in Plate I, fig. 2, standing in a recess 13 feet high. The teacher is represented as seated with the left hand resting on the left knee, the foot resting on the ground.

---

[13] The left foot in fig. 2 is most awkward. The original was somewhat damaged at this point, but so far as could be made out the foot was in this position.

[14] Front of Cave No. 4, 106′, partition 19′-3″, front of Cave No. 5, 97′-6″ total 222′-9″.

The right side is damaged, but appears to have completed the *bhumi sparśa mudra*[15]. An open *makara's* mouth is behind the figure's head, while a riband (?) lies on his shoulder. The left arm carries an amulet. Above is a *dāghoba* and triple *hti*, with the usual garland bearers.

Just beyond the great image, round the corner, is the niche shewn in Plate VII, which contains two figures seated on a bench. It is impossible now to say whom they represent. A cobra's head is expanded over the right figure, while a representation of Buddha with a *chakra* between two antelopes surmounts the group. On the wall next this niche were painted eight rows of seated Buddhas[16]. (Plate VIII, fig. 1.)

The portico springs from the pilaster shewn in Plate VII, in which can also be seen the door of the portico cell and one of the side doors of the cave. This pilaster is more elaborate than that at the other end of the portico. The historical frescoes mentioned below are painted on the wall of the cave, of which a part is shewn in Plate VII.

The portico is plastered throughout and was covered with paintings. The roof was decorated with flowers and other conventional designs in frets, while the inner wall of the façade was covered along its whole length with valuable frescoes representing incidents of a non-mythological character. These frescoes are now, I fear, past copying, though by wetting the wall momentary glimpses of royal personages, horsemen, priests and attendants can be obtained. Some of the costumes appear to be non-Indian, but the damage done to the pictures is so serious that a definite opinion is impossible. The frescoes were more complete in Dr. Impey's day, and his account is all we have to go by.

The cave itself is 98'-6" × 92' [94' square] and has twenty-eight outer pillars in it, forming with the walls an aisle 12' wide right round it. In the centre are four pillars, as in the case of Cave No. 2, but they are built up and not rock-cut, while eight extra rock-cut columns arranged in pairs assist to bear the roof. In rear is a small sanctum, with no ante-chamber, in which stands a *dāghoba* of plain design, 14 feet high. (See folding Plan of Cave No. 3 attached.)

The cave is lighted by three doors and two windows. The central door is well decorated (Plate VIII, fig. 2). It measures 15' × 8' to the outermost lintel, the actual entrance being 9' × 6'. The cornice has a row of nine Buddhas and a *dāghoba* at each end, the frieze nine heads of Buddha and the architrave a flowered scroll, which leads on to the inner pilasters. The consoles carry a female figure with one hand on a child's head, rising from a *makara's* mouth. The windows shew socket holes for wooden beams.

The pillars supporting the roof and forming the aisles are 12 feet high [11 feet] and 3½ feet in diameter. They are square at the base, but become octagons as they rise and then polygons, and finally return to the octagonal form at the summit. The intercolumniation is about 6 feet. The pillars fronting the *dāghoba* chamber are, however, plain octagons and in Dr. Impey's time bore painted figures of Buddha, which have now almost vanished.

There are seventeen cells, but there were twenty planned, as three on the south-west wall have evidently never been excavated. In each set the terminal cell is 4 feet wider than the others. (See folding Plan of Cave No. 4 attached.)

The central arrangement in this cave is most unusual in having eight columns arranged in pairs, besides four central built up pillars. These eight columns are cylindrical with a circumference of 12 feet. Unlike the pillars they are carved and moreover once bore a regular frieze, 4 feet in height,

[15] I do not believe that the figure represents Buddha himself, from the amulet and general appearance, but it is so termed by Dr. Impey.

[16] It was impossible to photograph this picture clearly, owing to the darkening of the colours.

ornamented with figures and heads of Buddha carved in the stone. Within the frieze on a level with its upper edge, are the four central built up pillars. They are square with a side of 5′-10″, and 22 feet high from the floor. This makes them 7 feet higher than the aisle pillars and 3 feet [4 feet] higher than the columns, which are themselves 4 feet higher than the aisle pillars. The four central pillars are constructed of sandstone blocks without mortar, and they were certainly added after the cave had been excavated.

It is by no means easy to account for this very unusual arrangement, now that the collapse of the roof has filled the centre of the cave with debris. Dr. Impey suggests that some sort of dome was borne on them, under which a *dāghoba* or image of Buddha stood. Clearing away the debris might settle this point, and considering how unusual the arrangement is, it would be well worth doing[17].

The whole cave is covered with plaster and was once profusely decorated with paintings. An idea of the nature of the decorations may be obtained from Plate IX, figs. 1, 2 and 3. The frescoes are already seriously injured and will in a few years' time have vanished[18].

Cave No. 5 at Bāgh.

Cave No. 5 is covered by the same portico as Cave No. 4. A pilaster and portico cell and the remains of a pillar mark its termination, but the pilaster is not so richly carved as that at the north-eastern end. In place of the colossal figure of Buddha to be found at the end are four figures of Buddha cut in the face of the rock between this cave and Cave No. 6.

Cave No. 5 is a parallelogram 96′-6″ × 43′-6″ [94′ × 44′]. It has no aisles and no cells. The walls were plastered for painting, and it seems to have been covered with frescoes similar to, but less elaborate than, those in Cave No. 4. Sixteen pillars, about 6 feet apart and 12 feet from the wall, ran in two rows down the centre. They were 11 feet high, the ceiling being nearly three feet above them and connected by an architrave of that depth. (See folding Plan of Caves Nos. 5 and 6 attached.)

The pillars are curious and, as Dr. Impey suggests, appear to shew the influence of Greek models. The shafts, which are round, smooth and unornamented throughout, spring directly from the ground without any pedestal. A small astragal, shaped like a torus, six inches from the top, is the only ornament between base and cavetto. Four windows and a door light the cave.

Cave No. 5 must, from its shape and arrangement, have been a **lecture hall (shāla), or refectory.** A door, at the termination of the long portico, leads by a small ante-chamber 13′-3″ × 17′-5″ [18′ × 13′] into the next cave, No. 6.

Cave No. 6 at Bāgh.

This was evidently a residential cave only. It is 48′-9″×46′-7″ [46′ square] and has no portico. A door and two windows open on to the valley direct. Only traces remain of the six pillars which supported the roof. Five cells in rear and two in the south-western wall supply chambers. Some are large, being 13′ × 10′-9″ and 13′×12′. (See folding Plan of Caves Nos. 5 and 6 attached.) The walls were plastered, but not painted.

[17] Personally I am inclined to think they were simply a constructive necessity required by the weakness of the roof.

[18] It would perhaps be worth while deputing a competent draughtsman to copy the more important designs.



Fig 1 Entrance to Caves Nos. 2 and 3.



Fig. 2. Entrance to Caves Nos. 4 to 6 with Colossal Figure of Buddha.

ASHGAR ALI, PHOTO. W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., COLL.

THE BĀGH GROUP OF CAVES.

PLATE II.

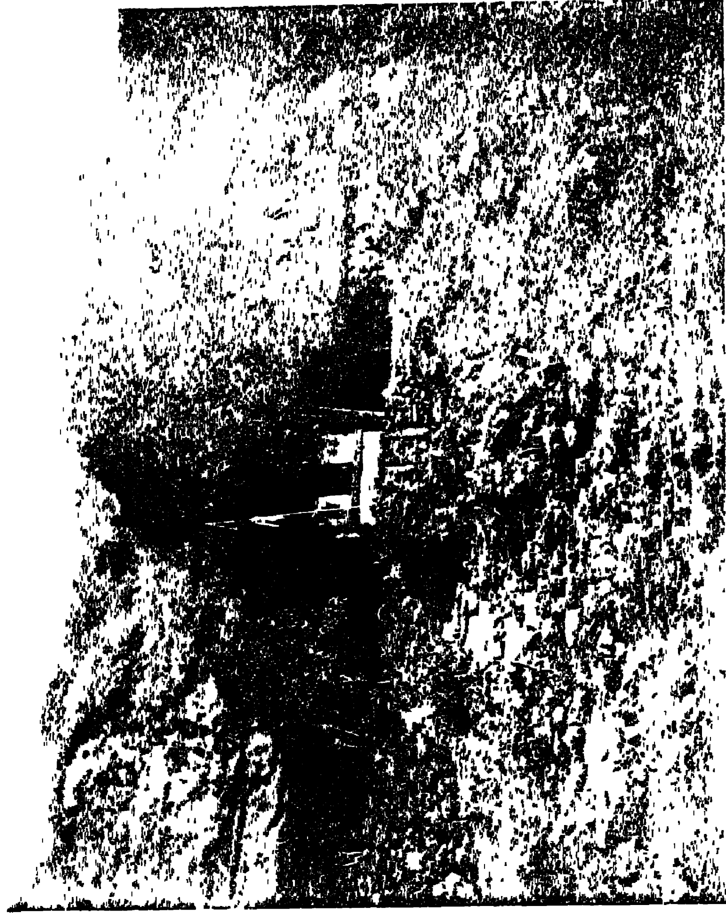


Fig 1. Cave No. 1. The Gusain's Cave.



PLATE III.
Sculptures in the Antechamber of Cave No 2.



Fig. 1 The North-eastern Group



Fig 2 The South-western Group

PLATE IV.

Figures in the Antechamber of Cave No. 2.



Fig. 1 The North-eastern Dwārpāla



Fig. 2. The South-western Dwārpāla

THE BĀGH GROUP OF CAVES.

PLATE V.



Fig. 1. Cave No. 3. with Tiger's head.



Fig. 2. Old Hindu Temple at Bāgh.



Fig. 3. Old Vaishnava Sculptures at Bāgh.

ASHGAR ALI, PHOTO.

W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., CO

THE BĀGH GROUP OF CAVES
PLATE VI.

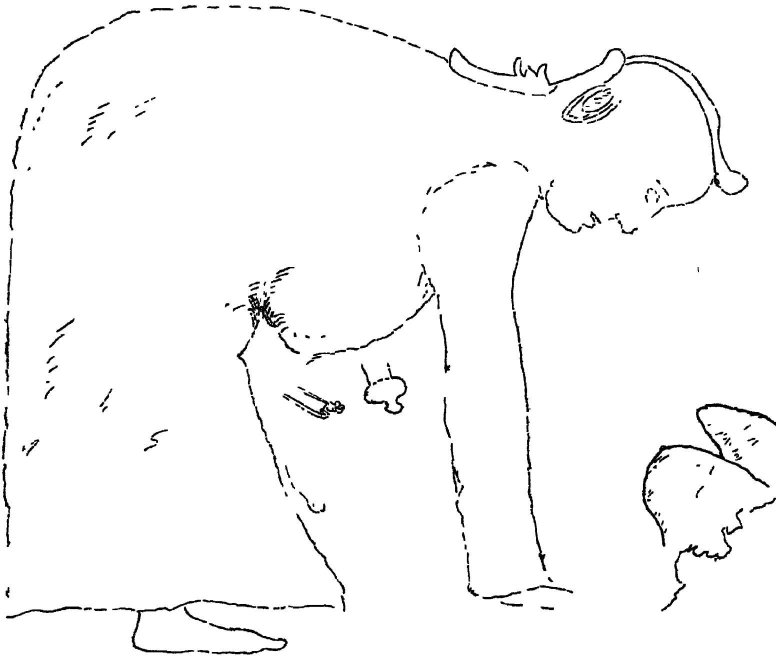


Fig. 1. From a cell door-way in Cave No. 3.
Scale ·25.



Fig. 2. From a cell door-way in Cave No. 3.
Scale ·5.

C. E. LUARD, DEL.

W GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., CHROMO-LITHO

THE BĀGH GROUP OF CAVES.

PLATE VII.



The Entrance to the Rang Mahal, Cave No. 4.

ASHGAR ALI, PHOTO

W GRIGGS & SONS, LTD, COLLOTYPE

PLATE VIII.

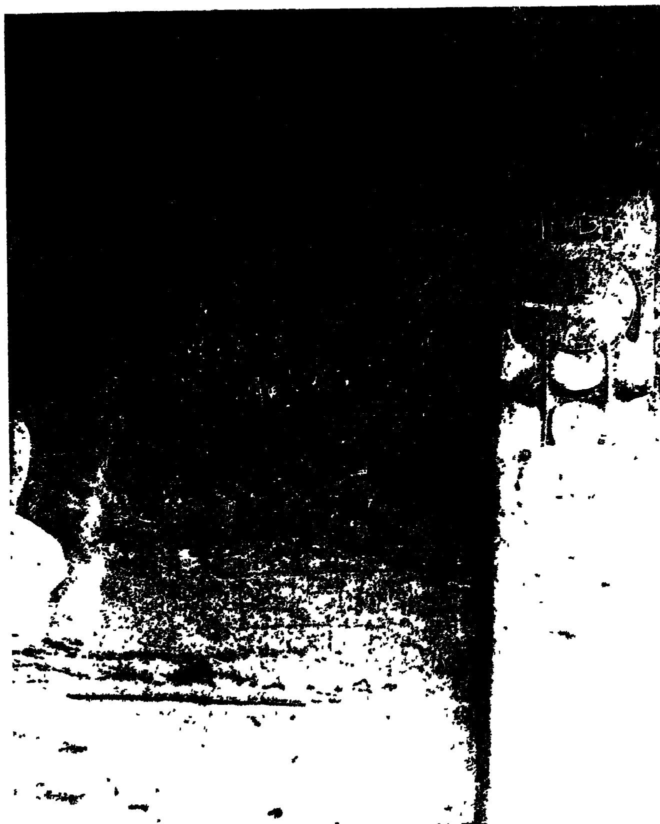


Fig 1. The Eight Rows of Painted 'Buddhas,' with pillar in Cave No 4.



Fig. 2 Doorway of Cave No 4

ASHGAR ALI, PHOTO.

W GRIGGS & SONS, LTD, COLLOTYPE.

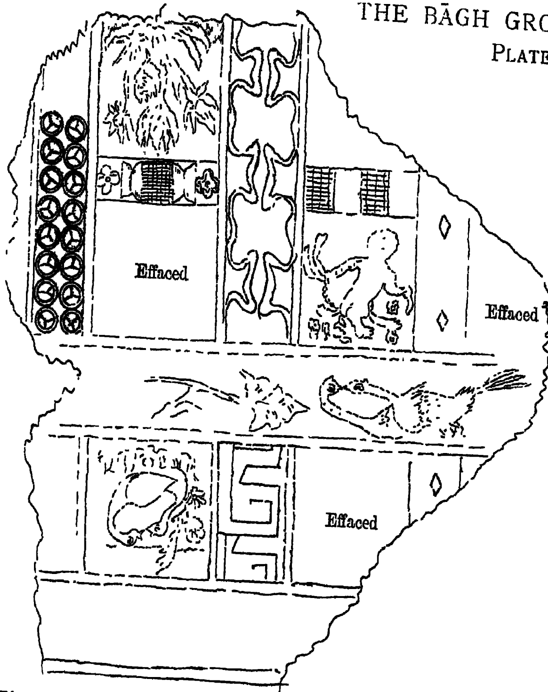


Fig. 1. Part of Ceiling in Front Aisle,
Cave No. 4.
Scale ·25.

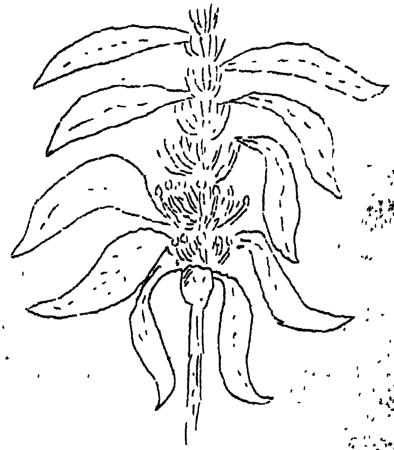


Fig. 2. Conventional Tree.
From Cave No. 4.

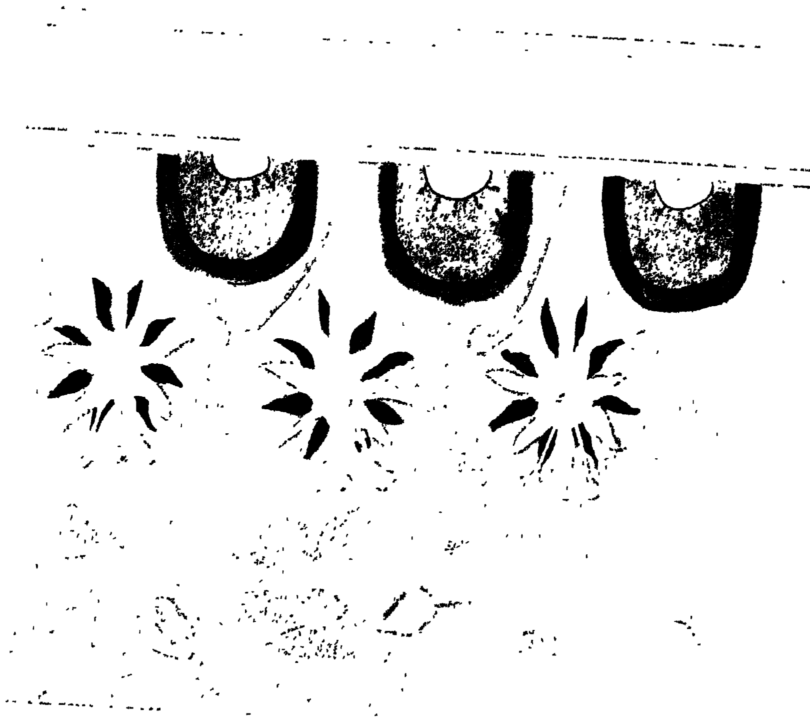
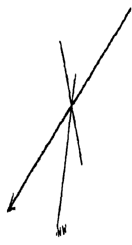


Fig. 3. Part of Frieze in North Eastern Cell



CAVE No 7

A replica of No 2

CAVE Nos 5 & 6

Shala

227'-5"

with colonnade

<-19'5"->

< 45' >

CAVE No 8

CAVE No 9

Collapsed

Total frontage about 700 yards

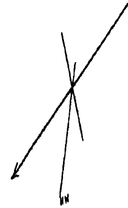
cave is not to scale, only figures being given.

G D Sule.

BAGH CAVES

(GENERAL PLAN.)

Scale 1 Inch = 30 Feet.



CAVE No 2

Northwest Group

Dwarpala

Dwarpala

Southeast Group

Gusains Cave

Colonnade now collapsed

CAVE No 3

Residential Cave

CAVE No 4

Rang Mahal

Shala

222'-3"

Great Facade with colonnade

←195'→

←— 200 Yds. —→

Colossal Buddha

CAVE No 1

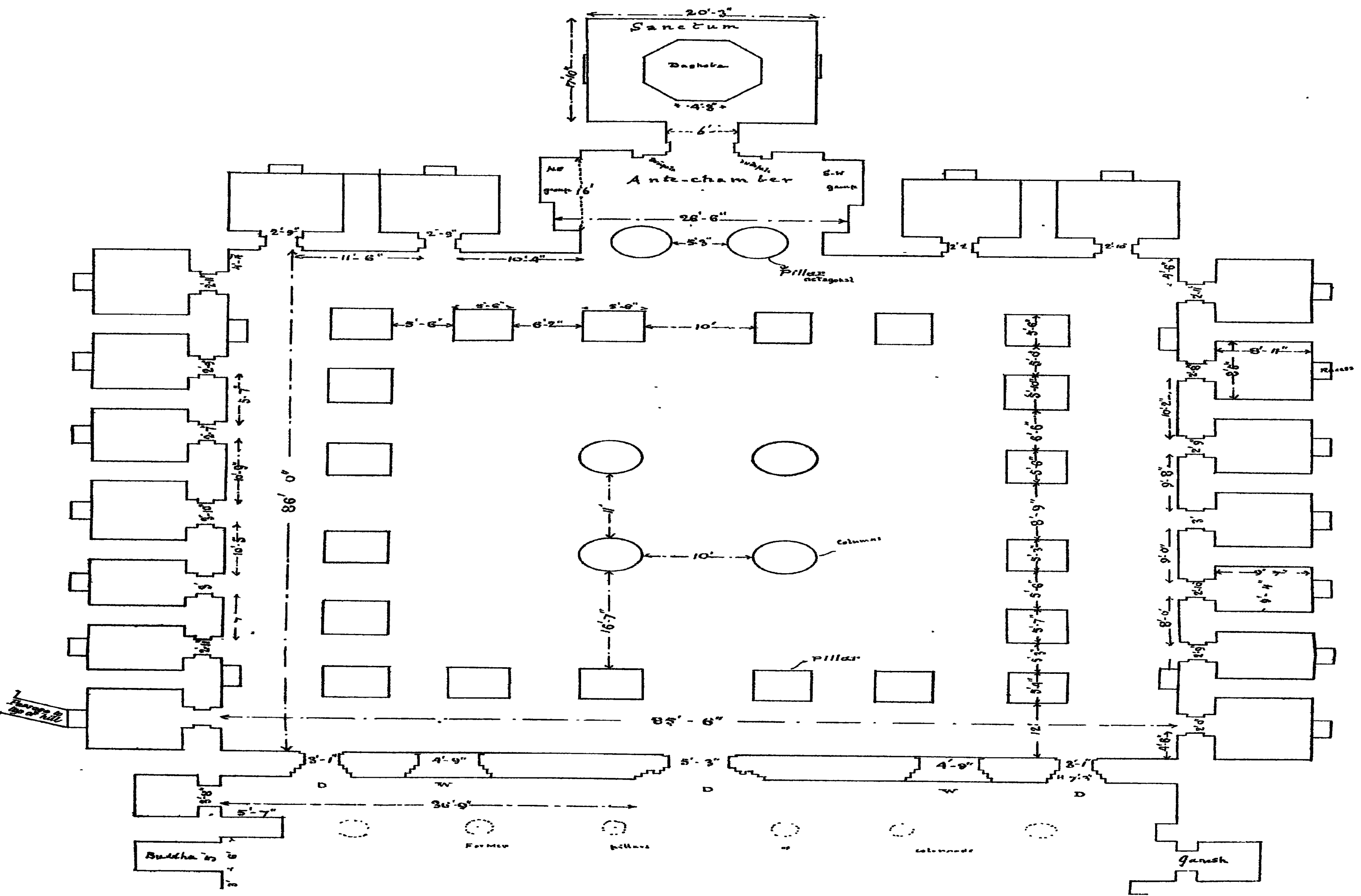
Griha Cave

←— 900'-6" —→

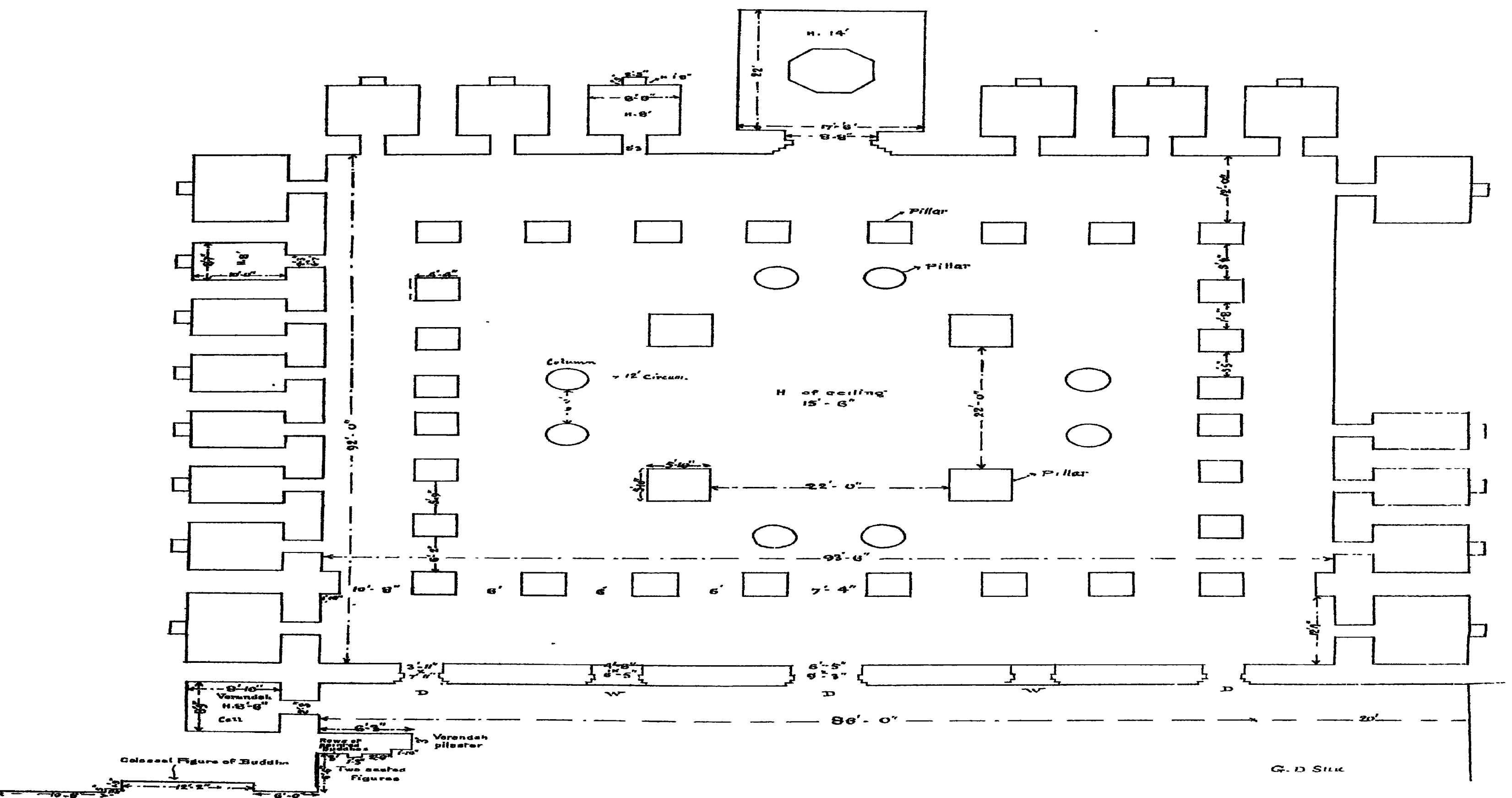
← — 22' 6" — →

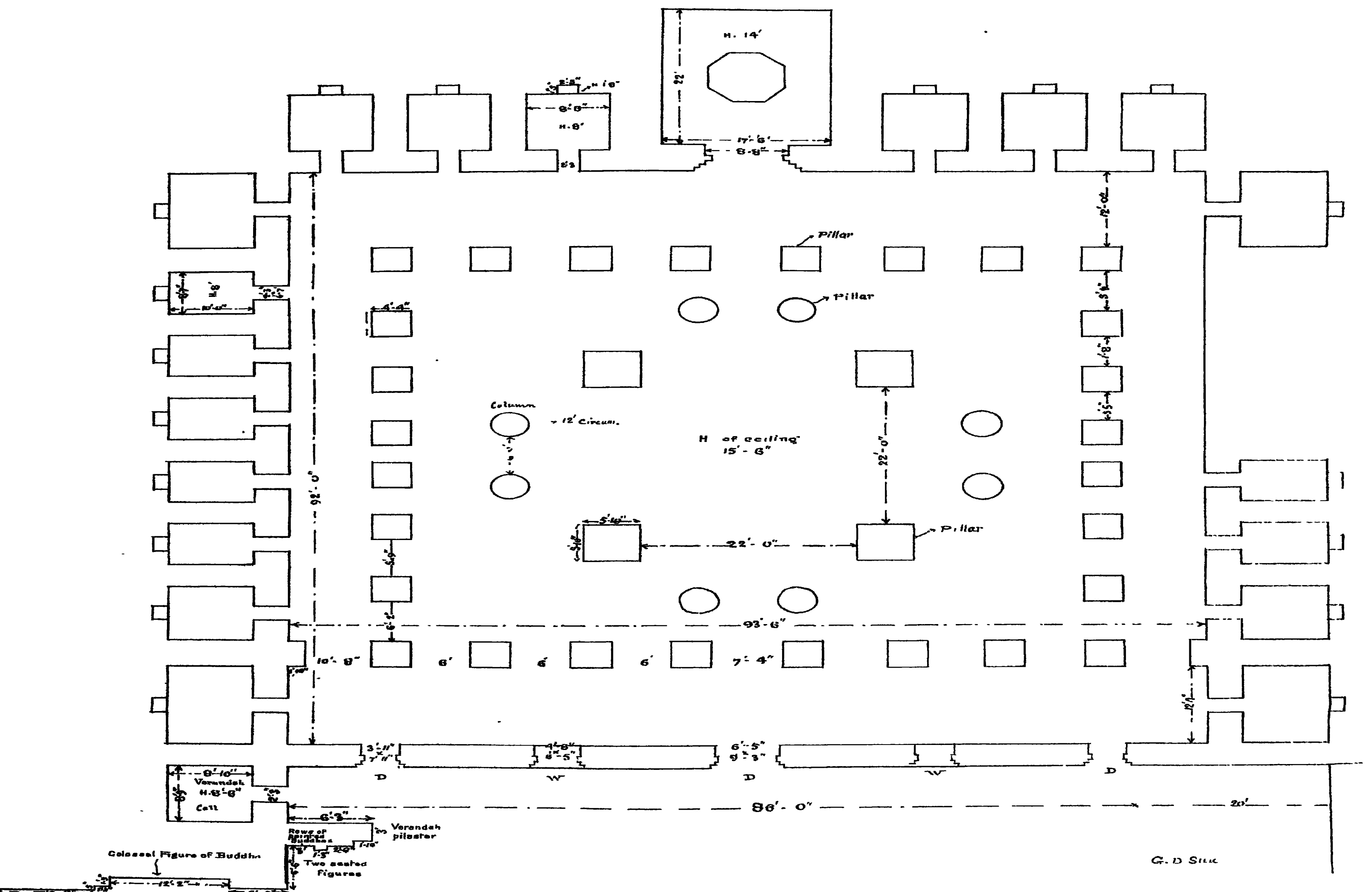
Total Frontage about 700 yards.

Note: The distance between each cave is not to scale, only figures being given.


Sanctum
Dagboba
Ante-chamber
Pillar octagonal
Columns
Pillar
Former pillars of colonnade
Ganesh
Buddha
Passage to top of hill
20'-3"
28'-6"
86' 0"
85'-6"
36'-9"

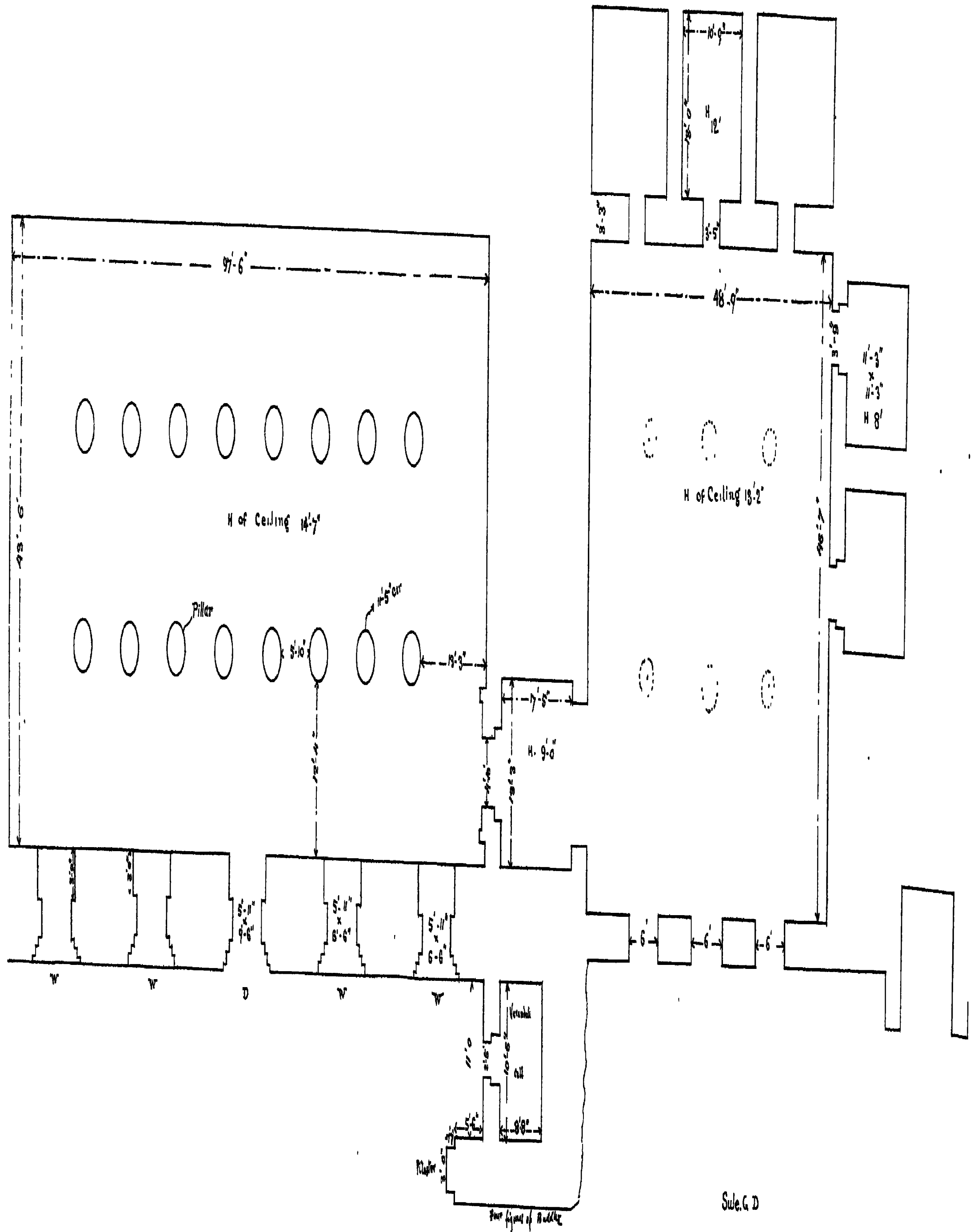
CAVE No 4
RANG MAHAL
Scale 1" = 10 Ft.




H. 14'
22'
17'-6'
8'-8"
H. 8'
H. 16"
Pillar
Pillar
Pillar
Column
12' Circum.
H of ceiling 15'-6"
22'-0"
22'-0"
93'-6"
92'-0"
10'-8"
6'
6'
6'
7'-4"
D
W
D
W
D
86'-0"
20'
Verandah H. 8'-6"
Cell
Verandah pilaster
Rows of painted Buddhas
Two seated figures
Colossal Figure of Buddha
12'-2"
6'-0"
10'-6"
G. D Silk

CAVE NOS 5 & 6

Scale 1' = 10 Ft



Cave No. 7 at Bāgh.

This cave lies at a distance of 45 feet from Cave No. 6 and is unconnected with it. It is a replica of No. 2, being a twenty pillared cave and measures 88′×86′ [86′ feet square]. It is so filled with debris as to be difficult of access. No figures stand in the ante-chamber leading to the sanctum. Signs of painting are traceable on walls and pillars.

Caves Nos. 8 and 9 at Bāgh.

A small cell leads from Cave No. 7 to Cave No. 8. Caves Nos. 8 and 9 are now quite blocked by their fallen roofs. Cave No. 8 was a twenty pillared excavation. The softness of the sandstone has even necessitated the building up of one wall of No. 9 with stone.

Concluding remarks.

This extremely interesting series has suffered by not being examined in time, as both the caves and their frescoes were already damaged in Dr. Impey's day and are now in a still worse condition. Possibly, however, a specially deputed draughtsman might still, by constantly wetting the frescoes, copy some portions of the designs, which each rainy season is making more and more indistinct It is a noticeable fact that **no trace of writing nor inscription of any kind is met with.**

A word should be said of the site in which these caves have been excavated. Still romantically picturesque, it requires no great stretch of the imagination for one encamped in the gorge to restore the caves as they once were, with their colonnades and flights of steps leading down to the stream below. The valley is yet full of that peace which belongs to meditation, and in early days, buried in the heart of the forest, it must have formed an ideal retreat for a brotherhood of monks. Though the prayers and chants of the Buddhist have long ceased to awaken the denizens of the neighbouring jungle, Religion still asserts her rights and the old *gusain's* drum continues to signal the hour of prayer at nightfall and daybreak. As its echoes roll down the gorge, hundreds of monkeys hasten to the cave's mouth, bounding from tree top to tree top along the steep scarp, chattering and screaming as they assemble to receive the grain thrown for them. And then at eventide the last boom dies away in a low moan, and the valley is given up to darkness and the ghosts of the old Buddist monks.

Leaving the caves and striking north-east the half ruined shrine of a **twelfth century Hindu temple** is encountered. Only the *garbha-griha* remains (Plate V, fig. 2). The shrine was no doubt destroyed by the Muhammadans, who made a cemetery close by. A comparatively recent restoration has taken place in a promiscuous manner, many of the original stones having been reversed in the process. The foundation stands on a fine plinth, 10 feet high, and the blocks of which the body of the shrine is built are uncemented. Inside is a plaque, 4 feet long, of Vishṇu as Nârâyana lying on Sheshnāg, which points to its having been originally a Vaishṇava temple, though it is now put to Śaiva uses, as a modern *lingam* has usurped the place of Vishṇu. Some small carved stones were found lying in the shrine (Plate V, fig. 3); the central one represents the sage Dattātreya and his wife.

(To be continued.)

KALIDASA'S RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY[1].

By M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

RELIGION and Philosophy always go hand in hand, and it is difficult to draw the line between them, especially when they are considered from the Hindu standpoint. Religion is the practical side of Philosophy, and Philosophy is Religion theorized. The Hindu Religion is so mixed up with philosophy, and the philosophy displays so many religious features that we cannot think of the one without at the same time thinking of the other. No apology is therefore needed here for treating them together.

According to **tradition, Kâḷidâsa** was a **native of Magadha**, and was a **Brâhmaṇ** by birth. He was left an orphan by the sudden death of both his parents, when he was scarcely six months old. In this helpless condition, he was seen by a cowherd, who brought him up as a member of his family. The boy was very handsome, though illiterate. Now, **Bhîmaśukla**, king of Benares, had a daughter by name **Vâsantî**, who was regarded as the most accomplished lady of her age, and would accept no one as her husband, who was not versed in all the arts and sciences. The king's minister very cleverly imposed upon her, by proclaiming the orphan boy as the most learned *paṇḍit* of the day, and eventually got her married to him. The princess discovered the trick that had been played upon her. She was a favoured devotee of the goddess Kâḷî, and by her advice her husband proceeded to the temple of that deity, worshipped her with devotion, and ultimately, made a vow that he would offer his own head, if she did not vouchsafe to him the gift of learning. The goddess took pity on the worshipper and his bride, and marked upon his tongue the **mântrik** letters बीजाक्षराणि which endowed him with a ready wit in speaking and versifying. Thereafter, the young Brâhmaṇ became known to the world as Kâḷîdâsa, or the devotee of Kâḷi[2].

The traditional account that Kâḷidâsa was a Brâhmaṇ by birth is supported by the fact, that he displays in his works a thorough acquaintance with the *Upanishads*, the *Gîtâ* and other Brahmanic Religious Literature.

Moreover, from the invocatory verses at the beginning of his works, we can infer that Kâḷidâsa was a follower of the **Advâita School** of Philosophy and was a devout **worshipper of Śiva.**

For example, his master-piece, the *Śâkuntala-nâṭaka*, contains the following invocatory verse :—

या सृष्टिस्स्रष्टुराद्या वहति विधिहुतं या हविर्या च होत्री
ये द्वे कालं विधत्तश्श्रुतिविषयगुणा या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वम् ।
यामाहुस्सर्वभूतप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणवन्तः
प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रपन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिरष्टाभिरीशः ॥

In this, the poet invokes the blessing of God Śiva or **Ashṭa-mûrti,** whose form is described as the sum of the eight elementary manifestations :—

(1)	पृथ्वीमूर्ति	the Earth,	known in the *Tantra Śâstra* as Śarva.
(2)	जलमूर्ति	Water	Bhava.
(3)	तेजोमूर्ति	Fire	Rudra.
(4)	वायुमूर्ति	Air	Ugra.
(5)	आकाशमूर्ति	the Sky or Ether	Bhîma.
(6)	यजमानमूर्ति	the Sacrificer	Paśupati.
(7)	चन्द्रमूर्ति	the Moon	Mahâdêva.
(8)	सूर्यमूर्ति	the Sun	Îśâna.

[1] A short lecture delivered at the Kâḷidâsa Commemoration Meeting, held on behalf of the Friends' Union Bangalore, 8th July 1909.

[2] There is a well-known *stotra*, called श्यामलादण्डक, in praise of Kâḷi, the authorship of which is ascribed to Kâḷidâsa.

In the *Kâlikâ-Purâṇa*, however, these eight *mûrtis* are mentioned as the eight *pâdas*, or feet of Siva, incarnate in the form of **Sarabha** (*i.e.*, a fabulous animal considered to have eight legs and to be stronger than a lion).

Kâlidâsa seems to be an *upâsaka* (or devout worshipper) of Ashṭamûrti, as he frequently refers, in his works, to Siva by that name :

(i) In his *Mâlavikâgnimitra* the invocatory verse runs thus :—

एकैश्वर्यें स्थितोऽपि प्रणतबहुफले यः स्वयं कृत्तिवासाः
कान्तासम्मिश्रदेहोऽप्यविषयमनसां यः परस्ताद्यतीनाम् ।
अष्टाभिर्यस्य कृत्स्नं जगदपि तनुभिर्बिभ्रतो नाभिमानः
सन्मार्गालोकनाय व्यपनयतु स वस्तामसीं वृत्तिमीशः ॥

(ii) In the *Raghuvamśa* we find:—

अवेहि मां किङ्करमष्टमूर्तेः
कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुम्भमित्रम् ॥

(iii) Also in the *Kumârasambhava* we read :—

तत्राग्निमाधाय समित्समिद्धं
स्वमेव मूर्त्यन्तरमष्टमूर्तिः ॥

We might quote some more instances, but these will suffice for our purpose.

In the first of these verses, Kâlidâsa identifies **Ashṭamûrti** with **Ardha-nârîśvara**, and it may be interesting to note that we find reference, as early as the second century A. D., to a temple in the Western Ghats, where an image of this description was being worshipped. In an article by Mr. J. Kennedy, appearing in the *J. R. A. S.* (p. 969), October 1907, we read: "Clemens (of Alexandria) tells us that Indians of his day (that is, the Indians of the west coast of India in the end of the second century A. D.) worshipped Herakles and Pan. It is not quite certain which Pan Clemens meant, but probably it was the Orphic Pan, and the Greek conception of the Orphic Pan is closely akin to that of Vishṇu. The value of Clemens' statement is brought out by a story given by Bardaisan. 'In the kingdom of Sandanes,' says Bardaisan, 'that is, in the Western Ghats, there was a sacred cave of the Indians with a colossal statue of their supreme god. He was represented as half male and half female. On his right breast, the sun was engraved, and the moon on his left; while on the two arms was artistically engraved a host of angels and whatever the world contains, that is to say, sky and mountains and sea, and a river and ocean, together with plants and animals, in fact everything.' Every one recognises this as Siva-Ardhanârîśvara ; and Bardaisan's description shows that, by the 2nd century A. D., Siva had attained the highest rank as an embodiment of Pantheistic divinity." Mr. Kennedy does not, however, seem to have noticed that the description given by Bardaisan applies to Ashṭamûrti, though he calls the deity Siva-Ardhanârîśvara.

The introductory verse of the *Vikramôrvaśîya-nâṭaka* is also in praise of **Sthâṇu** or Siva ; and is universally appreciated for its liberal style. The verse runs thus :—

वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्य स्थितं रोदसी यस्मिन्नीश्वर इत्यनन्यविषयश्शब्दो यथार्थाक्षरः ।
अन्तर्यश्च मुमुक्षुभिर्नियमितप्राणादिभिर्मृग्यते स स्थाणुस्स्थिरभक्तियोगसुलभो निश्श्रेयसायास्तु वः ॥

It will be seen that the **Bhakti-yôga** here referred to, is no other than the Bhakti-yôga taught by Sri-Krishṇa in the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*. Some recent scholars are of opinion that the doctrine of **Bhakti** is foreign to Hindu Philosophy, and must have been imported from the West. But we know

for a fact that the idea of Bhakti or 'Love of God' is as old as the *Upanishads* themselves; and modern scholars are in fact being led away by parallelisms of thought found in the different religious systems of the world. Mere parallelism in ideas does not signify much. All great minds, for instance, often think alike on common subjects, and numberless examples can be cited from Western and Eastern authors in support of this fact. A few will suffice for the present :—

(i) "All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players:
They have their exits and their entrances;
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages. . . , "—*Shakespeare.*

The Sanskrit rendering of this passage runs, in my *Parivṛitti-ratnamâlâ*, thus :—

जगदिदमेको नटकुलरङ्गस्तदुपरि सर्वो नटजनसङ्घः ।
आगमनिर्गमसहितो मनुजो धत्ते सप्तविधानिह वेषान् ॥
. . . . ,

It compares strikingly with *Bhartṛihari's* well-known verse :—

क्षणं बालो भूत्वा क्षणमपि युवा कामरसिकः ।
क्षणं वित्तैर्हीनः क्षणमपि च सम्पूर्णविभवः ॥
जराजीर्णैरङ्गैर्नट इव वलीमण्डिततनु- ।
र्नरस्संसारान्ते विशति यमधानीयवनिकाम् ॥ (III. 50)

Will it therefore be asserted that Shakespeare borrowed these ideas from Bhartṛihari?

(ii) Again, Wordsworth's lines on the 'Intimations of Immortality of the Soul'—

" Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God, who is our home"—,

the Sanskrit rendering of which again reads thus :—

प्राणिनां जननमत्र नापरं स्वापजातकृतिविस्मृतिं विना ।
आत्मभानुरुदितोऽत्र राजते प्राप्य चास्तमितरत्र दूरतः ॥
नातिविस्मृतितमोहता वयं निर्गता भगवतोऽस्मदालयात् ।
पूर्वजन्मकृतकर्मणां यतो ज्ञानलेशमलिनप्रभायुताः ॥

—may be well compared, in idea, with the following stanza from Kâḷidâsa's *Sâkuntala-nâṭaka* (Act VI) :—

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान् ।
पर्युत्सुको भवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः ॥
तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं ।
भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥

Who will therefore infer that Wordsworth borrowed his idea from Kâḷidâsa ?

(iii) Compare also :—

(*a*) " Through error's maze, through folly's night,
The lamp of reason lends me light."

John Langhorne.

with

हर्तुं तमस्सदसती च विवेक्तुमीशो
मानं प्रदीपमिव कारुणिको ददाति ॥

Parâśara-Bhaṭṭârya's *Śrîranga-râjastava*, II, 1.

(*b*) " Thy bounty still the sunshine pours,
That guilds its morn and evening hours."

John Langhorne.

with

यदादित्यगतं तेजो जगद्भासयतेऽखिलम् ।
यच्चन्द्रमसि यच्चाग्नौ तत्तेजो विद्धि मामकम् ॥

Bh : Gîtâ, XV, 12.

(*c*) " Where stern affliction waves her rod,
My heart confides in Thee, my God ! "

John Langhorne.

with

सोऽहं विपाकावसरे मुकुन्द
क्रन्दामि सम्प्रत्यगतिस्तवाग्रे ॥

Yâmunârya's *Stôtra ratna*, St. 23.

Can we conclude by these parallelisms that the British Poet, Langhorne, copied the Sanskrit Poets above quoted ?

It would not be safe, therefore, to argue from mere **similarity of ideas** that one of the authors has borrowed from the other. The common idea, in each case, must have occurred to the two poets independently.

In the same way, the idea of **Bhakti** must have sprung up independently amongst different nations of the world, simultaneously with the idea of God ; for *bhakti* is only a loving devotion to a God, who is all-merciful and ever beneficent. It would be unreasonable, therefore, to argue that the doctrine of *bhakti* is foreign to a Philosophical System that has been universally admitted as the most ancient in the world.

To return to my subject, the idea conveyed in the **Mangaḷaślôka of the Raghuvamśa** is in close agreement with the ideas contained in the invocatory verses above quoted. This well-known *śloka* runs thus :—

वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ
वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे
पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

It has been commented upon largely; and some ingenious scholars would interpret the last *pâda*—पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ—as signifying both Siva and Vishṇu. They would explain the compound thus:—

पार्वतीपश्च रमेश्वरश्च—पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ

This interpretation is hardly convincing, and is to be taken simply as an attempt to show that Kâḷidâsa was equally devoted to Vishṇu and Śiva, a fact that can be easily proved otherwise. The passage quoted by Mallinâtha from the *Vâyupurâṇa, viz.*,—

शब्दजातमशेषं तु धत्ते शर्वस्य वल्लभा ।
अर्थरूपं यदखिलं धत्ते मुग्धेन्दुशेखरः ॥

—offers the key-note to the correct interpretation of the verse.

It must, however, be admitted that **Kâḷidâsa's** religious belief is full of toleration. His liberal views mark him out as an unprejudiced and impartial **Vêdântin.**

The following are some of the main philosophical tenets referred to in his works:—

(1) that the individual souls enjoy in this birth the results of past *karma*;

(2) that God, though omnipresent and ever-watchful, is indifferent when the souls act against his injunctions as laid down in the *Śâstras*;

(3) that the soul's observance or non-observance of the *Śâstras* is dependent entirely on the *samskâras* (mental impressions) of previous births;

(4) that God is always just and impartial, and is all-merciful;

(5) that meritorious deeds, done with attachment to the results thereof, are only productive of trivial and ephemeral fruit;

(6) that deeds performed as duties, *i.e.*, without attachment to the results thereof, are conducive to the attainment of salvation; and

(7) that God, who is residing in everybody's heart as **Antaryâmin**, is realisable by means of *yôga-samâdhi* or uninterrupted concentration of the mind, which realisation is the highest end of life.

Kâḷidâsa's verses, containing these and other philosophical ideas, are frequently found to echo the very sentiments expressed in the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, and the *Brahma-sûtras*. One could easily quote parallel passages in support of this statement.

Kâḷidâsa's philosophical knowledge is exhibited to the greatest advantage in the 10th *sarga* of the *Raghuvamśa* (stanzas 16—32), where the *Devas* (demi-gods) approach Vishṇu lying on the Milky Sea and sing his praises. A summary of the thoughts running through these few stanzas may not be out of place here:—

(1) God is three-fold in form—as the Evolver, the Preserver and the Dissolver of the Universe.

(2) If it be objected—"How can the Immutable take this three-fold form?"—the answer is—'Just as the very same rain-water acquires different tastes by falling on different regions, so the Immutable God takes different forms by assuming different qualities, *viz.*, *sattva* (purity), *rajas* (turbidity), and *tamas* (darkness).

(3) God is immeasurable, while He has measured all the worlds; He has no requests to make, while He fulfils the requests of others; He is invincible, while He is the conqueror of all and he is inconceivable, while He is the cause of all that is conceivable.

(4) He is seated in the heart of every one, though residing in a region far away from this world; He is ever engaged in *tapas* (penance or meditation), though He has no desires of his own; He is untouched by sorrow, though feeling sorry for the plight of the afflicted; and He is never subject to old age, though existing from time immemorial.

(5) He is the bestower of the four objects of life, *viz.*, *dharma* (virtue), *artha* (wealth), *kâma* (enjoyment) and *môksha* (salvation). He is the cause of Time and all its divisions (such as the *chatur-yugas*). He is the originator of the *châtur-varṇya*, or the Four Castes.

(6) The *yôgins*, desirous of attaining salvation, turn their well-disciplined minds inwards to seek the Antaryâmin, residing in their hearts.

(7) God's nature is inexplicable. He is without births, and yet He becomes incarnate. He hates none, and yet He inflicts punishments. He is sleeping on the Milky Sea, and yet He is ever-awake and watchful[3].

(8) Just as all the waters of the Ganges eventually reach the ocean, so all kinds of means adopted for salvation have Vishṇu for their goal.

(9) God's creations, that can be realised by the sense of perception, are themselves boundless. Such being the case, what can we say with regard to His own nature, which is conceivable only by the aid of the revealed *Sâstras* or by inference?

(10) The very thought of God sanctifies the soul. It is therefore needless to dilate upon the results that would follow from the various ways of paying homage to Him.

(11) Though he has no desires of His own to be fulfilled, yet He becomes incarnate, and works only for the elevation of mankind.

(12) If we pause while singing the praises of God, it is only because our tongues fail, and not because His qualities are exhausted[4].

From this summary it is evident that our poet is equally **devoted to Vishṇu** also. That he can take rank with the best of philosophers, is evidenced by his keen insight into the subtle points of the various philosophical systems. We can see from his works how a poet, who is unparalleled in the *śṛingâra-rasa* or 'Sentiment of Love,' can handle philosophical subjects with credit to himself. In fact, it may be said that poetry shines best when the subject-matter is sublime; for it is only then that the poet's inspiration reaches its zenith :—

न ब्रह्मविद्या न च राज्यलक्ष्मी-
स्तथा यथेयं कविता कवीनाम् ।
लोकोत्तरे पुंसि निवेश्यमाना
पुत्रीव हर्षं हृदये करोति ॥

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[3] *Cf.* निद्रामुद्रां निखिलजगतीरक्षणे जागरूकाम्—Bhôja's *Champû-Râmâyaṇa.*

[4] *Cf.* इषुक्षयान्निवर्तन्ते नान्तरिक्षक्षितिक्षयात् ।
मतिक्षयान्निवर्तन्ते न गोविन्दगुणक्षयात् ॥

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

THIS Series has been compiled almost entirely from Gazetteers and Settlement Reports relating to Districts in the Eastern Panjab. It includes such stores of words as are contained in the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson's *Settlement Report of the Karnâl District,* Sir J. B. Lyall's *Kângra Settlement Report* (including the Glossary), and other publications of their school. It also includes some Bauria words and phrases collected by Mr. S. L. Williams of the Panjab Police, some addenda to the *Panjabi Dictionary* by Miss Francis, Inspectress of Schools, Panjab, and some definitions of local words by Dr. J. Hutchison of the Chamba Mission.

At least one more Series will be required to exhaust the material available in published books, and as my material is published by degrees, it will be preferable to refer to published articles than to insert words without references. Moreover, several new or revised Gazetteers, etc., are under issue in the Panjab and some of these contain fresh words which will have to be excerpted.

It may be noted that the present Series does not embody Mr. A. H. Diack's *Kuluhi Dialect of Hindi* or the Glossary in the revised *Gazetteer of the Kângra District, 1904.*

In conclusion, attention is invited to a *Supplement to the Panjabi Dictionary* by the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey, C.M.S., now under publication in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in which a *Glossary of Pahari,* by Pandit Tîka Râm Joshi, will also appear shortly.

Abbar bhandi=abhagat : impiety.

Abdâl, mad : Shâhpur.

Abrû, habrû : land in small plots among boulders, difficult to plough; and so generally sown with *mâh,* etc. (Dera). Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Abbûṅ=abbû.

Ablakh, *s. m.*: lime obtained from burnt shells, used as a cosmetic: talc, mica. *Adj.*: piebald, parti-coloured.

Achhoplâ, *adj.*

Âd: the boundary ridge between individual fields. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 171.

Aḍḍ=âḍ : a garden aqueduct.

Adda: the land appertaining to a bucket or wheel, when there are two wheels or buckets on the same well. Cf. *sek.* Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 169.

Addhwâṭû : half-way.

Addî : etcetera, and so on.

Aḍḍnâ, munh : to open the mouth.

Âdh: the irrigation channel of a well. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 100.

Adhâmân : half a *ghumâo,* or half of any area. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Adhamia : a jacket. Bauria *argot.*

adhâr: the second day of a wedding. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 131.

Adheo: a tenant farmer residing in the village, but not on the land he cultivates. Cf. *opâhû* and *kirsân.* Kângra S. R. Review, pp. 8, 44.

Adher: half a *bher,* q. v.

Adhî ghârî : a tenancy for which half the produce is payable as rent: Pângi; Cf. *ghârâ.* [Chamba].

Adhsâli: a person sharing the landlord's share of grain and paying half the revenue. Kângra Glossary.

Aḍiṭh said to be from Sanskrit *adrisht*: invisible—a bubo=*gambhîr*. Gurgaon.

Aditû: a tenant paying half of the grass produce to the proprietor; Pâlam. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Afî: a little viper. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 20.

Âgam: a shallow surface drain. Cf. *sûâ*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 293.

Agast, agat: a north wind, which blows for a day or two about Bhâdon, 22nd (middle of) September and breaks the maize stalks, besides injuring in a less degree sugar-cane and cotton. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 125.

Agath: a destructive wind-storm. Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

? **Ago, aga**: father. Bauria *argot*. Cf. *bâpû*; *ex. ago, āita mare giye* 'his father and mother are dead.'

Ahar, ahr: a small duct or water channel. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Ahn: locust. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 125.

Ai, =**mān**: mother; see *aga*.

Aigâr: unlucky, uncanny; see *greh*.

Ailo: barley, Pângî. A beer (*lugri* or *chang*) made from it. [Chamba].

Aisan: a tree (*pentaptera tormentosa*). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 14.

Ajjhnâ: to proceed, go.

Âkhar: seed of *sarson*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 190.

Ak-kâ-mâmâ: 'the *ak's* maternal uncle,' the handsome parasite of the *ak* plant, called *margoza*. Rohtak.

Akar: fees of *begâr*. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Akbari: the three principal clans of *Jâṭs*:—Bains, Sahotā and Khunga. Hoshiârpur S. R, p. 51.

Akhânet: hail (Gâdî). Cf. *an*, and *kharet*. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Âkhri: black buck, *ex. akhri hār diya* 'there is a black buck,' Bauria *argot*.

Akhwal: see *kawâl*.

'Al: a hole or pool, or deep place in a stream, not backed by rocks or a steep bank (if so backed, *kund*). Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Al: a black oily appearance upon the leaves of cotton and sugar-cane; also used for a gregarious caterpillar, which especially attacks cotton, rape and sesame. Cf. *âlâ*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 180.

Âl: moist sub-soil. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 169.

Âl: a nick-name. Karnâl S. R., p. 77.

Ala: a niche in wall; Kângra: see *gahî*.

'Alâ, alân: a rope bridge; in Tibetan *chag zam*. Cf. *jhûla*. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Âlan: a mess of Indian corn meal. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 70.

Alked: carelessness, indifference; from the *adj. alki*, careless. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. x.

Alsu: a woollen shoe. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Alūbal: police officer. Bauria *argot*.

Alûpûrî: a variety of *jowâr*; it gives a large sweet grain, but is delicate. Cf. *pîlî*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 186.

Amar: heaven. *Ex. amar pakkâ*, a red sky. Cf. *ambar*; Sanskrit. *ambara*. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Ambâkarî: a tax on mango-trees. Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), p. 34.

Amlera: sour flour, used as a leaven. See under *bhatoru*.

Amṛî: *adj.* natural, unartificial.

Amukknâ: to ferment (of grain).

Amussnâ: to become slightly putrid.

An: hail: = *akhânet* and *kharet* in Gâdî.

Andhrâta: night blindness. Cf. *râtaunda*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 152.

Andrâr, undrâr: a house-yard or enclosure; a common enclosure in which several houses of one family stand. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Andrârî: a place in front of a house for keeping fuel and grass. Fr. *andrâr*. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Âng: the number of heads in the *lâna*. Karnâl S. R., p. 112.

Angra: a piece of wood with a hole in which the axle of the horizontal wheel of a well works. Jullundur S. R., p. 102.

Angta: a waistcoat for women. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Anhârâ = anhera.

Anjan: a grass (*Andropogo iwarancusa*). Karnâl S. R., p. 12.

Anjana: sorting or sifting two kinds of grain. Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Anokhrâ = anokkhâ.

Ansâri: a coarse rice. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 184.

Anusâr = ansâr.

Antna: to twist. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 199.

Apgat: violent death. Cf. *ghâzîmard*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 153.

Aprauṇâ: to cause to arrive.

Aqîqa: the feast celebrated at the end of forty days after a birth. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 71.

Âr: an irrigation channel. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 407.

Ârâ: a weight = 4 *thâkurîs* or 6 *sers*; Jubbal. The area sown with one *ârâ* is reckoned as equal to a *bîgha*.

Aṛak: untrained ox.

Ârat: a tax levied on all imports; Jubbal.

Ârata: a ceremony at a wedding performed by the bride or bridegroom's mother; she takes a 5-wicked lamp made of flour, places it on a tray, and while her brother stands on a stool, waves it up and down his body from head to foot: Cf. *minna*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 129.

Arlû: a variety of edible arum, the *colocasia himalensis*. Cf. *kachâlû* and *gundiâlî*. Kângra S. R., p. 25.

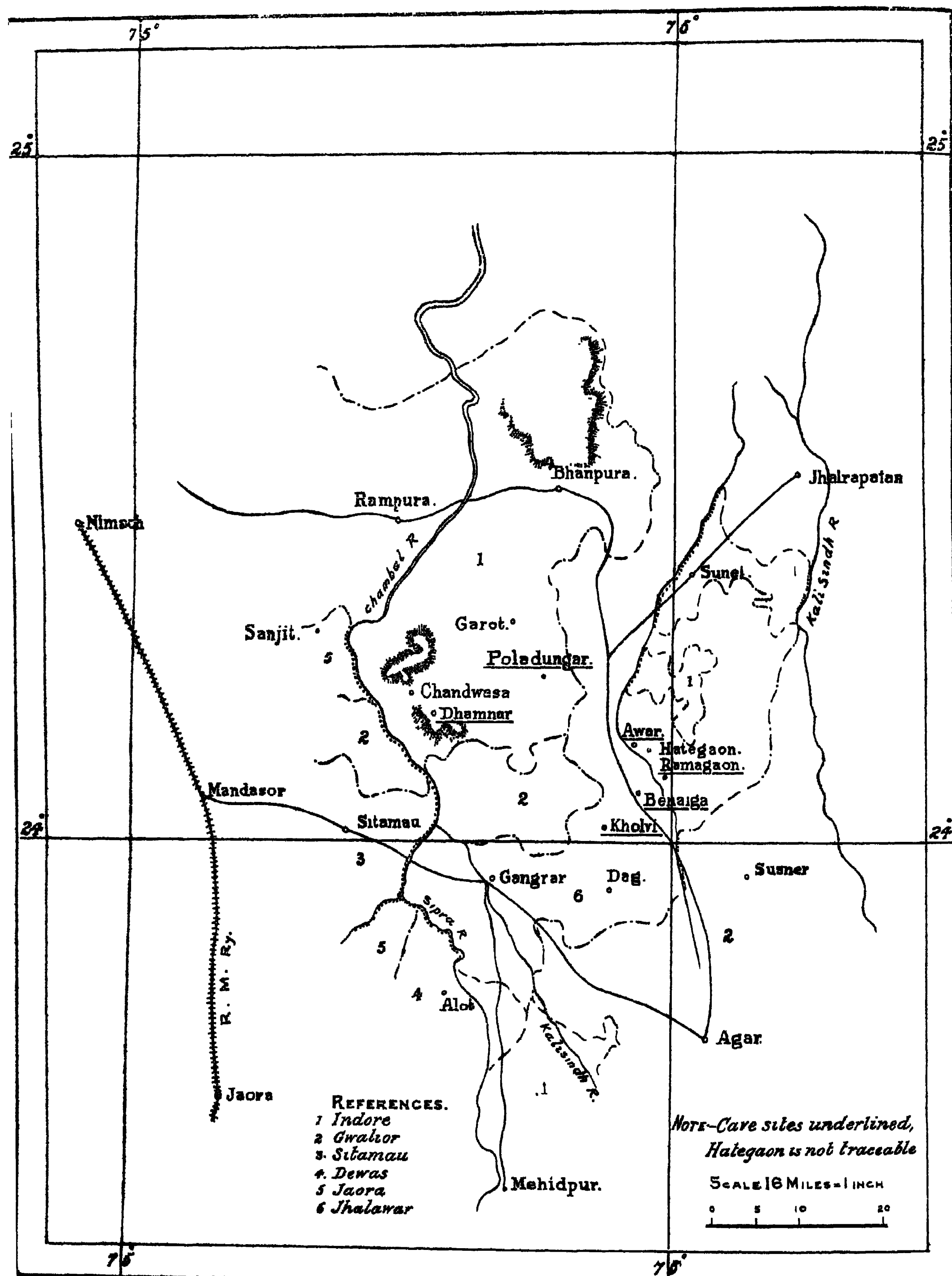
Aṛbiṇgâ: charl.

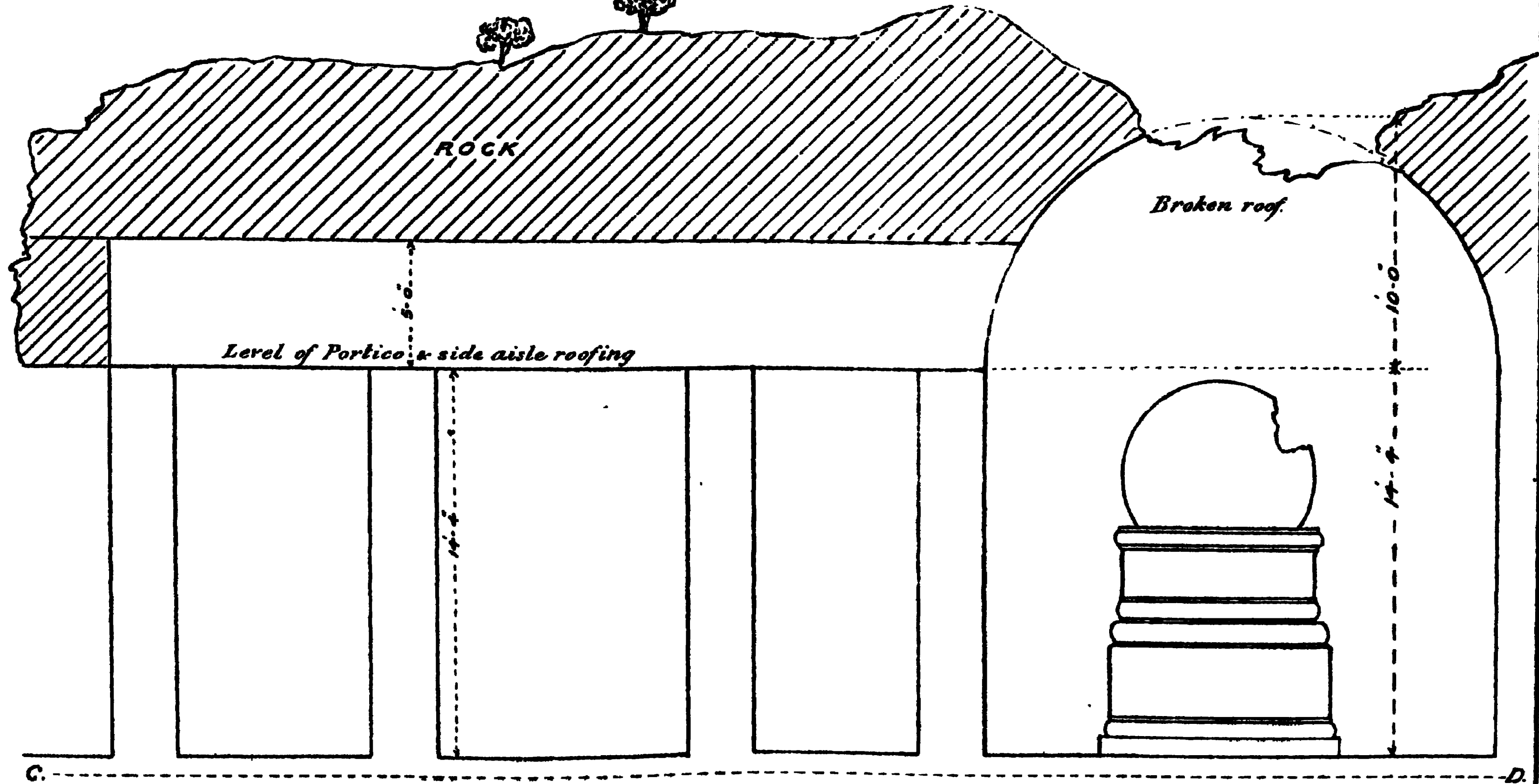
Arha: wolf = *nahr*. Banria, *argot*.

Arhar: *Cajanus indicus*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 90.

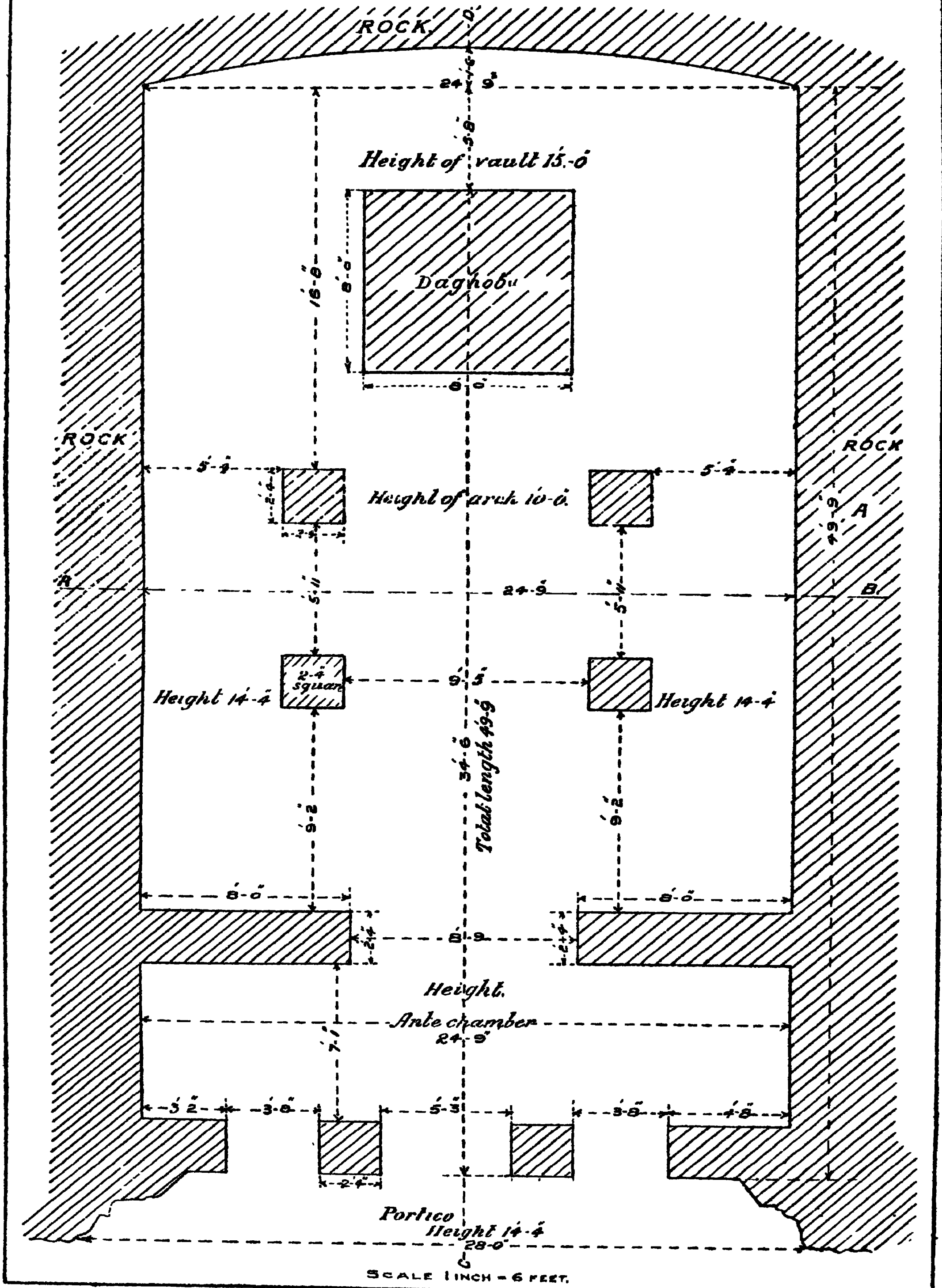
(To be continued.)

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE MALWA GROUP OF CAVES.




POLADUNGAR CAVES.
ELEVATION ON C.D. OF PLAN OF SURAJ POL CAVE.
ROCK
Broken roof.
Level of Portico & side aisle roofing
5·0
14·4
10·0
14·4
C.
D.
SCALE 1 INCH = 6 FEET.

B I PRESS.


POLADUNGAR CAVES.
PLAN OF SURAJ POL CAVE
ROCK
Height of vault 15-0
Daghoba
ROCK
ROCK
Height of arch 10-0
Height 14-4
2-4 square
Height 14-4
Total length 49-9
Height.
Ante chamber
24-9
Portico
Height 14-4
28-0
SCALE 1 INCH = 6 FEET.

B.I PRESS

THE POLADUNGAR CAVES.

PLATE I.



Entrance to the Sūraj Pol Cave.

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CAVES

PLATE II.



Fig 1 The Dāghoba in the Sūraj Pol Cave.



Fig 2 Doorway of the Sūraj Pol Cave

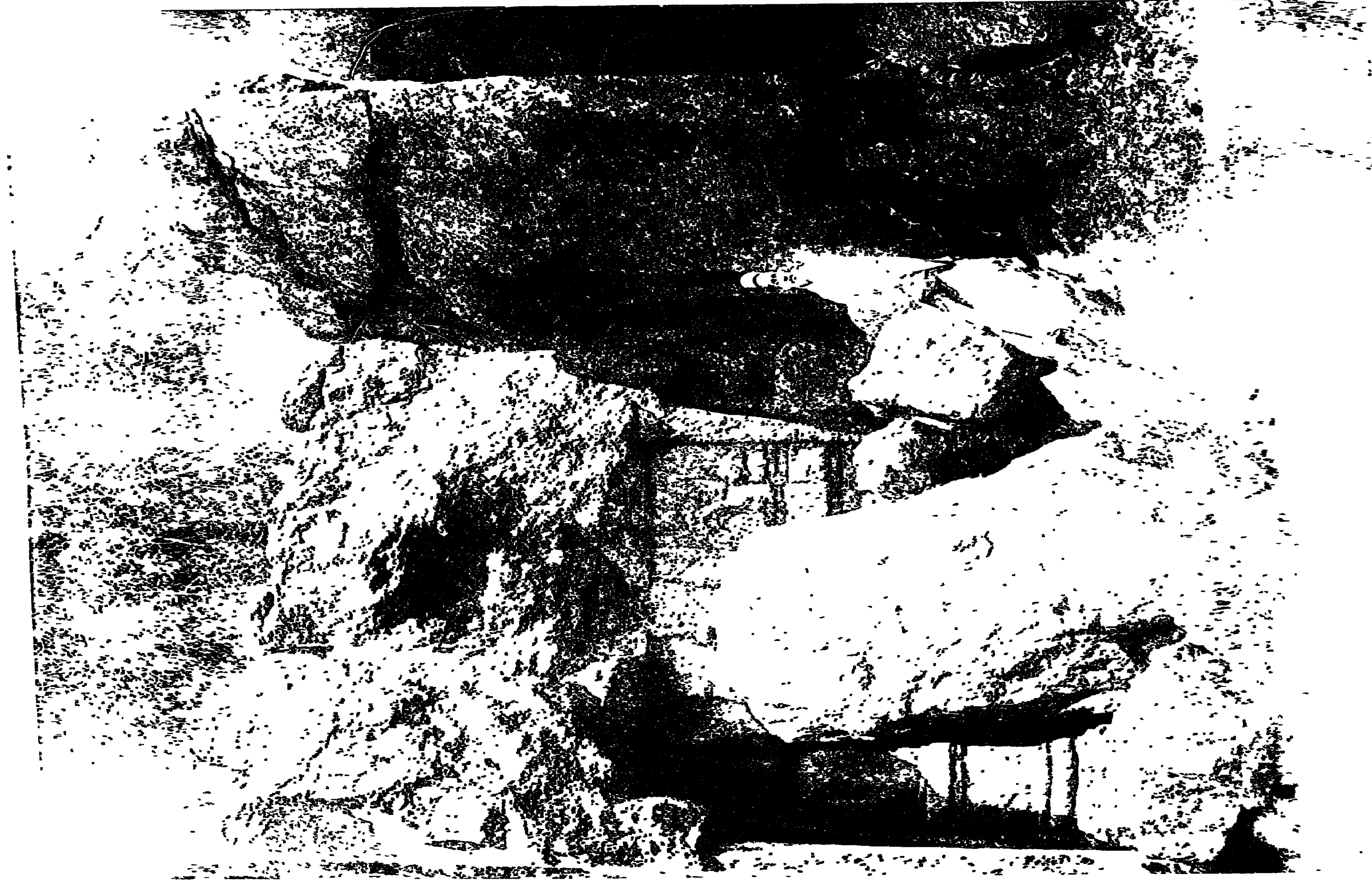
O E LUARD.



Fig. 3. Main and South-Western doors.
Niche with image of Ganēsa-Gusain's Cave.
(Misplaced for Fig. 3, Pl. II, Bāgh Caves.)

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THE POLADUNGAR CAVES
PLATE III.



Fallen Façade of the Cave lying to the west of the Sūraj Pol Cave.

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The four pillars bear an arched roof which is 19 feet, 4 inches high. The vault over the Dāghoba was, when complete, about 24 feet high, or 8 feet above the top of the Dāghoba. The roof of the ante-chamber and also of the side aisles is 14 feet 4 inches high. The ornamentation used in this cave and indeed, throughout the series, is of the simplest (Plate III). No representations of Buddha are met with, but Dāghobas are frequently seen. There are also no signs of plastering for frescoe work.

The cave on the western face was evidently an exact replica of this one and, judging from the appearance, both the caves should be placed in the Seventh Century A.D.

THE DHAMNAR CAVES.

As a very full account of the Dhamnār Caves is given by Sir Alexander Cunningham (in *Archæological Survey Report,* Vol. II, p. 270) a description is unnecessary here. Plate I gives a general view of the caves described by Cunningham, the principal excavations being indicated below by the same number as are used in the *Archæological Survey Report.*

On Plate II, figs. 1, 2 and 3 are views of **Cave No. 6,** called the **Baṛī Kachahrī.** It consists of a flat roofed central hall, 20 feet square, supported on four pillars. In rear is the small Chaitya chamber with its Dāghoba. The portico is fine. It rests on two pillars and two half pilasters, bearing an entablature and frieze, the latter being ornamented with the characteristic Buddhist device and a representation of a Tope. Below is a railing imitating a wooden structure.

Plate III, fig. 1, represents the portico of Cave No. 8, the **Chhotī Kachahrī.** It resembles the **Bâri Kachahrī,** but is of simpler design, while the roof is domed and ribbed to represent rafters. Plate III, fig. 3, shews Cave No. 10, known as the **Rājlok Guphā.** It is 25 feet by 23 feet, and resembles Cave No. 6.

Plate III, fig. 4, represents Cave No. 11, called **Bhīm's Bāzār,** from the seated figure of a Buddha in it. It is unusually interesting as it is a combined Chaitya hall and Vihāra. The representation shews one of the passages with the cells for monks. In size it is the largest of the series, being 115 feet by 80. The roof is domed and ribbed as in the case of No. 8. The façade resembles that of No. 6. Plate No. III, fig. 2, gives Cave No. 12 called the **Hāthimekh Cave,** from the Dāghoba which supports the roof. It is of simple design, 25 feet by 27 feet. A staircase just outside this cave leads to the top of the hill.

On Plate IV, fig. 1, is general view of Caves 8, 9, and 10, 11, shewing also a broken Dāghoba in the foreground, the sphere from the top lying in front of the damaged base. Plate IV, fig. 2, gives a view of one of the Colossi, 10 feet high, at the entrance to Cave No. 13, known as the **Child's Cave,** so called from this figure and some representations of Buddha in it. Plate IV, fig. 3, shews the steps near Cave No. 12.

Plates V and VI shew two views of the fine **rock-cut Brahmanical temple** to the north of the Caves. This temple lies in a pit 104 feet by 67 feet and 80 feet deep. The temple is 48 feet by 33 feet, and has seven small shrines round it.

THE DHANMĀR CAVES.

PLATE I.



The numbers indicate the positions of the Caves as described and numbered by Sir Alexander Cunningham, Arch. S. R. Vol III, p. 270.

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C E LUARD

THE DHANMĀR CAVES.

PLATE II.

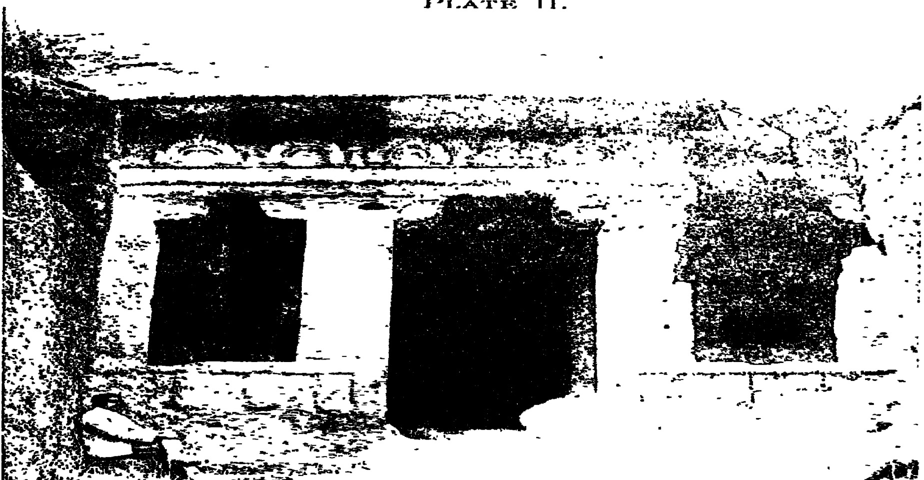


Fig. 1   Cave No. 6, The Barī Kachahri, General View.

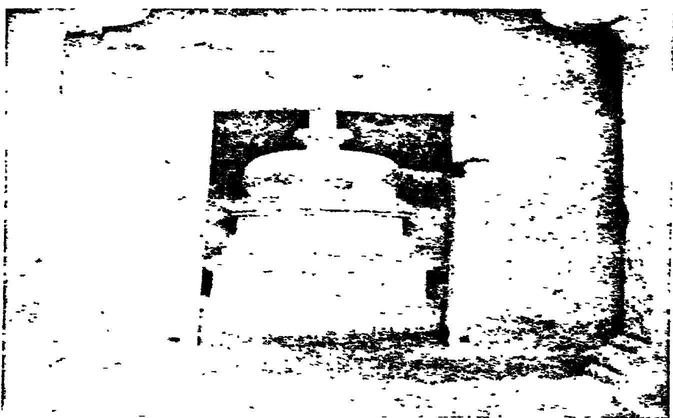


Fig. 2.   The Dāghoba in Cave No. 6.

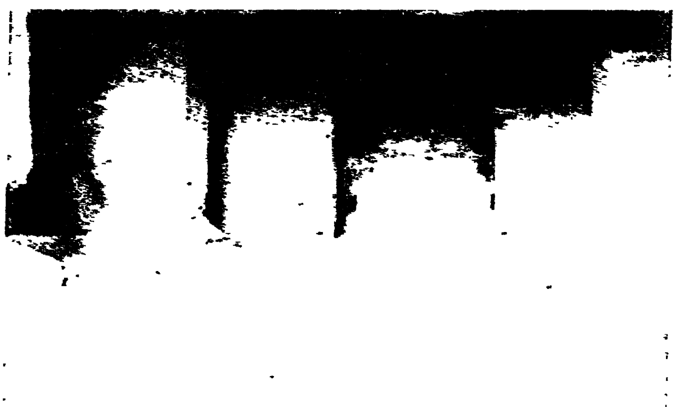


Fig. 3.   Interior of Cave No. 6, with Dāghoba

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THE DHANMĀR CAVES.
PLATE III.



Fig 2. Cave No. 12, with Dāghoba.
The Hāthi-mekh Cave.



Fig. 4. Cave No. 11, with cells in the passage

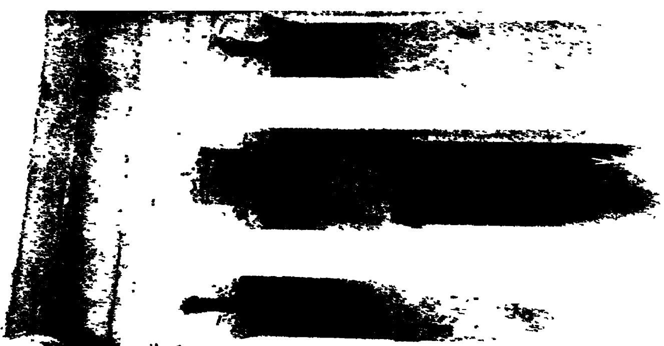


Fig 1. Portico of Cave No 8. The Chhotī Kachahrī.



Fig 3. General View of Cave No.

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C. E. LUARD.

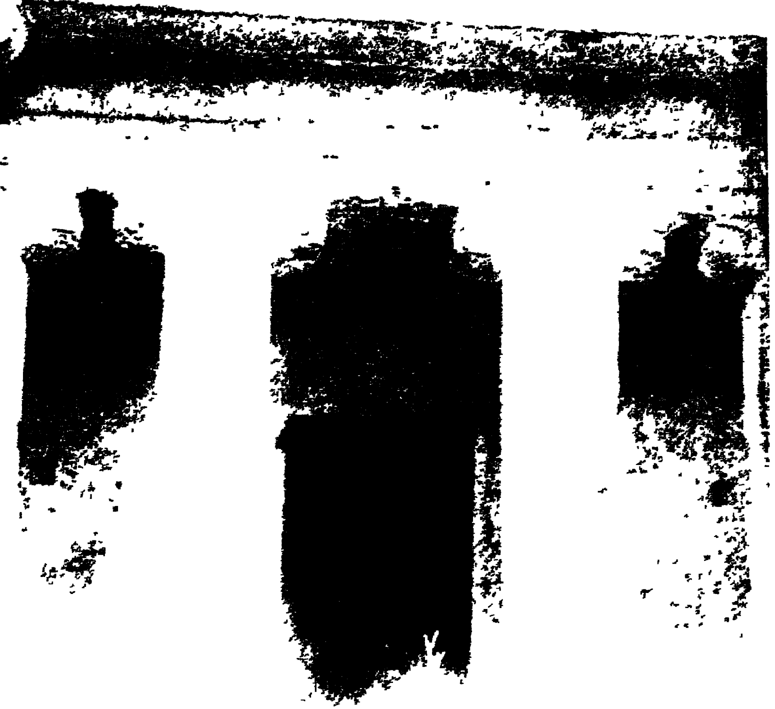


Fig 1. Portico of Cave No 8. The Chhotī Kachahrī.



Fig 3 General View of Cave No [illegible]
The [illegible] Cave

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THE DHANMĀR CAVES.

PLATE IV.



Fig. 1. General view of Caves Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 11
Broken Dāghoba in foreground



Fig. 2. Colossus in front of Cave No. 13.
The Child's Cave.



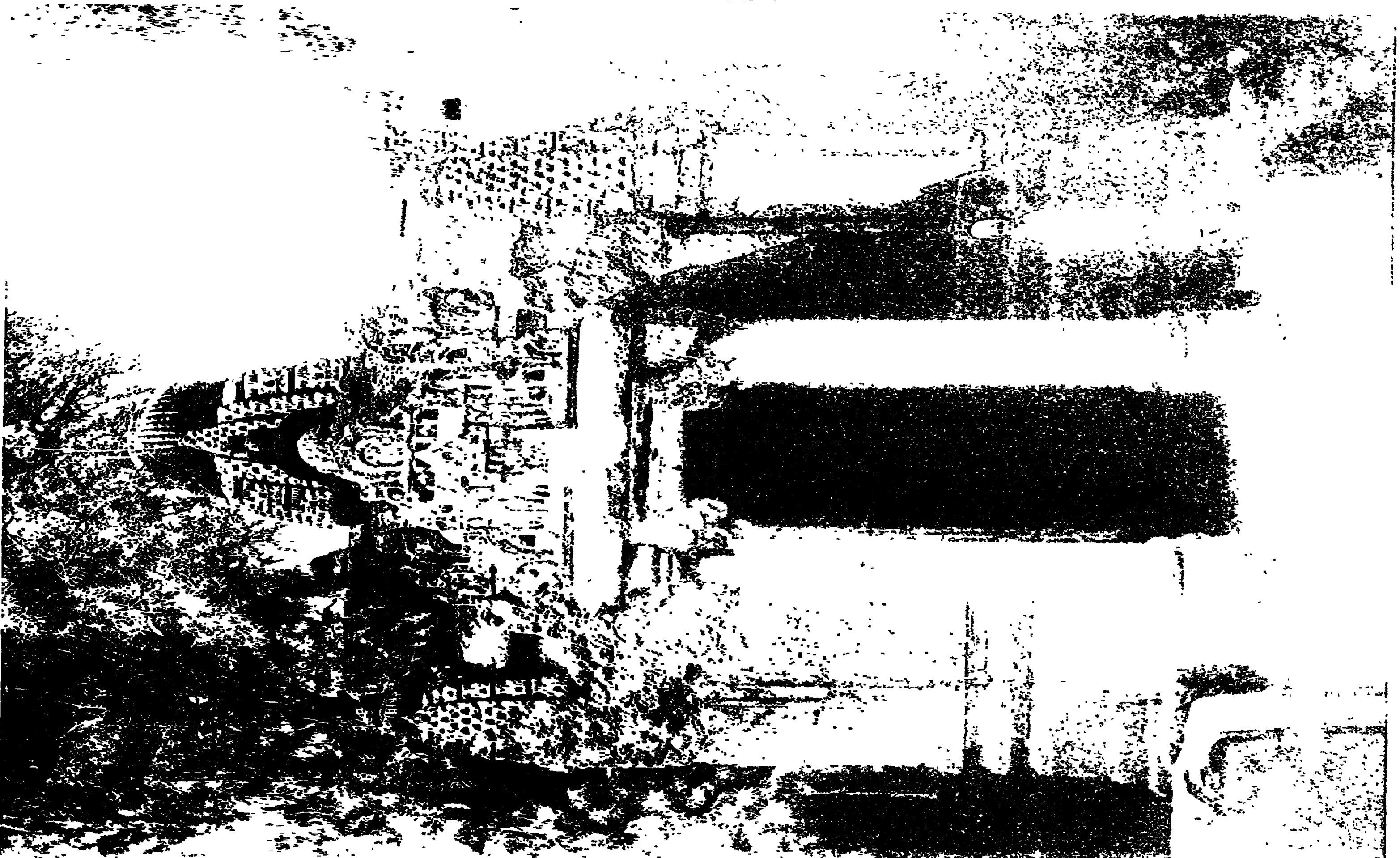
Fig. 3 Steps near Cave No. 12.

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THE DHANMĀR CAVES.

PLATE V



O E LUARD

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THE DHANMĀR CAVES.

PLATE VI

Rock-cut Brahmanical Temple at Dhanmār
From above

O. E. LUARD

W. GRIGGS & SONS LTD. COLLOTYPE

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 244.*)

Aṛi khor: perverse.

Arjan: a timber tree (*Terminalia glabra*). Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Arli: the handle of a plough. Cf. *thaili.* Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 99.

Aṛmann: perverse.

Arnâ (ernâ ?): burnt cow-dung (?); Gurdâspur.

Arnî: a tree (*Clerodendron phlomoides*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Arogtâ=arogan.

Ars: **P.=ambaltâs.**

Arthi: a bier for carrying a dead body. Cf. *sîdî.* Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 168. *arti*: a bier Cf. *pînjri.* Karnal S. R., 1872-80, p. 136.

Âsang *s. m.*: strength.

Aseb: shadow, p. 12 of Miss B.

Asiḍḍâ=asâḍâ.

Aspghol: *Flicus*, fleawort. Gurgaon S. R., 1883, p. 68.

Assâhûr: early morning, 3 a. m.

Asse=Assû, Asauj.

Atam devi: [Kângra] houses.

Atholû: a tenant who farms land with plough and oxen furnished by the landholder. Cf. *chinteqû* and *trihâna.* Kângra S. R. Review, pp. 8, 44.

Athrâ: a disease which attacks children on the 8th day, month or year, of their age.

Aṭhrâhâ=*wasîn*: Karnâl.

Athwâra: daily *begâr* or corvée, by which each pargana has to supply three coolies a day for various services to the state. Gulhâr Lit. 8 days' free labour in the *darbâr.* Jubbal.

Atiâla: a platform of masonry built under, or round the trunk of, a tree(=*atâla*, P. D. p. 52) Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Atlî: a raised sitting place—see *bihî.*

Atthrâ: *adj.* restless.

Attun:=âtan.

Augshumari: Hissâr S. R., p. 10.

Aula, aulkâ: a ditch behind land or a house to intercept and carry off drainage from a hill above; also a drain to carry off water from a field. Cf. *challa.* Kângra S. R., App. iv, p. ix.

Aulka: Cf. *aula.*

Aun: the iron rings, with which the sides of the hole in the pulley, through which the axle passes, are lined, to prevent friction. Jullundur S. R., p. 102.

Auṛ: heat (of season).

Auṛâ: S. M. scarecrow in human shape.

Aurû: a receipt for revenue:—î, a tax or due levied to cover the cost of writing the *aurû.* Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), p. 33.

Autri: a patch of barren land. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 12.

Awâî: coming, arrival.

Awer: delay.

Awi jāna: to come. Bauria *argot.*

Bachwa: a fish (*Eutropüchthys vacha*). During the rains, after the first heavy floods have swept down the Budha Nala, this fish begins to run up. It is rarely in good condition owing to the thickness of the water, but is notwithstanding the very best eating fish to be had there. In the Sutlej, it is found in great quantities near any place where young fish congregate. It probably migrates for part of the year and also to spawn. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 17, Karnâl S. R., p. 7.

Badd: a mow or reap; see *barra bad.*

Badh: enlarged glands :=*kachhrâlî, kan-peṛâ*. Karnâl.

Badha: (lit. 'extra') an extra cess. Cf. *bolh*. Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), p. 33.

Badhun: cultivated, see *bâhu-lilh.*

Badkanak: a very tall variety of wheat growing to a height of 4 or 5 feet in good well land. The grain is large; but said to be hard and not good for flour. Cf. *phaman*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 113.

Badrol: a timber tree. Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Bâfir: a *kolâ* or plot of rice-land to which there was no hereditary claimant: opposed to *mudi*. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), § 32.

Bagar: a blind alley. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 120.

Bâgar-wâla: the greatest of the snake-kings. Cf. *gûga* and *jâhirpir*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 151.

Baggi: a small irrigation-cut. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p 406.

Bagtari: a coat. Bauria *argot.*

Bagûrî: a cane-hoe with short handle. Jullundur S. R., p. 108.

Bâha: an earthen vessel in which juice running out of the sugar press is received. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 182.

Bahal: a tree (*Grewia oppositifolia*). Cf. *dhâman*. Jullundur S. R., p. 120.

Bâharû: lit. an 'outcast'; the name of the next son of a mother after she has lost one by small-pox. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 150.

Bahera: (*Terminalia belerica.*) Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Bâhaj, bahj: land ploughed ready for sowing.

Bahnbanjar: the poorest land, obliged to lie fallow for two or three years before yielding even one crop. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 69; inferior land. Kângra S. R., p. 24.

Bâhndol behndol: cultivated. Kângra Glossary. Cf. *badhun.*

Bai: sister. Bauria *argot.*

Bai: two. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 124.

Bain *baûli or bauri*,: a covered spring.

Bains: a big harmless snake. Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Bair: string connecting the two circles of a spring-wheel.

Bairia: the man who catches the bucket (in irrigating with the leather bucket). Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 169.

Bâis: the number of villages contained in a *tâluqa*. Cf. *bet*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 12.

Baisâk, *baitâk* : see *bihâk*.

Bâjê : without. Kângra Glossary.

Bakhari : a fire-place in a well. Kângra Glossary.

Bakharnâ : to separate, put apart. Kângra Glossary.

Bakrâ : a he-goat; a sum of money, R. 1-0 or R. 1-8, paid to the parents of a widow on her remarriage. Churah.

Bakrâl : a shed in which goats are kept. Sirmûr.

Bakri (Gâḍi) : a she-goat; *towât*, he-goat; *cheilù* or *cheli*, a kid; *patlû*, young male up to two years; *pat*, young female; *charrara*, a cut male. Kângra Glossary.

Balâen lenî : to bless (a child). Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 163.

Balaur : the vertical axis of the horizontal cogged wheel of a Persian well. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 160.

Bâldi : the man who feeds the bullocks. Cf. *nyâr wâla*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 168.

Bale, 'yes' : assent, to assent to a betrothal, a betrothal. Pathâns of Hoshiârpur and Muhammadans of Kângra; among the latter the *bale* is a regular observance which precedes the betrothal (*mangni*) : Hoshiârpur.

Balhri, *balhi, balri* : a small meadow or field on the side of a stream. Kângra Glossary.

Ballâ : level land on the side of a river. Kângra Glossary.

Baltî mela : a *pûjâ* ceremony held in the month of Mâgh or Phâgan on an auspicious day is called *baltî* and people then assemble for a fair (*mela*). Simla Hills.

Bâlu : a bear : *rîch* is also commonly used; *gâhi* or *gâi* in Kulu, where *chidhâ gâi* means a black bear. Kângra Glossary.

Ban : a sheep-run. Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), pp. 38-40.

Ban : the dam of a water-course. Cf. *dang*. Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), p. 92.

Bân : a ceremonial oiling the boy has to undergo at. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 127.

Ban-kironk : lit. 'forest watchman', the *koklâs* pheasant; see under *kakrola*.

Ban-kuî : woodcock; see *jalâkrî*.

Banâ : a bush of some size, also called *sambhâlû*, سنبهالو ; Simla Hills.

Banahâta : = *chela*. Oldham, Sun and Serpent, p. 94.

Banâsat : a female spirit which dwells in forests on high mountain slopes. Cattle are believed to be under her charge and when taken to graze in the forests she is propitiated. Cf. *bânbîr*, Chamba.

Banbîr : a tree spirit which has a specially evil influence. Cf. *banâsat*, Chamba.

Banchattî : dried stems of the cotton plant. Cf. *bansatî*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 184.

Band khulai : the ceremony in which the bride's mother makes the bridegroom untie one knot of the *manda*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 132.

Bandarwâl : a garland of mango leaves hung up in the doorway when a boy is born. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 125.

Bandhâ : all the ornaments *collectively* worn by a man or woman. Used in Pângi for the ornaments (*bâlu* and *kangan* given by the boy to the girl at betrothal) ; *luânâ*, to put on ornaments, a form of marriage used when a widow marries her husband's brother on the *kiria* day;—*denâ*, to give R. 1 to the bride for her ornaments on betrothal. Churâh.

Bani : a village copse. Rohtak.

Banjan : the egg-plant (*Solonum melongena*). Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 123.

Bankarila : (*Momordica Charantia.*) Gurgaon S. R., 1883, p. 14.

Banâr : see *bânâr*.

Bangat, vangat : a cash due payable to the Râjâ on a *vand* or lot. Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), § 31.

Bānj-pâ-denâ : to put out of caste. Kângra Glossary.

Bankukar : the jungle-fowl. Kângra Glossary.

Banna : a shrub (*vitex negundo*). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 14 : a scrub (*Tamarisk gallica*). Rohtak.

Bannhnûṇ, bannhnâ : to manage, govern.

Bânṇbanûṇ : a tying, management, arrangement.

Bâns : a fish (*Rhynchobdella aculeata*). Karnâl S. R., p. 7.

Bansa : a scrub (*tephrosia pumila*). Rohtak. Cf. *bâṇsâ*, *P. Dy.*, p. 95.

Bansatî : dried stems of the cotton plant. Cf. *banchattî*.

Bans-lochan : a substance, sometimes coagulated, sometimes liquid, found in the cylinder of the *nal* bamboo ; highly valued for its cooling and strengthening properties ; also called *tabâshîr* according to *P. Dy.*, p. 95. Kângra S. R., p. 20.

Bânt : a sub-division of the *ban* or sheep-run. Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), p. 40.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICES.

THE BURMESE AND ARAKANESE CALENDARS, by A. M. B IRWIN, C.S.I., Indian Civil Service. Pp. 5, 92; including ten tables. Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Printing Works: 1909.

This work, a revised and amplified issue of a book by the same author entitled "The Burmese Calendar" which was published in 1901, supplies a want that has long been felt by all who are interested in the chronology of India and its surroundings. A few remarks about the Burmese calendar and reckonings were made by Francis Buchanan in 1799 in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 6, pp. 169-71, and by Prinsep in his *Useful Tables* published in 1834-36. Prinsep's observations were reproduced by Cowasjee Patell in 1866, in his *Chronology*, p. 48. And a few more details were given in 1883, by Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, p. 71, ff. These treatments of the matter, however, left us under the impression that the Burmese calendar answered exactly, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Hindū calendar, so that Burmese dates might be treated as Hindū dates, and could be calculated and verified by the tables and processes which we apply to Hindū dates. That that is not the case, was shown in 1894 by Professor Kielhorn's examination (*ante*, vol. 23, p. 139 f.) of the six dates, capable of verification, which are given in the Po-u-daung inscription of A. D. 1774. But we were still left without a plain guide. And it is in these circumstances (Mr. Irwin's first book, and a work by Mr. Htoon Chan entitled *The Arakanese Calendar* which was published in 1905, not having secured general attention) that the present work comes in so opportunely. This is particularly the case

because archæological exploration in Burma is now making considerable progress, and we may expect to have, ere long, a very appreciable number of more or less ancient records containing dates which can be, and should be, examined properly with a view to verification: in fact, we already have a fair number of such records, ranging from A. D. 1140 onwards, in the book *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, translations, published at Rangoon in 1899. We propose to re-examine in a separate article the dates which were examined by Professor Kielhorn; to show how they work out correctly from the bases supplied by Mr. Irwin; and to offer some remarks on the various reckonings which prevail or have prevailed in Burma. Meanwhile, we will indicate why Burmese dates cannot be treated as Hindū dates, though theoretically the Burmese year is of the same nature with the Hindū year.

The principal Hindū lunar year is the Chaitrādi year, which begins with the first day of the *śukla* or bright fortnight of the month Chaitra, now falling in March or April. This year is governed by the Hindū astronomical solar year, which begins at the Mēsha-saṁkrānti, the entrance of the sun into the Hindū constellation and sign Mēsha, which answers to our Aries, but does not actually coincide with either the sign or the constellation Aries. The beginning of Chaitra, taken as the *amānta* month (beginning and ending at the new-moon conjunction), must always precede the moment of the Mēsha-saṁkrānti. But, also, the Mēsha-saṁkrānti must always occur in the *amānta* Chaitra. This connection between the lunar and the solar years is maintained by the system of intercalation and suppression of lunar months, which gives from time to time thirteen months, instead of the ordinary twelve, to the lunar year, and is regulated on the following scientific basis: when there are two new-moons while the sun is in one and the same sign of the zodiac, a lunar month is intercalated, in the sense that the name of a month is repeated; when (as happens occasionally in an autumn or winter month) the sun enters two successive signs in the course of one lunar month, a lunar month is expunged or suppressed, in the sense that its name is passed over. And the Chaitrādi lunar year is thus bound to the Mēshādi solar year in such a manner that the *amānta* Chaitra always begins at the new-moon conjunction which occurs next after the entrance of the sun into the Hindū constellation and sign Mīna (Pisces), the first civil day of the year being the day after that conjunction; and the Chaitrādi lunar year does not begin earlier than on the thirtieth day (on very rare occasions the thirty-first day)[1] before the Mēshādi solar year regarded as beginning astronomically at the moment of the Mēsha-saṁkrānti.

The Burmese and Arakanese lunar year answers theoretically to the Hindū Chaitrādi year. It begins with the first day of the waxing or bright fortnight of the month Tagu, which is the Burmese and Arakanese equivalent of the Hindū Chaitra. It, also, is regulated by a system of intercalated months. And it is governed by a solar year beginning at the entrance of the sun into Mēsha, called by the Burmese and Arakanese Meiktha. But there are the following important differences in detail between the Hindū and the Burmese and Arakanese systems. The details of the Hindū calendar, both lunar and solar, are all regulated by true time (*i. e.*, true according to the Hindū bases); the true new-moons, the true entrances of the sun into the successive signs of the zodiac, the true ending-times of the *tithis* or lunar days, and so on. But the Burmese and Arakanese regulate their calendar entirely by mean time. They use the mean new-moon, which does not by any means always fall on the same day with the Hindū true new-moon. And instead of the true Mēsha-saṁkrānti, the actual entrance of the sun into Mēsha, they use the entrance of the mean sun into Mēsha, called Thingyan Tet by them, which comes later than the true entrance by two days and about four hours. Further, the Hindūs (as explained above) intercalate months on scientific lines, and from at least about A D. 1050-1100 have determined the intercalations by the actual new-moons and entrances of the sun into the successive signs; with the result that any month whatsoever is liable to be intercalary, and a month is occasionally suppressed.[2] But the Burmese and Arakanese intercalate by rule of thumb, on the principle of the Metonic system, and have no suppressed months: with the Burmese the intercalated month is always Wazo (= Āshāḍha), and with the Arakanese it is always Tagu (=Chaitra); this expedient having

[1] In the years A. D. 300 to 1900, the elements of which are given in Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, Table I, I detect only one case of this: in A.D. 1137, when Chaitra itself was intercalary, śukla 1 of the first Chaitra began on 21 February; the Mēsha-saṁkrānti was on 24 March.

[2] In actual practice, however, the system of true intercalation works out in such a manner that, during the period covered by Table I of Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, there was no intercalation of Pausha and Māgha, and only one of Mārgaśirsha, in A.D. 1293.

been adopted with a view to keeping the day after the full-moon of Wazo, or of second Wazo, as near as is practicable to a suitable time for commencing the *vassa* or Buddhist Lent (as it has come to be called), the retreat into a fixed abode during the rainy season or the worst part of it.[3] And the result is that, while the Thingyan Tet (mean Mēsha-samkrānti) always occurs in Arakan in the first or the second Tagu, in Burma it sometimes occurs in the second month, Kason, answering to the Hindū Vaiśākha in which month the Hindū true Mēsha-saṁkrānti can never fall. Again, the Hindū lunar month comprises 29 or 30 civil days according to the true movements of the sun and the moon: but the Burmese and Arakanese months have the fixed number of 29 and 30 civil days alternately;[4] except that the intercalated month always has 30 days, and the third month, Nayon, which usually has 29 days, sometimes has 30 days in a year in which a month is intercalated. Also, the waxing or bright fortnight of the Burmese and Arakanese month,—which precedes the waning or dark fortnight bearing the same month-name, just as is the case in Southern India for civil purposes and everywhere in India for astronomical purposes,—always comprises 15 days, while in the Hindū month the duration of either fortnight may range from 14 to 16 days. Further, in India, the Chaitrādi year, wherever it is used for civil purposes, changes its number on the day of Chaitra śukla 1, but in Burma and Arakan the lunar year changes its number on the day and at the time of the Thingyan Tet.

We would remark, in passing, that we are particularly interested in some of the details indicated above because **the mean-time calendar of Burma and Arakan is a surviving illustration, in a general way, of the earlier system that prevailed in India** before the period when the Mēshādi solar year was established, and the use of true time was adopted, under the influence of the Greek astronomy which was introduced into India about A. D. 400. In that earlier period, as we know from the Jyōtisha-Vēdānga, the Brāhmans had a Māghādi lunar year, beginning with the first day of the bright fortnight of Māgha, which was bound to a solar year beginning at the winter solstice, in the same way, but not on such strictly scientific lines, as that in which the Chaitrādi lunar year is bound to the solar year biginning at the Mēsha-samkrānti, which was originally, and still is nominally, the vernal equinox.[5] All the details of the Māghādi year (except perhaps occasionally a crucial new-moon or solstice) were regulated by mean time. And two fixed months—either Āshāḍha and Pausha, or Śrāvaṇa and Māgha—were intercalated alternately.

Now, in determining the English equivalent of a Burmese or Arakanese date, the practical process is to start with the equivalent of Tagu waxing 1; just as, in determining the English equivalent of a Hindū lunar date on the lines followed in Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, we start with the equivalent of Chaitra śukla 1, which is given in that book for every year from A. D. 300 to 1900. But, as a result of the differences in detail between the Hindū calendar on the one side and the Burmese and Arakanese calendars on the other side, it is only occasionally that Tagu waxing 1 coincides with Chaitra śukla 1: it usually does not do so; and it may differ from Chaitra śukla 1 by as much as a full month. And, even when Tagu waxing 1 does coincide with Chaitra śukla 1, the same coincidence of days does not necessarily occur, and for the most part will not occur, during the rest of the year. It may be added that, though the Burmese and Arakanese calendars were in close if not actual agreement down to A.D. 1739; there are now considerable discrepancies between them, because the intercalations in the present time do not all fall in the same years.[6]

In illustration of the differences between the Burmese and the Hindū calendars,

[3] The Ceylonese Buddhists probably still intercalate in the same manner with the Hindūs. But it appears that early in the last century there was an attempt to substitute a fixed intercalation of Aesala, = Āshāḍha Wazo, on the Burmese lines: see Alwis' paper "On the Principles of Singhalese Chronology" in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1856-8, p. 190.

[4] It appears that this rule is so rigid that, if the full-moon day of Wazo or of second Wazo, as determined by calculation, falls on a day which would involve allotting one day too much or one day too little to any of the preceding months, then that full-moon day, cardinal as it is, must give way, and must be placed one day earlier or one day later.

[5] The statement has been made (*JBBRAS*, vol. 19, p. 135) that the Śaka years must at first have begun with Māgha. But all that we have to understand from the Pañchasiddhāntikā, 12 2 (which is the basis of the statement), is, that one of the five-year cycles of the Paitāmaha-Siddhānta (the Jyōtisha-Vēdānga) began with Māgha śukla 1 in (not at the beginning of) Śaka-saṁvat 2 expired. The years of the Śaka era were originally regnal years: and one reason for which the era was taken up by the astronomers, and so was perpetuated, apparently was, that they began at some time near the vernal equinox.

[6] See note 9 on page 255 below.

Comparison of Tagu waxing 1 and Chaitra śukla 1.

A. D.	Burma.			India.		Intercalations.	
	Lunar.	Solar.		Lunar.	Solar.	Burma.	India.
	Tagu waxing 1.	Thingyan Tet (mean Mēsha).		Chaitra śukla 1.	True Mēsha.		
1	2	3		4	5	6	7
1759	29 March	12 April	15 Tagu	29 March	10 April	......	......
1760	17 „	11 „	26 „	18 „	9 „	......	Śrāvaṇa
1761	6 „	12 „	9 Kason	6 April	9 „	Wazo	......
1762	25 „	12 „	19 Tagu	26 March	9 „	......	......
1763	14 „	12 „	1 Kason	15 „	10 „	......	Jyaishṭha
1764	2 „	11 „	12 „	2 April	9 „	Wazo	......
1765	21 „	12 „	23 Tagu	22 March	9 „	......	......
1766	10 „	12 „	5 Kason	11 „	9 „	Wazo	Chaitra
1767	30 „	12 „	14 Tagu	30 „	10 „	......	......
1768	18 „	11 „	25 „	19 „	9 „	......	Śrāvaṇa
1769	7 „	12 „	8 Kason	7 April	9 „	Wazo	......
1770	27 „	12 „	17 Tagu	28 March	9 „	......	......
1771	16 „	12 „	28 „	17 „	10 „	......	Āshāḍha
1772	4 „	11 „	10 Kason	4 April	9 „	Wazo	......
1773	23 „	12 „	21 Tagu	24 March	9 „	......	......
1774	12 „	12 „	3 Kason	13 „	9 „	Wazo	Vaiśākha
1775	31 „	12 „	13 Tagu	1 April	10 „	......	......
1776	19 „	12 „	25 „	20 March	9 „	......	Bhādrapada
1777	8 „	12 „	7 Kason	8 April	9 „	Wazo	......
1778	28 „	12 „	16 Tagu	29 March	10 „	......	......

we give on page 253, a comparative statement of the elements of the two calendars for the twenty years A.D. 1759 to 1778, which cover one of the nineteen-year cycles by which the Burmese and Arakanese intercalation of months is regulated; the twentieth year being added in order to show how, in both calendars, the intercalations during nineteen years bring back the initial day of the lunar year to the same, or almost the same date. We take the details for Burma from Table I of Mr. Irwin's book, and the details for India from Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*. It will be seen that Tagu waxing 1 and Chaitra śukla 1 fell on the same day only in A.D. 1759 and 1767; while in A.D. 1761, 1764, 1769, 1772, and 1777, Chaitra śukla 1 came one month later than Tagu waxing 1: in the other years, Tagu waxing 1 was always one day earlier than Chaitra śukla 1. A.D. 1766 and 1774 were the only years in which there was an intercalated month according to both calendars, Burmese and Hindū. And A.D. 1771 was the only year in which intercalation happened to affect in the Hindū calendar the month which is always intercalated in Burma. It may be added that Mr. Irwin's Table IV shows that in the Arakanese calendar Tagu waxing 1 came one day earlier than the Burmese Tagu waxing 1 in A.D. 1759, 1760, 1761, 1770, 1771, and 1772: in all other respects, the Arakanese elements are the same as the Burmese for these twenty years; except, of course, that Tagu was intercalated instead of Wazo, and so, in the second division of column 3 "second Tagu" has to be read in the place of "Kason", and the lunar day is one day more in the six years, A.D. 1759, etc., mentioned just above.

It is thus plain that Burmese and Arakanese dates cannot be calculated as Hindū dates with any approach to certainty: and without certainty we may as well leave them alone. This is where Mr. Irwin's book has come in so opportunely and usefully. A full explanation of the calendar is given on pages 1 to 14. Tables I, II, and IV give us the English equivalent of Tagu waxing 1, and the other necessary elements, for both the Burmese calendar and the Arakanese, from A.D. 1739 onwards. Those tables and the subsidiary ones enable us now to determine easily and accurately the equivalent of any Burmese and Arakanese date falling in that period. And processes explained on pages 15 to 25 put us in the way of calculating any date back to A.D. 638, when there commenced the era which now prevails in Burma and Arakan. These processes, however, are somewhat lengthy and intricate. But Mr. Irwin has kindly consented to supplement his book by giving us in this Journal the necessary elements, in tabular form, extending back to A.D. 638. When that has been done, his supplementary table will enable us to handle with ease any Burmese and Arakanese date from that time onwards. But his book will be needed along with the extended table: and it should be in the hands of everyone who is interested in either the critical treatment of Burmese inscriptions or the broader line of research which we have indicated.

The Burmese and Arakanese astronomy, by which the calendars are regulated, was derived from India: this is shown, if in no other way, by the obvious Sanskṛit origin of so many of the terms used in the local astronomy and calendar. The text book now in use in Burma is one which is known by the name Thandeikta (see §§ 13, 14 of Mr. Irwin's book), and was written according to one account about A.D. 1738, according to another account a century later. It is based on the Present Sūrya-Siddhānta, and applies the length for the solar year of that work from A.D. 1739. Before it, the authority in Burma was the Original Sūrya-Siddhānta as represented in a work or in certain processes known by the name Makaranta (§§ 11, 12): and this is still the authority in Arakan. In this name we recognize a Sanskṛit Makaranda: but the only Hindū Makaranda known to us in the astronomical department is one who wrote a work, with A.D. 1478-79 as its epoch or year for calculative purposes, which is used by makers of almanacs at Benares and in Tirhut and those parts.[7] We should be glad of further light both on the Makaranta of Burma and on the Thandeikta. And another work, the recovery of which would be highly interesting, is the book attributed to "Raja-Mathan, a Hindu astronomer", mentioned by Mr. Irwin (§ 14) as propounding in its tenth chapter the use of the Metonic cycle of 19 solar years, as equal (not very closely) to 235 lunar months, on the general lines of which the intercalation of months is regulated in Burma and Arakan. Any formal recognition of this cycle in India is, so far, not known, except to the extent to which it figures as a factor in the number of years, $19 \times 150 = 2850$, which constituted the calculative cycle of the Original Rōmaka-Siddhānta, and seems to have been a reason for which the year Śaka-saṁvat 427 expired, = A. D. 505-6, was laid down as the epoch for making calculations according to that work[8]

[7] See Mahamahopadhyaya Sudhakara Dvivedi's *Gaṇaka-Taraṅgiṇī* or "Lives of Hindū Astronomers," p. 52.

[8] The Burmese and Arakanese first nineteen-years cycle began in A. D. 638: which is probably a reason why that year was selected for starting a reckoning which has grown into an era. Counting back from that year, we find that a similar cycle began in A. D. 505.

Nor do we know of any Hindū astronomer, king or ordinary person, who bore the name Mathana, or of any noteworthy astronomer who was named Madana. Does this book of "Raja Mathan" mean the Rājamārtaṇḍa, an astrological work which is attributed along with an astronomical treatise entitled Rājamrigāṅka to king Bhōja of Dhārā (A.D. 1042)? Or is it possible that "Mathan" is in reality only a reminiscence of "Meton"? In any case we should much like to have the text of this book of "Raja Mathan": especially because (see § 115) it seems to teach the original Metonic cycle, without any adjustment.[9]

In § 46, Mr. Irwin has given us, from the Thandeikta, a system of the nakshatras — the so-called "lunar mansions" and "signs of the lunar zodiac" — which is of a quite exceptional nature. And in this connexion he has made a remark, — namely, that "the most modern system in India is that of equal spaces, 13° 20′ being assigned to each nekkat", — which is liable to convey an erroneous impression. The equal-space system is certainly the one which has survived and now prevails in India. It is, however, by no means the latest by origin. Regarding the country in which the idea of the *nakshatras* had its origin, and regarding the stars which constitute some of them, there may still be differences of opinion. But the development of the matter appears to have been distinctly as follows :—

The nakshatras are certain conspicuous stars and groups of stars which lie more or less closely along the course of the sun and the moon, and consequently are more or less near to the ecliptic. Now, the course of the sun with reference to the stars can only be determined by calculation, or, in a rough manner, by inference from the position of the moon, and so could not be considered when the science of astronomy was still in a primitive state. The case is quite different with the moon, which can be watched from night to night through almost the whole of its course. Apart, then, from other considerations, such as that the moon regulates the months, the succession of which attracts notice far more readily than the succession of the years determined by the sun, attention was naturally paid first to the course of the moon. In that early time, however, the ecliptic, with its divisions, had not been devised: and so the course of the moon could only be noted by saying that the moon was from time to time near to or in conjunction or in a line with some particular star or group of stars. Originally, 28 such stars and groups of stars were used; because the sidereal month, the period in which the moon makes a complete circuit of the heavens round the earth with reference to any fixed star, measures nearly 8 hours in excess of 27 days, and so runs well into the 28th day.

The invention of the ecliptic, and the division of its circle into 360 degrees and so on, made it practicable to measure distances : and, the principal attention being still paid to the moon, the idea was then entertained of noting its course with regard to the ecliptic, and of referring the *nakshatras* to the ecliptic for that purpose. In those days, however, only mean motions of the sun and the moon were recognized : that is, the sun and the moon were believed (not simply assumed) to be always travelling with absolute regularity of movement. Also, 360 degress are divisible conveniently by 27, but not by 28. And the length of the sidereal month is nearer to 27 than to 28 days. Accordingly, as a matter of convenience, the number of the *nakshatras* was fixed at 27, by omitting one, Abhijit, lying rather closely between two others; and the circle of the ecliptic was divided into 27 equal portions, each of 13° 20′, some of which have in reality only a rather distant connexion with the stars from which they have derived their names. An advance in calculative processes soon gave ability to compute the course of the sun as well as that of the moon. But the signs of the zodiac had not yet been invented. So the divisions of the ecliptic, arrived at as indicated above, were applied to the sun also. And we find this equal-space system of the nakshatras used for both the sun and the moon in the Jyōtisha-Vēdāṅga, the earliest known Hindū astronomical work. Accordingly, as regards a point of terminology, though the *nakshatras* are of lunar origin, and are now used most markedly in connexion with the moon, and may from this point of view be fairly called "lunar mansions" and "signs of the lunar zodiac", there is nothing exclusively lunar about them; and they are still used, in subordination to the signs of the zodiac, to note the course of the sun too.

Subsequently, attention was paid to the point that the *nakshatras* or their principal stars, the "junction-stars", do not really lie at equal distances; and a refinement was made, in accordance with which, the number of 27 *nakshatras* being still retained, and the space of 13° 20′ being preserved as the unit, there was devised a system of unequal spaces, of which some measure that unit, others measure half the unit, and others measure one and a half times the unit. To this system there became attached the name of an early astronomer called Garga.

After that, another refinement was made, and there was devised a second system of unequal spaces which is exhibited in the Brāhma-Siddhānta of Brahmagupta (written A.D. 628-29). The unit taken in this case was the mean daily geocentric motion of the moon, 13° 10′ 35″. The spaces of the Garga system were recast accordingly. And the balance which remained over,

[9] Meton (B.C. 432) is understood to have intercalated in the years 3, 5, 8, 11, 13, 16, and 19 : see, *e. g.*, Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. 2 (third edition), p. 408. As is well known in connexion with the use of the "Golden Numbers" (an adaptation of his cycle) to determine the date of Easter, it has been necessary to readjust the cycle from time to time, by changing the years of intercalation. The Burmese are now intercalating in the years 2, 5, 8, 10, 13, 16, 19; the Arakanese, in the years 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 16, 19.

4° 14′ 15″, was assigned to the 28th *nakshatra*, Abhijit, which was then restored to the list, and stands between the 21st and 22nd *nakshatras* of the other arrangement.

The Burmese system presented by Mr. Irwin answers neither to Hindū equal-space system, nor to either the Garga or the Brāhma-Siddhānta system: and we should like to know more about it. In connexion with it, by the way, we are told that the first *nakshatra*, Athawani (the Hindū Aśvinī) "commences at longitude 350°." We presume that this means, neither that Athawani commences at 350° of the Hindū ecliptic, 10° west of the initial point of the Hindū sphere, nor that it commences 10° west of our present precessional first point of Aries; but that, like the Hindū Aśvinī, it commences at or closely about the star Zeta Piscium, regarded as 10° distant to the west from the precessional first point of Aries as it was in the time of Hipparchus (B.C. 160-145).

Pages 26 to 36 and Table III of Mr. Irwin's book are devoted to suggestions for a reformation of the Burmese calendar: the proposals being to transfer the Thingyan Tet in A.D. 1919 from 15 April, on which day it now comes, to 8 April, fixing it permanently there; and to regulate the lunar year thenceforth by De Cheseaux's luni-solar cycle of 1,040 mean tropical years, which are almost exactly equal to 12,863 mean lunar months. This opens an interesting topic which is not confined to Burma, and which we cannot go into here.

J. F. FLEET.

PRAKRITARUPAVATARA. A Prakrit grammar based on the Valmikisutra by SIMHARAJA, son of Samudrabandhayajvan. Edited by E. HULTZSCH. London 1909. Printed and published by the Royal Asiatic Society. (Prize Publication Fund, Vol. I), 8vo, XV, 120 pp.

THE Prâkṛitarûpâvatâra is a Prakrit grammar arranged in the same way as the Laghukaumudî and similar works. Its object is, accordingly, to give easy rules about inflexions, and so on, for those who want to learn the language. The lamented Professor Pischel remarks in his Prakrit grammar that our work "is not unimportant for the knowledge of the declension and conjugation, chiefly because Siṁharâja frequently quotes more forms than Hêmachandra and Trivikrama. No doubt many of these forms are theoretically inferred; but they are formed strictly according to the rules and so are not without interest." An edition of Siṁharâja's book has therefore long been wanted, and our thanks are due to Professor Hultzsch for undertaking the work. It could not have come into better hands.

Siṁharâja's time is not known, but he is probably a modern author. Professor Hultzsch shows in his preface that he is certainly younger than Kshîrasvâmin and perhaps even posterior to Nâgôjî Bhaṭṭa. His Prakrit grammar is not of course, an original composition, and the arrangement of the materials is no doubt an imitation of the Kaumudîs. The basis of his work are the same Sûtras which have been commented on by Trivikrama. Pischel was of opinion that he simply rearranged Trivikrama's grammar. Professor Hultzsch, however, shows that the common base of Siṁharâja as well as of Trivikrama was a collection of Sûtras, which according to the manuscripts registered in Professor Rangacharya's *Madras Catalogue*, pp. 1,083 seq., were attributed to Vâlmîki. I agree with Professor Hultzsch that it is not likely that the Vâlmîkisûtra belongs to the time between Hêmachandra and Trivikrama. It must be older, and a critical edition would be very useful. The Mysore edition of 1886, where it has been printed as an appendix to the Shaḍbhâshâchandrikâ, is not accessible to me and hardly sufficient. The Vâlmîkisûtra was probably a South Indian compilation, and some rules contained in it were also known to Hêmachandra. Thus his remark III. 25, where he informs us that some authorities (*kêchit*) also enjoin an Anunâsika in the nominative of vocalic neuter bases perhaps refers to a rule such as the corresponding passage in Siṁharâja's Prâkṛitarûpâvatâra, where the suffix *m* added in such bases has the anubandha *ṅ*, which involves an anunâsika. Hêmachandra was no original grammarian but drew freely on the works of his predecessors, and a careful comparison of his Sûtras with the Vâlmîkisûtras would probably throw some light on his methods and on the history of the later Prakrit grammarians. For such a work Professor Hultzsch's edition of Simharâja would have to be consulted throughout.

The Prâkṛitarûpâvatâra will probably prove to be especially useful to the Indian student who wants to learn Prakrit and who is familiar with the arrangement of the Kaumudîs. There are some signs that the interest for the Prakrits is reviving in India. The arrangements made two years ago for a series of lectures on the Prakrits in the Calcutta University by the late Professor Pischel point in that direction. The importance of the Prakrits in the linguistic history of India and even for the development of Sanskrit is not, however, so much appreciated in India as it is in Europe. This is much to be regretted, and I sincerely hope that Professor Hultzsch's edition of Siṁharâja's Prâkṛitarûpâvatâra, which is perhaps the most convenient Prakrit grammar easily accessible to Indian scholars, will find a wide circulation in India. It is much to be desired that many Indians should follow the glorious example set by Dr. Bhandarkar and join hands with their European colleagues in the work of elucidating the history of the Prakrits, that much neglected field of Indian philology.

STEN KONOW.

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THE KALPA-SUTRA.

AN OLD COLLECTION OF DISCIPLINARY RULES FOR JAINA MONKS.

BY DR. WALTHER SCHUBRING, BERLIN.

(*Translated from the German by May S. Burgess.*)

[THE text of the Kalpa-Sūtra with introduction, notes, German translation and glossary was published by Dr. W. Schubring as No. 2 of the *Indica* edited by Prof. Ernst Leumann of Strassburg. The author has revised the introduction and translation submitted in the following version [1]—EDITOR.]

Introduction.

We are accustomed to associate the name Kalpa-sūtra with the well-known work first translated by Dr. Stevenson, and more recently in 1879, published by Professor Jacobi, and translated into English in 1882, under the title of "Kalpa-sūtra of Bhadrabāhu[2]." Notwithstanding this designation only the last of the three disjointed parts of which it consists, deals with the practice of monasticism. The subject of it is the conduct of monks and nuns during the rainy season which confines them to a fixed dwelling place, and it therefore bears the name of *Pajjosavaṇā-Kappa*; of it alone Bhadrabāhu can be the author or, at least the redactor. This text is preceded by the *Jinacharita*, an almost entirely mythological biography of the first twenty-four Jinas, and the *Sthavirāvalī*, a collection mostly of historical lists of the fathers of the Jaina church. The grouping of these two works together with the *Pajjosavaṇā-Kappa*, or, as it is usually called, the *Sāmāchārī*, as one *Kalpa-sūtra* is accounted for by the fact, that, as tradition tells us, they were made the subject of recitation and study during the rainy season. This special employment has brought the whole to celebrity, proved by numerous commentaries and copies, which have rather outshone the true, old *Kalpa-sūtra*.

The latter now bears the title of the "greater," or *Bṛihat-Kalpa-sūtra*, because it exceeds in extent the *Pajjosavaṇā-Kappa*. It gives, in a fundamental way and simple form, the rules for the whole conduct (*kalpa*) of monks and nuns. So it is the chief piece of Jaina disciplinary literature, if we understand by this—not schematical classifications of sins nor the treatment of the great vows, which are the basis of all Jainism,—but the precise wording of commandments and interdictions, whether with or without addition of the punishment incurred in case of transgression.

The *Kalpa-sūtra* appears, of old, in close connexion with the *Daśāśrutaskandha-sūtra*, commonly called the *Daśās*, and the *Vyavahāra-sūtra*. Tradition groups the three texts together in the succession of '*Dasa-Kappa-Vyavahāra*', and reckons them as one *śrutaskandha* (to be studied in the fifth year of monastic life in 20 or 22 days)[3]. They belong assuredly to the oldest parts of the Śvetāmbara canon. For the *Sthānāṅga* names the single chapters of the *Daśās*, and has a number of parallels with the *Kalpa-sūtra*, and all three texts are reported to have once formed part of the *Drishṭivāda*, the lost twelfth *aṅga*. Besides this, texts called *Kalp'ādi-Vyavahāra*, according to Sakalakīrti's *Tattvārthadīpaka*[4], belonged also to the Digambara canon. It is quite probable, though it cannot be proved, that they correspond to the Śvetāmbara texts.

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1 A Nāgarī transcription of the text is in the press.

2 Published as No. 1 of the *Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. vii, and translated Vol. xxii of the Sacred Books of the East.

3 We take this and other statements from Weber's Essay in Vols. xvi and xvii of his *Indische Studien*.

4 R G Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report* 1883-4, pp. 109, 398; Weber, *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit-Handschriften*, p 824.

It appears from their combination that the texts were meant to represent a sum of disciplinary matter. But in the *Daśās*, according to our definition, only a small part can be reckoned, *viz.*, the last section of the eighth chapter. This is the *Pajjosavaṇā-Kappa* above referred to. The *Vyavahāra-sūtra* represents a supplement to the *Kalpa-sūtra* in so far as it deals, in accord with its title, with the modes of confession and expiation of transgressions[5]. We notice, however, that its contents are not confined to this subject.

In quite a different style the rules of daily life are given in the *Āchārāṅga*: some passages in the first *Śrutaskandha*[6] and, again the first two *Chūḍās* are different in the second. Many relations to the latter appear in the *Niśītha-sūtra*—a very detailed list of transgressions combined with the incurred penance. Tradition informs us that this text temporarily formed the fifth *chūḍā* of the *Āchārāṅga*. On the other hand, it offers many parallels to the *Kalpa-sūtra*, so that it may be regarded as taking an intermediate position between the two groups of old disciplinary texts.

As to an attempt to fix the relative age of the works hitherto spoken of, the question lies between the *Kalpa-sūtra* and the *Āchārāṅga*. For it is clear that the forming of prescripts for one part of the year, as in the *Pajjosavaṇā-Kappa*, must be preceded by rules concerning monasticism in general The *Vyavahāra-sūtra* too, presupposes the *Kalpa-sūtra* as commandments and interdictions must exist before dealing with their offence; it is the same with the *Niśītha-sūtra* and the *Āchārāṅga*. Now, when comparing the K. and Ā., we are led to suggest the greater age where we find the simpler form and less detail. So the K. would occupy the first place. But the difference in age will, by no means, be great, and especially K., V. and P. may be of almost synchronous origin.

When we look at the details of the K., we find—and without surprise in a canonical Jaina text—that *sūtras* may be distinguished of different origin. For the last sentence of I. 51: *teṇa paraṃ jattha nāṇa-daṃsaṇa-charittāiṃ ussappanti*, we have the testimony of the commentaries that it is a late addition, namely, a concession of the time of King Samprati, son of Kunāla and grandson of Aśoka, who gained over the lands adjacent to his kingdom to Jainism[7]. In other cases, the conclusion may be made from the language. With regard to the nominative singular in *o* we conjecture a special origin for II, 25-28 (*sāgārio, parijaṇo*) and for the passages settling the punishment in I, 38; II, 18; III, 34, which begin with *jo niggantho*[8]. For the restraint of the prohibition in I, 14, *lichchā* is characteristic instead of the usual *kattu* (the same case IV, 27, 2nd half; compare P. 11) *nhaṁ* and *chilimiliyāga*, instead of which other sūtras have *naṃ* and *chiliminīya*, and the ending *āga* in the latter word belonging generally to a later period. Finally, differences in style must be observed. At first glance they appear in most of the parallels to the *Sthānāṅga*: IV. 1-8; VI. 1,2, 13, 14. They have been apparently inserted by the redactor, because of the words *kappanti* and *kappa* respectively. (On the other hand, VI. 7-12 and also II. 29-30 do not agree in style with the *Sthānāṅga*.) We further observe that the expressions for a mendicant in K, V. and P are sometimes *niggantha* and *nigganthī*, sometimes *bhikkhu* without its female counterpart. The '*bhikkhu-sūtras*', as we may call them, divide as to K. and P., in two groups The first shows a close relation with V. It must be noted that the rules given in this text not only speak of confession and punishment, but in sūtras which should logically precede the others, they also fix the authority of the common monk and regulate his conduct. So they deal also with the persons fit to be teacher and catechist (*āyariya-uvajjhāya*) or a higher superior (*gaṇāvachchheiya*, 'bishop'), and with the monk's subjection to them and his as well as their duties in leaving the clan (*gaṇa*) or remaining in it.

[5] This is expressed in the first two strophes of the *Vyavahāra-bhāshya* (with which compare the words of Malayagiri, the author of the *Vyav-ṭīkā*, given by Weber, p. 467., *Verz.* 640):

duhao bhinna-palambe māsiya-sohī u vaṇṇiyā Kappe;
tassa puṇa imam dāṇam bhaṇiyaṁ āloyaṇa-vihī ya ‖ 1
em eva sesassu vi suttesuṁ Kappa--nāma-ajjhayaṇe
jahi māsiya āvattī, tīse dāṇaṁ iham bhaniyaṃ ‖ 2.

(*duhao*: *vihīe* and *avihīe*, or *āme* and *pakke*, I, 1-5.)

[6] A new edition of which, with analysis and glossary, has appeared in the *Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. XII, 4.

[7] See Hemachandra's *Pariśishṭaparvan*, ed. Jacobi, XI, 89 foll.

[8] Read thus in the text, instead of *je niggantho*.

Now, this is just the object of one part of the *bhikkhu-sūtras* in K. and P. These are the sūtras introduced by the words *bhikkhū ya* (*ganao avakkamma*) *ichchhejjā*: K. IV. 15-23, P. 46-52,[9] like a great number of prescripts in V. In the same way, K. IV. 26, and V. 53, which deal with the *parihāra-kappaṭṭhiya bhikkhu*, a monk on whom penance is laid, have their parallels in V, beginning with the same words. The subject of K. I. 35, IV. 25, 55, is a monk who has not atoned for an offence committed and may therefore be boycotted by his brethren: *bhikkhū ya ahigaranam kaṭṭu taṁ ahigaraṇam aviosavettā* . . . . In an entry very similar to this, as well as in the phrase *icchā(e)* . . . *icchā(e) no* . . . and in the question *kim āhu bhante* (a motivation of the rule given before) V. has a number of parallels. Even the one *bhikkhu sūtra* which does not correspond to the contents determined above, IV, 24, has its exact counterpart in V: VII, 16.

The second group of sūtras in which the *bhikkhu* appears instead of the *niggantha* is formed by K V. 6-9, P. 20-26, 28-31. Their common subject is the monk's eating or drinking, and we venture the suggestion that here the original sense of the word *bhikshu* as 'begging for food' is still continued. In the *Āchārāṅga* and *Niśītha-sūtra*, the term *bhikkhu* is used throughout,[10] while in V., the genesis of which calls for special inquiry, both *bhikkhu* and *niggantha* occur.[11] Our conclusion is that texts in which this fine distinction is carried out must be older than those where it is dropped. That *niggantha* is the older term, appears from *Āchārāṅga* II, 15, where the five great vows (still without the *rāibhoyaṇa-veramaṇa*) together with their supplements, the *bhāvanāo*, are given. This complex must be very old, not only because of its evident use at the monk's reception but also as it is presupposed by K. III, 24.—

A few remarks may be added on the commentaries to our text. Bhadrabāhu who passes as redactor of the sūtra, was likewise the author of a *niryukti* to it which, however, exists only incorporated in the *bhāshya*. Its author was Saṅghadāsa (about the 6th century A.D.). To him followed Pralambasūri (about the 8th century) with the first prose commentary, the *chūrṇi*[12]. The old bhāshya exists, remarkably enlarged, also as *brihadbhāshya*. No complete copy of this is known, for Bh[13]. XIII, 6, is said to contain the second to the sixth *uddeśa* only, and XIII, 150, does not go beyond the discussion of sūtra III, 32.—We should expect to find a *brihachchūrṇi* also to the *brihadbhāshya*, and indeed, Pet. III, 177 bears this name. But when we compare the extract therefrom with the *chūrṇi* (Kielhorn 'Report' 1880, 13), they fully agree, and so III, 177, being wrongly intituled, and III, 170 compete each other; for the former contains the *peḍhiyā* and first *uddeśa*, the latter the second to the sixth *uddeśa*. On the other hand, the pagination shows that III, 170 and 153, belong together as one corpus of *sūtra*, *bhāshya*, and *chūrṇi*, like Bh. V, 120, 130. A *viśeśhachūrṇi*, apparently the old chūrṇi enlarged and modernized, is registered as Bh. VI, 190 and (incomplete) XII, 399 (Kielhorn, 'Rep.' 1880: 190 and 299 respectively).—As to the Sanskrit commentaries, we know first the *ṭīkā* begun by Malayagiri (12th century) and continued (on the discussion of *bhāshya*, *peḍhiyā* 609) by Bālaśrahśekhara. This author, too, seems to have left it unfinished as only the first two *uddeśas* exist. Parallel with this *ṭīkā* is the *vritti* of Kshemakīrti. It is reported (Bhāṇḍārkar; 'Report' 1883-4: 174, 198; 1897: 1221; Pet. V. 101) to have three *khaṇḍas* of two *uddeśas* each.

It may also be mentioned that the *Daśās*, K. V., and the *Niśītha-sūtras* are reckoned to the *Chheda-sūtra* group of the Śvetāmbara canon. Weber follows a list given by Bühler when placing N. as the first of them, V., D., and K. as the third to the fifth. The position of N. at the head of the groups may be a kind of parallelism to that of the *Āchārāṅga* to which it is brought in a certain relation, as the first of the *aṅgas*. But it is not clear why V. has changed its place. Between V. and N. the *Mahāniśītha-sūtra* is inserted, the tradition of which seems to be unfavourably influenced from

9 Here the authority to be asked is a layman.

10 With two exceptions in Ā. II: V, 1, 1; VI, 1, 1.

11 A third expression is *samaṇa niggantha* in K. (once: III, 29.) V. P.

12 So the *Kalpa-ṭīkā* has at peḍh. 608. Pralambasūri is not named here, but in a copy of the *chūrṇi* itself (Bh. V. 130.).

13 Bh.—Shridhar Bhāṇḍārkar, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Deccan College*, 1888; Pet.—Peterson, Report on Operations in Search of MSS.' (Detailed Rep.—I.).

a doubt as to its authory. The sixth place is occupied by the *Pañchakalpa-sūtra* the text of which is as yet, extant only as hidden in the commenting *bhāshyas* and *chūrṇıs*. Occasionally, Jinabhadra's *Jitakalpa* (ed. Leumann 1892)—a detailed metiical summary of the cases in which the single punishments take effect—places as sixth the *chheda-sūtra*. This like the fact, that the *Pıṇḍa-* and *Ogha-niryukti* are also sometimes (by Kāśīnāth Kunte and Rājendralāla Mitra, comp. Weber) reckoned as *Chheda-sūtras*, indicates that disciplinary contents are connected with this title. We may suggest that such texts bear this name because they had to be studied by a monk on whom the so-called *chheya*, a sort of punishment (see note to II, 4-7) was laid. Similarly, the *Uttarādhyayana* and *Daśavaikālikā-sūtras* and the *Āvaśyaka*-and *Piṇḍa-niryukti* already mentioned, are grouped together as *mūla-sūtras*, a title which might mean that they were destined for a monk standing, normally or in execution of punishment, in the beginning (*mūla*) of his ecclesiastical career.

Translation.

(Interpolations by the translator, mostly founded on the commentaries and various readings of the manuscripts are given in italics, the readings of those mentioned being enclosed in square brackets.)

Chapter I.

1. The monks or nuns may not take as alms unripe palm-fruits, if they are not broken up; 2. only when they are broken up. 3. The monks may accept ripe palm-fruits whether they are broken up or not. 4. The nuns may not accept ripe palm-fruits, if they are not broken up; 5. only if they are broken up and that in the way permitted, not in the forbidden way.

6. In a village, a free town, a fortified town, a country town, an isolated place, an inland place, an island town, a metal foundry, a coast town, a market place, a residence, a place of pilgrimage, a caravansarai, a place of shelter, a rural village, a hamlet, an emporium, when confined and without outside houses, &c., the monks may remain one month summer and winter; 7. in the same kind of places when enclosed and with outside houses, &c., two months, one within and one without; their begging tour is to be inside when they are living inside, and outside when living outside. 8. In the same places when enclosed and without outside houses, &c., the nuns may remain two months, summer and winter; 9. when enclosed and with outside houses, &c; four months, two within and two without; their begging tour is to be inside when they are living inside, and outside when living outside.

10. In the same places when having only one barrier[14] gate, or one exit and entrance, the monks and nuns may not live together; 11. they may—if there are no barriers and gates but free exit and entrance. 12. The nuns may not live in a shop, a main road, a cross road, a triangular or quadrangular place or court or in the bâzâr, 13. only the monks. 14. The nunns may not live in a house with an open entrance, only if it has a curtain made by a mat inside and out. 15. The monks may live in a house with an open entrance. 16. The nuns may carry or possess a jug pitched inside; 17. Not the monks[15]. 18. The monks or nuns may carry or possess a covering for the clothes[16]. 19. The monks or nuns may not at the water's edge stand, sit, lie,

[14] *Vagaḍā*, a word probably identical with *vayada* in Hemachandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*, VII, 35. In our text it still occurs II, 1, 4-8 V, 23. Can it be related to *vāṭaka*, with the feminine form *vāṭıka*, by which it is explained by Hemachandra?

[15] Jug: *ghaḍi-mattaya*. In the MSS. of the text only, sūtras 16 and 17 run as follows: "The monks may not carry or possess a *samāhi-mattaya* pitched inside (*anto-littaya*); the nuns may carry or possess a *ghaḍi-mattaya* pitched inside." I cannot make out the difference between these two vessels. *Samāhi* might be "collectedness," concretely of alms instead of, as usual, abstractly of mind, and such a vessel destined for the collection of alms to be eaten immediately (conf. IV, 11) or mixed as they are (conf. II, 17), while a *ghaḍi-mattaya* could serve for a longer transport. But in every case, logic requires that both sūtras refer exclusively either to the monks or to the nuns.

[16] Read *chela-chiliminiyaṁ* in the text (conf. above in the introduction). For the second word I accep the meaning given by the commentary to *chilimıkā* (sic) Chullavagga VI, 2, 6, *parikammakatāya bhūmiyā chavi-saṃrakkhaṇ'atthāya attharaṇam*. The *Kalpachūrṇı* has *doro*, (=*davaraka*) which in Hemachandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* is identified with *kaṭi-sūtra*.

sleep or nap, partake of meat, drink, sweetmeats and spices, secrete excrement, urine, mucus, phlegm, study, meditate (practice vigils), dedicate themselves to ascetic practices and attitudes.

20. The monks or nuns may not live in a house with wall paintings ; 21. only a house without these. 22. The nuns may not live without the householder's consent; 23. only with it ; 24. the monks with or without it. 25. The monks or nuns may not live in a family house [17]; 26. only in such as have few inhabitants ; 27. the monks not live in such as have female inhabitants ; 28. only male inhabitants ; 29. the nuns only when there are no male inhabitants ; 30. only females. 31. The monks may not occupy a resting place distant from the road[18] ; 32. only the nuns. 33. The monks may not live where they have to go through the abode of the householder sheltering them ; 34. only the nuns.

35. If a monk has committed an offence and without having atoned *for it*, is refusing atonement—then the other may if he pleases, show him honour, greet him, speak to him respectfully, eat or sleep with him, keep calm, or not *do all this* ; at any rate he who is calm, his is the perfection ; he who does not keep calm, lacks perfection. Therefore one should be calm spontaneously. Why has the Master said this ? The essence of monasticism is to be calm.

36. The monks or nuns may not journey during the rainy season ; 37. only during summer and winter. 38. They may not wander to and fro in a kingdom just when it is in anarchy or rebellion. The monk or the nun, who does this, or approves anyone who does it, committing a fault in both cases, incurs four months unshortened penance[19].

39-42. If to a monk (a nun) who has entered a householder's dwelling for an alms, *or* who has gone to a place of rest or relief, is offered by anyone a dress, an alms-vessel, a cloth, a broom, he (she) may only receive it as his (her) own ; after he (she) has, regarding the gift as prepared by the layman, laid it at the feet of the master (mistress) and *from him* (*her*) has asked the possession of it a second time.

43. At night-time or twilight the monks or nuns may not receive food, etc. (*as in 19*); 44. only one bed of straw previously examined[20] ; 45. receive no dress, no alms-vessel, cloth or broom ; 46. only one single article[21], brought home as though stolen[21], and this must have been used, or washed, or dyed, or rubbed, or smoothed, or perfumed. 47. At night or twilight the monks or nuns may not go on the street ; 48. or to a feast for the sake of the feast. 49-50. A monk (nun) may not go alone to, or enter, a place of rest or relief, only in twos or threes (or fours) ; 51. The monks or nuns may journey eastward *inclusively* to Aṅga-Magadha, southward to Kauśāmbī, westward to the district of Sthūṇā[22], northward to the district of Kuṇāla. So far it is allowed, so far extends the land of the pious. *Still they may wander* beyond that, where *Jaina* knowledge, belief, and custom flourishes—so say I.

[17] Such a *sāgāriya uvassaya* is *sa-itthiya sa-pasu-bhatta-pāṇa*, Conf. *Āchārāṅga* II. 2, 1, 8.

[18] *Paḍibaddha*, *Āchār*. II. 2,3,6, more fully *pantha-paḍibaddha*. Compare the same passage also for sūtra 33f.

[19] *Parihāra-ṭṭhāṇa*, or simply *parihāra*, 'isolation.' In the *Kalpa-* and *Niśītha-sūtra*, it is inflicted either for 1 or for 4 months ; in the *Vyavahāra-sūtra*, it does not exceed 6 months. Between its ordering and its carrying out, a period may be inserted ; hence it is called *ugghāiya* or *aṇugghāiya*. In the commentaries its performance varies between a lighter type (*lahu*) and a stricter (*guru*) one. This kind of punishment, however frequently it occurred, is not named in the well-known *gāthā*, conf. *Jītakalpa*, p. 2, which enumerates the tenfold penitence: *āloyaṇa paḍikamaṇe mīsa vivege tahā viussagge tava cheya mūla aṇavaṭṭhayā ya pārañchie ch'eva*. Probably it is specialized by the fifth and sixth type : punitive fasts and ascetic practices. The first to the third form denote by the 'small' or 'great' confession (see *Aupapātika-sūtra*, *sub voce*) the reprimand received in one of them or in their combination. The fourth (to spell rightly *viossagga*) is merely the giving up of the object by which an offence against purity had been committed. For the rest, see notes to II, 4-7 and IV, 1-2.

[20] The sūtras 43 and 44 do not correspond to each other. When the ṭīkā once afterwards cites them, we read *sejjā-saṁthārayaṁ* in the place of *asaṇaṁ vā 4*.

[21] *Hariy'āhaḍiyā*. Tradition explains this word as a dress stolen (*hṛita*) and restored again or as a dress brought from the green turf (*harita*). But apparently an object ordinarily forbidden and only allowed as a makeshift for one night is meant.

[22] Conf. the westerly situated *Brāhmaṇa-gāma Thūna*, *Mahāvagga*, V, 13, 12.

Chapter II.

1. If within a house enclosure there are grains of water or rain-rice,[23] mudga or māsha-beans,[24] sesame or pulse, wheat or barley, or *yavayava*, spilt, dispersed, mixed or scattered about, the monks or nuns may not live *there* even a very short time. 2. If, however, they see, that they are not spilt, etc., *but* gathered into bushels and heaps, piled up at walls and partitions, plastered with ashes, or cowdung, or covered, then the monks or nuns may live there in summer and winter. 3. If, however, they see that they are not gathered into bushels, etc., *but* kept in stores, sacks, shelves or boxes, or smeared or overlaid *with cowdung*, plastered with ashes, or dung, or covered, then the monks or nuns may live there in the rainy season.

4. If in a house enclosure there is set a vessel with spirituous liquor or sour barley-gruel; 5. a vessel with pure cold or warm water, 6. a light burns, 7. a torch burns throughout the night, then the monks or nuns may not live *there* even a very short time. If one searches further for a house but finds none, then one may live *there* a night or two, but not longer than this. He who does this, incurs a suspension and penance corresponding to the arbitrary transgression[25].

8. If in a house there are lumps or pieces of flesh, fresh or sour milk, lard, fresh butter, oil, dumplings, moist or dry pastry or spiced curd, whey spilt, etc., then the monks or nuns may not live *there* even for a very short time. 9. If, however, they see (*as in 2*). 10. If, however, they see that they are not gathered into vessels, etc., *but* kept in stores, sacks, shelves, boxes, pails, cans[26], etc., (*as in 3*). 11. The nuns may not live in a house of meeting, an assembly house, a house with a gallery, *a house built* on the roots of a tree or a house open to the rain ; 12. only the monks.

13. *If* the *monk has* one harbourer, this one must not be visited *on the begging tour* ; *if* two, three four, five harbourers *ordinarily*—these likewise ; *still*, except the principal one, the monk may visit the others.

14. The monks or nuns may not accept alms from a harbourer if they are not brought out, *though* mixed *with other alms*, 15. nor when they are not brought out *and* not mixed, 16. nor when brought out *but* not mixed, 17. *but* only when brought out *and* mixed. 18. They may not mix harbourer's alms, which are brought out *but* not mixed. The monk or nun, who does this or who approves of anyone who does it, committing a fault in both cases, incurs four months unshortened penance.

19. *If* food presented to the harbourer, has been appropriated by him, then one may let him give it *for another monk*, but one may not take any for oneself ; 20. this latter only if it has not been appropriated by the harbourer. 21. *If* food presented by a harbourer, has not been appropriated by the other, then one may, etc. (*as in 19*) ; 22. this latter only if it has been appropriated by the other.

23. *If* the single gifts of a harbourer are not sorted, separated, marked, and divided, then one may, etc. (*as in 19*) ; 24. this latter only when they are sorted, etc.

25-26. *If* a harbourer's food is prepared as with regard to honoured guests, intended *for them*, *and* looked upon as a present *to them*, *if* an article belonging to the harbourer, is destined *for them*, *and* held at their disposal, *food and article* as regular gifts—be it the harbourer or his servants, or be it neither the harbourer nor his servants, but an honoured guest of his, who gives them—one may let him give *it* for another monk, *but* one may not take anything for oneself. 27-28. Only *if* the gift is not regular, one may, if an honoured guest of the harbourer gives it, let him give *it* for another monk and likewise take it for oneself.

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[23] Cp. Hemachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, 1168.

[24] Phaseolus mungo and Ph. radiatus.

[25] *Se s'antarā chhee vā paṁhārevā*. *Chheya* means the loss of a part of the monk's ecclesiastical rank among his brethren, which dates from his second reception, the definitive consecration to the vows. This reduction corresponds to the duration of the trespass, what is expressed in our sūtras by *santarā-svântarāt*. If a monk persists in his fault through half a month, his seniority will, according to a probably late scale given in the chūrṇi, be reduced by 2½ months, as the minimum for a monk is 5 days (for an *uvajjhāya* 10, an *āyariya* 15, the maximum 6, 12, and 18 months respectively). If the monk loses the whole period since his consecration, his is called *mūla*. The commentaries are full of this kind of punishment, but it does not occur in the old *sūtars*. For *parihāra* see note to I, 38.

[26] *Kurabhi*, also °*dhī*, °*vī* in the *Chūrṇi*, where as explanation only *dukkaṇ'ādi* is given.

29. The monks or nuns may wear or possess the following five *kinds of* clothes : camel's hair, linen, hemp, woollen, and fifth, such as are woven from *tiriṭa*-rind [27]. 30. They may carry or possess the following five *kinds* of brooms: woollen, camel's hair, hemp, woven out of *balbaja* grass,[28] and fifth woven from rushes — so say I.

Chapter III.

1. The monks may not stay, stand, sit, lie, etc. (*as in 1, 19*), in the house of the nuns ; 2. also the nuns not in the house of the monks. 3. The nuns may not carry or possess untanned skins; 4. only the monks,[29] and, for them they must be a regular, not an irregular gift, cast off, not new, to be used only for one night, not for several nights ; 5. The monks or nuns may not carry or possess whole skins; 6. only pieces of skins; 7. not whole garments ; 8. only pieces of garments; 9. not untorn clothes; 10. only torn. 11. The monks may not possess or wear a hip or loin cloth ; 12. only the nuns.

13. If a nun, who has entered the dwelling of a householder to ask alms, the need of clothing arises, then she may not accept a cloth[30] herself, only from her superioress. 14. Should there be no superioress present, she may accept it from a teacher present, a catechist, superior, presbyter, leader, superintendent or bishop.

15-16. A monk (a nun) who commences to wander for the first time may take broom, alms-vessel, and dust brush, and wander, provided with three (or four) new clothes. If he (she) is already initiated,[31] then he (she) may not wander with this outfit, but only if he (she) takes the clothes in the condition into which they have become through use. 17. The monks or nuns may not accept clothes kept for the rainy season ; 18. only those kept for the rest of the year. 19-20. They may, according to their rank, accept clothes or a straw-bed, 21. or perform services.

22. The monks or nuns *on their begging tour* may not stay, stand, sit, etc. (*as in 1*), inside a house. If, however, they see a monk weak from old age, ill, exhausted by asceticism, feeble or weary, who might collapse or become unconscious, then that one may stay, stand, sit, etc., inside a house. 23-24. The monks or nuns may not say, declare, recite, communicate, four or five strophes (the five great vows with their supplementary rulés), inside a house— only one example, one description, one strophe, one śloka, and they must stand while doing so.

25. The monks or nuns may not depart with a straw bed with which the layman has provided them without giving it back ; 26. nor, if it belongs to the layman, depart without somewhat changing it[32]. 27. They may depart with a straw bed with which a layman has provided them, or which belongs to him, if they have somewhat changed it.[33] 28. Now such a bed of theirs may be lost and have to be sought for. If *the loser* seeks and finds it, then it is given over to him ; if he seeks and does not find it *but another finds it, and gives it to him*, then he may accept it for himself *again*, after he has entered upon the possession a second time. 29. If, on the day when the monks leave, other monks come by chance, then the previous permission of the begging district stands *for them for the day of their leaving in case they return*, even if they had it only for a very short time. 30. If by chance, another single monk[34] has arrived at the house where those had stayed ; 31. if the house is not closed *during their absence*, not alienated from the household, not taken possession of by others, except by spirits, then the previous permission, etc. (*as in 29*) ;

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[27] *Tiriṭa :* Symplocos racemosa. [28] *Balbaja :* Eleusine indica.

[29] In opposition to this are, *Niśītha-sūtra* 12, 5, the *salomāiṃ cammāiṃ* forbidden for the bhikkhus and bhikkhuṇīs.

[30] In the text read *chelaṃ* instead of *chel' aṭṭhaṃ*. [31] *I.e.*, he (she) has already engaged in the wandering.

[32] ? *Ahigaraṇaṃ kaṭṭu*. [33] *Vigaraṇaṃ kaṭṭu*.

[34] The words *achitte pariharaṇārihe* have been omitted, because they can refer only to a material object (as in IV, 13, 24) and seem to be wrongly interpolated here. Perhaps *achitte* is an old mistake for *achiṭṭhe-acheshṭaḥ* (Conf. *Āchārāṅga*, I, 2, 1, 1—*viniviṭṭha-chiṭṭhe pāṭhāntara* for *chitte*).

32. while as to houses closed, alienated, taken possession of by others, in order that the monk's duty may be performed, the district must be asked for, a second time. 33. In spaces near walls, lanes, trenches, boundary paths, borders, the former permission, etc. (*as in 29*).

34. In a village (*as in I, 6 as far as* 'a caravansarai') the monks or nuns, when having gone on a begging tour, they come to an army encampment, they must return the same day; they may not let the night set in there[35]. The monk or nun who does this, or approves of one who does it, committing a fault in each case, incurs four months' unshortened penance. 35. In a village (*as in I, 6, as far as* caravansarai), the monks or nuns may make a district of a *yojana* and a *krośa* in each direction and make exclusive use of it—so say I.

Chapter IV.

1. There have been proclaimed three cases of unshortened punishment: for him who commits forbidden acts of contact, sexual intercourse, and who eats during night. 2. Also, three cases of expulsion: for a criminal, a careless person, a sodomite. 3. Also, three cases of temporary excommunication: for one who steals from members of his own, or from members of another sect, and for one who strikes with the fist. 4. Three sorts of persons have been proclaimed as not to be received, and *if this has happened by mistake*, not to be shaven, instructed, ordained, admitted as meal and house companions, — an impotent person, castrated, sexually ill. 5. Three *sorts of individuals* may not teach: one without manners, one easily excited[36], one who refuses atonement *for an offence*. 6. Three *sorts of individuals* may be allowed to teach: a person of manners, one not easily excited, one who makes atonement *for an offence*. 7. Three *sorts of individuals* are difficult to convert, — an ill-intentioned person, a stolid one, one who has a fixed idea. 8. Three *sorts of individuals* are easily converted: one who is not ill-intentioned, who is not stolid, who does not live under a fixed idea.

9-10. When a sick nun is embraced by her mother, sister, or daughter (when a sick monk is embraced by his father, brother or son), and a monk (nun) affords him (her) assistance, and thereby commits impurity, then he (she) incurs four months' unshortened penance.

11. Monks and nuns may not, when they have received food, etc. (*as in I, 19*), in the first quarter of the day, keep it till a later [*the fourth*] quarter [37]. If, perchance, it should be kept, one may neither eat it himself, nor give it to others, *but* it must be laid aside in a very clean place after it has been examined and swept. If he eats it himself or gives it to another, he incurs four months' penance, which may be shortened. 12. Monks or nuns may not take food, etc. (*as in I, 19*), with them beyond the limits of half a *yojana*. If, perchance, it should have been taken farther, one may, etc. (*as in 11*).

13. Should a monk, who has entered a householder's dwelling for alms, have received some food or drink free from anything living, but *otherwise* unclean, and if a disciple not yet ordained is just there, he may present the gift to him; if no such disciple is there, he may, etc. (*as in 11*). 14. What food has been prepared for regular monks, it is not allowed them *to eat*, only for the irregulars [38]. What has been prepared for irregular monks, it is not allowed the regulars *to eat*, — only the irregulars. Regulars, even if observing modifications, *rank as* regulars, those who as yet observe no rule *rank as* irregulars.

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[35] *Uvāiṇāvettae*, probably *uvāyaṇā°*, a denominative from *upāyana*, which occurs also in *Sāmāchārī*, VIII, 57, 62; *Āchār*. II, 2, 2, 6 foll.—where *uvāiṇittā* of the MSS. seems to be a mistake.

[36] This is evidently the translation of *vigaī-padibaddha*, that suits best here. Curiously, Abhayadeva, in his *Sthānāṅga ṭīkā*, comments the words with *ghṛit'ādi-rasa-viśesha-gṛiddho'nupadhāna-kārī, i. e.*, a man who is fond of dainties.

[37] See note on III, 35, above.

[38] Irregulars are (according to *Bhāshya* IV, 460.) followers of Pārśva and his disciples.

15. If a monk, having left his *Gaṇa*, wishes to enter another and to wander *in the latter*, he may not do it without having asked the permission of the teacher, catechist, superior, presbyter, leader, superintendent, or bishop; only after he has asked permission from these may he do so: if they grant it to him, he may do it, otherwise not. 16-17. If a bishop (a teacher and catechist) having left etc. (*as before, as far as* "the latter"), he may not do so without having laid aside his office of bishop, teacher and catechist), and ask the permission of the teacher, etc., only (*as before, as far as*; otherwise not).

18. If a monk having left, etc. (*as in 15 as far as* "the latter") for the purpose of seeking alms jointly with him, he may not do it without, etc. (*as in 15 to the end*). Where he finds belief and morals strong, he may do it, otherwise not. 19-20. If a bishop (a teacher and catechist) having left, etc. (*as before as far as* "him") he may not do so without, etc. (*as in 16, 17 to the end*). Where he finds, etc. (*as in 18*).

21. If a monk wishes to take another teacher and catechist, he may not do it without, etc. (*as in 15 to the end*). He may not do it without giving the reason to them; only having given i. he may do it. 22-23. If a bishop (a teacher and catechist) wishes, etc. (*as in 21 to the end*).

24. If a monk, perchance, dies during the night or at dusk, and the serving [*monks*] wish to convey the body to a very clean place, and if something belonging to a layman, free from any living creature, fit for the purpose, be at h and, then one shall—regarding it as prepared by the layman,—after the body has been conveyed to a very clean place,—lay it *again where it had been taken from.*

25. If a monk has committed an offence and has not atoned for it, he may not go to, or enter a householder's dwelling for food and drink, go to, or enter a place of rest or relief, nor wander from a village to village [*from one* Gaṇa *to another or stay during the rains*]. Where he sees his teacher and catechist, one learned in the traditions, versed in the canon, he must confess to him, repent alone, and before the teacher, renounce, become clean, swear not to sin again and accept all due penance. This must be accepted if imposed by tradition; as otherwise not. The monk having penance imposed according to tradition who does not accept it is then to be shut out of the *Gaṇa*. 26. A monk doing penance may receive daily [*through the teacher and catechist*] his alms at one house *only*. Besides this, *the teacher* may not give or hand to him food, etc. The monk must do some service: help others to rise, follow, sit down, lie, take charge of the disposal of excretions, etc. (*as in I, 19*). If, however, *the teacher* sees that, on roads where there are no dwellings, the monk, exhausted by asceticism, weak or tired, might collapse, or become unconscious, then he may give or hand him *more* food, etc.

27. Monks or nuns may not twice or thrice within one month cross[39] the following five fixed, enumerated and named large rivers, *viz.*: the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Sarayū, the Kosh[ik]ā, the Mahī[40]. If, however, they see *at places like* the Ajiravatī in Kuṇālā—where it is possible *to cross* by putting one foot in the water and the other on the ground, then one may cross the river twice or thrice within a month, otherwise not.

28-31. Upon grass, heaps of grass, straw, or heaps of straw, which are free from eggs, living beings, seeds, sprouts, dew, stuffing of crocks, mould, moist clay and cobwebs, the monks or nuns may not stay during summer and winter (during the rainy season) in a house of the kind[41] that is lower than their ear (than their arms raised to *the position of* a diadem on the head), only if it is higher—so say I.

[39] *Uttaritta evā saṁtarittaevā*, two equivalents distinguished as 'to cross on foot or in a boat,' which, however, does not suit the last phrase of this *sūtra*, as the *Chūrṇi* says, that the Ajiravatī is *addha-Yojaṇa-vitthiṇṇā* and *addha-jaṅghāe udayaṁ*.

[40] In this pentad the Buddhists have the forms Sarabhū and Achiravatī (*Chullavagga*, IX, 13, 4), the latter in place of the Kosiyā, which is also *Sthānāṅga* (ed. Calc. fol. 365a) replaced by the Erāvaī (*sic*).

[41] The text MSS. have a tendency to refer, by reading the loc. sing. instead of plur., the qualities of freedom from living beings, etc., likewise to the house and not to the grass, &c., as we find *Āchār*. II, 2. 2,5. With all MSS. must be read, *ahe(uppiṃ)-savaṇa-māyāe* for *māyāesu*. Conformably to this we should expect in the next sūtras *ahe (uppiṁ)-rayaṇi-mukka-mauḍe* for-*mauḍesu*.

Chapter V.

1-4. If a god magically creates a woman (a man) and offers her (him) to a monk (a nun) and the latter accepts her (him)—*or* if a godess magically creates a man (a woman) and offers him (her) to a nun (a monk) and the latter accepts him (her)—then he (she) committing unchastity incurs four months' unshortened penance.

5. If a monk has committed an offence, and, without having atoned for it, wishes to enter another *Gaṇa* and to wander *in it*, and if he carries this into effect, he may—after having been punished with the five days' suspension; and the dispute having gradually cooled down, *matters may be arranged* according to the wish of the former Gaṇa for his return *to it*.

6-9. If a monk, who takes his food at the rising *of the sun*, and satisfies his wants to eat before *the sun* sets, having received food, etc., eats it well and without hesitation (*or*: well but, with hesitation, *or*: suffering, but without hesitation, *or*: suffering, but with hesitation, and then notes "the sun is not yet risen," or, "is already set," and throws or wipes away what he has in his mouth, hand or vessel, then he does not sin. If he eats it himself or gives it to another, then he [*guilty of eating during night-time*] incurs four months' unshortened penance.

10. If an eructation of drink or food should happen to a monk or nun at night time or twilight and if he (she) throws or wipes away what has been eructed, then he (she) does not sin; if he (she) re-swallows what has been eructed, he (she), being guilty of eating at night time, incurs four months' unshortened penance.

11. If a monk has entered a householder's dwelling for alms, and there falls a living creature, a seed or a grain of dust into the alms-bowl and the monk is able to throw or wipe it away, then he may eat or drink with care; if he cannot throw or wipe it away, then he may neither eat it himself nor give it to another, but it must be laid aside in a very clean place, after he has examined and swept it. 12. If a monk, who, etc. (*as above*) and there falls water, a spray of water, or a drop of water into the alms-bowl and he has warm food in it, then it can be eaten; if cold food, then he may neither, etc. (*as in 11*).

13-14. If while a nun at night time or twilight secretes or passes urinary or other excretions any four-footed animal or a flying insect touches an organ of feeling (or penetrates into an opening of her body) and she permits it, then she, being guilty of forbidden contact (unchastity), incurs four months' unshortened penance.

15. A nun may not be alone; 16. may not go alone to, or enter a householder's dwelling to ask for food and drink; 17. may not go alone to or enter a place of rest or relief; 18. may not go alone from village to village [*or stay during the rainy season*].

19. A nun may not go unclothed; 20. may not be without an alms-vessel; 21. may not give her body to asceticism. 22. She may not, outside a village, etc. (*as I, 6, as far as* "caravansarai"), continually stretching the arms upwards, the face turned towards the sun, standing upon one foot, mortify herself on an estrada; 23. she may do it only within the house enclosure with a cloth on, with the feet on level ground. 24. She may not take up a general position of penance; 25. may not stand motionless, 26. sit crouching on the ground, 27. cower down, 28. sit "as a hero," 29. stiff as a stick [29a. *with hanging down arms*], 30. bent like a cudgel, 31. lie on the back, 32. on the face, 33. bent round like a mango fruit, 34. stretched out on one side.

35-36. Not the nuns, only the monks may carry or possess a roll of clothes *as a back support*; 37-38 lie or rest on a seat with a back, 39-40. stand or sit on a board or stool with ledges; 41-42. carry or possess a bottle-gourd with stem, *as alms vessel* [*alms vessels with handles*]; 43-44. a brush for the vessel with a handle [*brushes with cover*]; 45-46. a broom with a wooden handle[42].

[42] *Nisītha-sūtra* II, 1—8, any use of such a *dāru-daṇḍaya pāya-puñchaṇa* is forbidden even to the monks. It appears from sūtras 35—46 that they were by no means sure of the perfect chastity of the nuns' thoughts.

47-48. Except in cases of severe illness, the monks or nuns may not mutually[43] suck up or transfer saliva; 49. not take even as much as a film from the edge, or a drop of food, which has stood over night; 50. not rub or smear the limbs with salve which has stood over night; 51. not massage or shampoo the limbs with oil, lard, butter or fat, which has stood over night; 52. not treat or anoint them with paste, paint, perfumes, or any other ointment which has stood over night[44].

53. If a monk who is doing penance goes out of the service of the elders and *there* perchance commits a fault, and the elder hear of it, either coming themselves or hearing it from others, then one may proceed towards him in the lightest way[45].

54. If by a nun, who has entered a householder's dwelling for alms, any little bit of food is brought home, then, if she is able, she may be satisfied with this food on that day; if not, she may go out for alms to a householder's dwelling a second time—so say I.

Chapter VI.

1. The monks or nuns may not use the following six forbidden forms of speech: lying, sneering, insult, coarse speaking, worldly speech, or speech renewing atoned matters. 2. There are six cases of idle talk about right conduct: of speaking rashly *in relation to others*, of damaging living creatures, of untruthfulness, of forbidden appropriation, of a jade, a eunuch or a slave. Whoever uses these six kinds of idle talk, without being able to prove them fully, ranks as one who has committed the transgression himself.

3-6. If a monk (a nun) gets a piece of wood, a thorn, or a snare into the foot, *or* an insect, a seed, or a grain into the eye, and the monk (the nun) cannot draw it out, or remove it, then a nun (a monk) does not sin, if she (he) removes it or draws it out.

7. If a monk holds or supports a nun, who stumbles or falls in a dangerous place, on a rough path, or on a mountain; 8. who is drawn or dragged into a water-hole, a marsh, a mire, a pond; 9. who gets on board or leaves a boat, he does not sin.

10. If a monk holds or supports a nun of deranged mind; 11. clouded reason; 12. possessed by a *yaksha*, a crazy nun, one who is troubled by temptations, has committed an offence, is doing penance, has renounced meat and drink, *or* is the object of a claim *on the part of relations, etc.*, he does not sin.

13. There are six disturbers of proper conduct: the joker, a disturber of self discipline; the babbler, a disturber of truthfulness; the discontented, a disturber of the right begging, he who has his eyes everywhere; a disturber of careful walking on the road, he who is full of desire, a disturber of the way to deliverance; he who always cherishes a new (*desire and*) reward for asceticism; a disturber of the way to salvation. Everywhere, abstemiousness in claiming reward is preached by the Master.

14. Six are the steps in a monk's life: the position of the monk at introduction, the position of the monk after new consecration, the position in special mortification of the flesh, the position as helper of an ascetic, the position as a naked ascetic, the position as superior,—so say I.

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43 *I. e.*, a monk a nun's, and the converse.

44 I supply the word *pāriyāsiya* which is wanting here but stands regularly in sūtra 49—51.

45 *Tao pacchā tassa ahā-lahusae nāma vavahāre patṭhaviyavve siyā.* The *vavahāra*, the procedure towards a transgressor, is five-fold divided in *āgama, suya, āṇā, dhāraṇā*, and *jīya-vyavahāra*, according as the canon, tradition, a rule, a charge, or a custom fixes it (see Leumann, *Jītakalpa*, p. 2). The second kind occurs IV, 25. We never meet, at least in the *Kalpa-* and *Vyavahāra-sūtras*, with another procedure as the *ahā-lahusaga*. I think the commentators are wrong, or their statements belong to a later time, when they (*chūrṇi* to *bhāshya* V, 359 foll. = *V.-bh.* II, 85.) give *vavahāra* as fasts and divide it nine-fold in this way :—

guruo	1	*month,*	*taṁ*	*aṭṭhameṇaṁ*	*vahai.*
gurugatarāo	4	*months,*	,,	*dasameṇaṁ*	,,
ahā-guruo	6	,,	,,	*duvālasameṇaṁ*	,,
lahuo	30	*days,*	*te*	*chhaṭṭheṇaṁ*	,,
lahugatarāo	25	,,	,,	*chautthenaṁ*	,,
ahā-lahuo	20	,,	,,	*āyambileṇaṁ*	,,
lahusao	15	,,	,,	*ega-ṭṭhāṇeṇaṁ*	,,
lahusatarāo	10	,,	,,	*purim' aḍḍheṇaṁ*	,,
ahā-lahusao	5	,,	,,	*nivvieṇaṁ*	,,

RELIGIOUS SONGS FROM NORTHERN INDIA.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE (LATE I.C.S.).

No. I.

A Holi Song.

Sung by Manohar Bhant.

Recorded by Ram Chandrâ Dûbê of Pâlî Khurd, District Itâwâ.

Text.

Jô koî nirgun jhar lakhî pâwai,
Bhûîn bin kûân, khêt bin bârî, bin kar rahat chalâwai.
Binâ shîsh kî dhul pâni hariyâ, pânî binâ lej bhârî lyâwai.
Bin hî khêt bijûkâ gârai, mirig chunan nahîṅ bâwai.
Jô koî bhây kô mârai, bhâyêṅ bhajâwai, kâl nikat nahîṅ âwai.
Jô paraiṅ pât baithî ek dâdur saug sowâdu na pâwai;
Kamâl phûl kâ bhaṅwarâ lobhî, sau jogan lôṅ dhâwai.
Jô bekar tal pakhâwaj bajâwaiṅ, we rasnâ gun gâwaiṅ,
Gâwânhârî kô kharâ khoj nahîṅ, Sat Gurû ânî batâwai.

Refrain.

Jô koî nirgun jhar lakhî pâwai.

Translation.

He who can see the bodiless fall,
Can dig a well without earth, and can plant a garden without a field, and can draw water without hands.
A headless female water-bearer can draw water without a rope and bring it.
Without a field he sets up a figure to scare animals, and no deer can graze in the field.
He who kills bear, drives it away, keeps the duty of death away from himself.
The frog sitting on a leaf of the lotus flower does not know its value;
But the beetle, who knows the value of lotus, goes hundreds of miles in search for it.
Those who sing the praise of God with the tongue without any musical rule or instrument,
Make God (Sat Gurû) come to them and teach them everything, though they do not know who came and taught them.

Refrain.

He who can make the bodiless fall.

No. II.

A Song attributed to Kabîr.

Sung by Manohar Bhant.

Recorded by Ram Chandrâ Dûbê of Pâlî Khurd, District Itâwâ.

Text.

Lagî Shabd kî chôt, jin kê lagî Shabd kî chôt;
Kyâ naddî; kyâ kuâṅ; bâurî; khâîṅ; kyâ kot?
Kyâ barchhî; kyâ chhurî, katârî; kyâ dhâlan ôt?
Kyâ bhâî; kyâ mâtu pitâ, rê; kyâ tiriyâ ko sôch?
Kahâin kabîr;—"Suno bhâî santô: bachâin gurun kî ôt,
Jinke lagî Shabd kî chôt"

Translation.

Those who have received a blow from the Word;
To them what is a river, a well, a tank, a ditch or a fort?
What is a spear, a knife, a dagger, a shelid?
What is a mother, a brother, a father, or a wife's anxiety?
Saith Kabîr :—"Brothers and saints, listen to me: any protection is behind the spiritual guide,
To those who have received a blow from the Word."

No. III.

A Hymn to Salîm Shâh of Fathpûr Sîkrî.

Sung by Daulat Râm, Brâhman of Bâgî;-

Recorded by Jîwan Sinh, Brâhman of Bâgî, District Dehrâ Dûn.

Text.

Dewârî meṅ minnat tihârâ!
Ayo saran Dewârî meṅ minnat tihârâ
Augun hai, dewâ; gun nahîṅ mujh mêṅ. Merâ karô nistârâ!
Dewârî mêṅ minnat tihârâ!
Nangoṅ nangoṅ pairoṅ, dewâ, Akbar âyâ, sunke nâm tumhârâ!
Dewârî meṅ minnat tihârâ!

Translation.

At the Dewârî, thou art worshipped!
I have sought thy protection at the Dewârî.
O godling, I have many defects and no good quality. Be my support!
At the Dewârî thou art worshipped!
O godling, Akbar came to pay his respects to thee bare-footed hearing of thy fame!
At the Dewârî thou art worshipped!

No. IV.

A Hymn of the Pilgrims to Jagannâth.

Current in the Eastern District of the United Provinces.

Collected by Râmgharîb Chaube.

Text.

Ab tô dil lâg rahe charan meṅ tihâre.
Pratham yog jagmagât ûṅch nîch târe.
Mârkaṇḍ, Shesh, Gang, Indradaman târe.
Gokulâ meṅ janm liṅho, Pûrî ko sidhâ ro.
Baudh rûp baithî rahê kît mukut dhâre
Yâtrî sab jâne na pâwêṅ rokî, gaye nyâre,
Dosh pâp chhûtî gaye pânch ketu sê tumhâre.
Mârkaṇḍ, Shesh, Gang, Garuḍ khambh dwâre;
Râm Dâs charan âye, Jagannâth pyâre.

Translation.

Now my heart is set on thy feet (worship).
Thy fame as the giver of salvation to the high and low is shining.
Thou gavest salvation to Mârkaṇḍ, Shesh, Gang and Indradaman.
Thou wert born in Gokul and wentest to Pûrî.
Thou sittest in the form of Baudh with a crown and ear-ornaments.
The pilgrims are not allowed to go to thee and they are kept away from thee.
(On seeing thy flag,) from a distance of ten miles all sins and faults are destroyed.
The columns on the doors are (under the designations of) Mârkaṇḍ, Shesh, Gang, Garuḍ;
O beloved Jagannâth, Râm Dâs has taken refuge in thee.

No. V.

A Popular Song by Sûr Dâs, about Kṛishṇa.

Recorded by Râmgharîb Chaubê.

Text.

Brindâban Mohan dadhi lûtî.

Kahâṅ mero hâr ? Kahâṅ nath besar ? Kahâṅ motîṅ ki lar tûtî ?

Barajo, Yasodâ, apne lâlâ ko ! Jhakjhorat matûkî phûtî !

Sûrdâs Prabhu Harî milan ko sarbas de gwâlin chhûtî.

Translation.

Mohan (Śrî Kṛishṇa) stole curds in Brindâban.

Where is my necklace ? Where is my nose-ring ? Where is the broken string of pearls ?

O Yasodâ, check your son ! In his pulling and handling, my earthen vessel of curds broke !

Sûrdâs says that cowherd's girls gave up all for the sake of meeting Prabhu Harî (Śrî Kṛishṇa).

No. VI.

A Hymn to Mahâdeva.

Recorded by Râmgharîb Chaubê.

Text.

Shankar Sheo, bambam bholâ !

Kailâsh patî, mahârâj râj, Shankar Sheo, bambam bholâ !

Oṛhê siṅh khâl, galê byâl mâl, lôchan bishâl ati lâl lâl, piye bhang rang so, karat kâj !

Bachhahâ turang, chhabi ang ang, sohai sîs Gang, mâthe chand bhâl, sundar birâj !

Ardhang rûp, ati chhâṅh dhûp, nirkhat swarûp, bhaye chhakit bhûp, kar dimik dimik dim damarû bâj !

Kahat Nizâmî, kar jorî jorî :—"Dîjâi bhaktî dân, râkho mân morî, tajî charan kamal, kahâṅ jâuṅ âj ! "

Translation.

O Shankar Shiv, simple-hearted and careless !

O Lord of Kailâsh, king of kings, Shankar Shiv, simple-hearted and careless !

Clad in tiger-skin, snakes around the neck as garlands, large eyes very red, drunk with *bhang*, thou dost realize the hopes (of thy votaries) !

Bull for thy steed, surpassing beauty in every limb, the Ganges beautifying the head, in thy forehead the moon, and doth thy beauty shine !

Half-formed, and like a sun-shade, seeing which kings were surprised, and in thy hands the *damarû* (a musical instrument) soundeth !

Nizâmî with folded hands says:—"Give me devotion as a boon, keep up my honour in the world, leaving thy lotus-like feet whither may I go ! "

No. VII.

A Song about Deoband in Sahâranpur District.

Sung by Sîta Râm.

Recorded by Râmgharîb Chaube.

Text.

1.

Durgâ Kund yah tîrath sanâ tan ; Sheo ne rachâ ; nîr ganbhîr bharâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

2.

Bâlâ Sundarî Chaî yah, jis bidhî kahûṅ maiṅ. Wah sat hâl. Na is meṅ farq zarâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

3.

Puran huî tapasyâ, tab jâ Pârbatî nê diyâ darshan : patî Shambhû ko barâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

4.

Tripurâ Sur kâ juddh huâ, jab Devî Durge ne shaktî : dusht ek chhan meṅ marâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

5.

Tripurâ Sundarî bâlâ, jab se Bâlâ Sundar nâm ; Ved vikhyât karâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

6.

Pâṇḍwoṅ kî râjdhanî bhaî, phir bârah baras kiyâ bâs ; ghâs pât asan charâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

7.

Dharo Dwait Ban nâm Yudhisthir, Devî Ban jisko kahaiṅ. Râg aru dwesh tarâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

8.

Yak Banjârâ thâ : sîng le sab Banjâre chaṛhe ; an yahâṅ tândâ derâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

9.

Jab Durge ne kalâ dikhâî, yahîṅ nagar rach diyâ. Sohâwan shahar karâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

10.

Phir Akbar Shâh Badshâh Mughal bahut se pâṛe. Desh sab un se darâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

11.

Hinduoṅ ne qatal âm kiyâ, base Mahâjan log ; chalî yoṅhîṅ param parâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

12.

Khushhâlî Bohare ko chitâyâ, banâ diyâ un bhâwan : subhâg un ghâṭ dharâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

13.

Pîchhe Kâlî Mât, pîchhe Bhairoṅ Bîr launkare ; sâmhne sher kharâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Debî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ ne dharâ.

14.

Ho rahî jai jai kâr bhâwan meṅ karke Dhânu darshan. Bhagat Durge kâ tarâ.
Deoband nahîṅ, yah Devî Ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ kâ dharâ.

15.

Sitâ Râm niyâdar darsî, Devî kripâ karî : kâj santoṅ kâ sârâ.
Devoband nahîṅ, yah Devî ban ; nâm Rishiyoṅ kâ dharâ.

Translation.

1.

The Pool of Durgâ is an ancient place of pilgrimage : Shiv built it, and the water is deep.
It is not Deoband but Devî Ban, a name given by the Rishis.

2.

This is the lady Bâlâ Sundarî, whose tale I will now tell. It is the true story. There is no difference in it.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban ; a name given by the Rishis.

3.

When (Mahâdev) had fulfilled his penance, Pârbatî went and worshipped him and married the lord Shambhû.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

4.

In the trouble with Tripurâ Sûr, the Devî took the form of Durgâ and killed her enemy at a blow.

It is not Deoband but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

5.

Tripurâ and Sundarî fought, hence her name of Sundarî Bâlâ, and the *Vedas* were saved.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

6.

The Pâṇḍavas dwelt twelve years and ruled here, and here they ate grass and leaves.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

7.

Yudhisthir gave it the name of Dwait Ban, which had been called Devî Ban. Hence enmity and desire were banished.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

8.

There was one Banjârâ and all the Banjârâs came with their goods, and here they pitched their tents.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

9.

When Durgâ showed her powers, a town was built here. It became a beautiful city.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

10

Then Akbar Shâh, the Mughal King, greatly destroyed it, and the whole country feared him.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

11.

When the Hindustânîs were killed off, Mahâjans lived here and came in great numbers.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

12.

The desire came to Khushhâlî, the Banker, and he built a temple, and he set up a beautiful bathing *ghâṭ*.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

13.

Behind is the Temple of Kâlî, and behind that the shrine of Bhairoṅ, and in front stands his lion.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

14.

(The pilgrims) pay the respects to Dhânu and keep on crying 'victory' in temple. The devotee of Durgâ obtains (his desire).

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

15.

Daily Sîtâ Râm pays his respects, and the goddess has mercy and grants all his desires.

It is not Deoband, but Devî Ban; a name given by the Rishis.

Note.

Tho story intended to be related in the above verses is much this. Mahâdeva settled at Deoband for his austerities, and the place became known as the Mahâdeva Ban or Forest, and was revered as a holy place. When his austerities were accomplished, he married Pârbatî there, whence it became known as Devî Ban. Then comes the story about the rescue of the *Vedas* from the demons by the goddess under the form of Durgâ. The legend goes that Tripura Sûra was in possession of the place and Durgâ undertook to oust him. So she went there in the guise of a beautiful girl, Bâlâ Sundarî, Tripura Sûra desired to marry her and she said she would do so, if he defeated her in battle. Thinking her to be only a delicate girl he agreed and was killed.

Next we have a legend connecting the place with the Pâṇḍavas. The idea is that in all *tapoban*, forests for penance, there is universal peace and amity, the lion lies down with the lamb and the sheep with the wolf. So when Yudhishthir settled at Deoband for a while, he forgot all his enmities, and named the place Advaita Ban, the forest in which he obtained the two most desirable qualities.

After this comes the more modern story of Dhânu Bhagat, the Banjârâ, who is fabled to have offered his head to the goddess, and of whom long stories are sung in verse. Many of his caste came to worship at this shrine where this took place, and are said to have been ousted by the Musalmâns, represented in story by the Emperor Akbar.

They in turn were driven out of the holy place and it has now become the property of the Baniyâ class, and the last phase of the holy place is its enlargement and adornment by one Khushâlî, a banker, in quite modern times.

No. VIII.

A Prabhâti or Morning Hymn.

Sung on opening a temple to Râm or Kṛishṇa.

Recorded by Râm Kishn of Kaulâgir, District Dehrâ Dûn.

Text.

Jâgiye, Gopâl Lâl, panchhî ban bole.
Nishâ sagarî bît gaî. Bhânu ko prakâsh, bhayo. Bhaṅwarâṅ gunjâr kiṅh. Kawalâṅ dal khole.
Shashî kî jot malin bhai. Chakawî piyâ milan gaî. Pawan chalat ati sugandh, tarwar ban dole.
Jâgiye Gopâl Lâl panchhî ban bole.

Translation.

Awake, O Gopâl Lâl, the birds in the forest have begun to chirp.

The night is passed. The light of the sun has become visible. The bees have begun to hum. The lotus flowers have opened their petals.

The light of the moon has dimmed. The *Chakawî* has gone to meet her beloved. The breezes blow scented and the tree-leaves in the forest are moving.

Awake, O Gopâl Lâl, the birds in the forest have begun to chirp.

No. IX.

A Chaubolâ Hymn to Kâlî.

Recorded by Shôbhâ Râm, School Teacher of Bibhaulî Village, District Dehrâ Dûn.

Text.

Kâlî rî, tu Kâlkâ, jotî terî bharpûr !
Gaṛh Lankâ, rî, tu charhî : are saṅwâre kâj.
Are saṅwâre kâj : khûn se khappar bhar liṅhî.
Siyâ Râm kî phauj bijay tumhiṅ ne diṅhî.
Lalkârain râkshas zôr zôr pî pî mad pyâla.
Pai taine Râwan mâr kiyâ ; muṅh sab kâ kâlâ.

Gaṛh Lankâ ko toṛ, son ko mittî kînhîn.

Aisî tu mahrânî ; tumhain Nânak bhal chînhîn.

Merî tu Kâlî Máí. Terî main bhent banâî.

Chandâshwâle Râje bhawan mên dhwajâ chaṛhâî.

Translation.

O Black one (Kâlî), thou art the goddess of the age (Kâlkâ), thy work is fulfilled !

Thou didst attack Lankâ and achieve success.

Thou didst achieve success and didst fill thy earthen vessel with the blood (of those who fell in the struggle).

Thou didst give victory to the army of Sîtâ and Râm.

The cannibals drinking the cups of wine challenged hoarsely.

But thou by laying Râwan low didst blacken the faces of all of them (humiliated them).

Reducing the fort of Lankâ, thou didst convert gold into ashes.

So art thou queen : Nânak knows thee full well.

O Black Mother, thou art mine. I have composed this as a present to thee.

May a flag wave on the palace of the Râjâ on the fourteenth day of the Hindu months.

No. X.

A Vaishnava Hymn sung daily to the Shâlgrâm Stone.

Sung by Mâdho Dâs.

Recorded by Bhagwant Prashâd, School Teacher of Dhimshrî Village, District Agrâ.

Text.

Shâlgrâm, suno binatî merî ; yah bardân dayâ karî pâûn.

Prât hot, jal se manjan karî, prem sahit ahshnân karâûn.

Chandan, dhup, dîp, tulshî dal, bhântî bhântî ke phûl charhâûn.

Unche singhâsan baithârôn, ghanṭâ sankh, mridang bajâûn.

Ek bund, charnâmrit pâûn pitrin ko Vaikunth pathâûn.

Jo ahâr jurai hai rain din, bhog lagâya ke jûthan pâûn.

Gilâne pâp kare duniyâ men parik ramâ ke sâth bahâûn.

Chhutî gayo janjâl jagat ke, dewâut ko darbâ men jâûn.

Madho Dâs dayâ Sat Gurû ke sat sâdhun ko dâs kahâûn.

Translation.

O Shâlgrâm, listen to my prayer : of thy kindness give me this boon.

In the morning washing my body with water, I bathe you with affection.

Then I offer to you sandal, incense, lamps, leaves of the *tulsi* plant, and various kinds of flowers.

Then I place you on a high seat and play on bells, drum, and blow the conch-shell.

I get a drop of water in which I have bathed you and thereby send my ancestors to the paradise (of Vishṇu).

The food I have been able to procure, I offer you that your leavings I may eat.

Then walk round you and thereby throw off all the sins I have committed in the world.

Then free from the snares of the world, I go to the covert of the gods.

Madho Das says, that through the generosity of the True Guide he may be called the servant of all the saints.

No. XI.

A Hymn to Bhawânî.

Sung by Hukm Siṅh, a boy in the Ruknutâ Village School.
Recorded by his teacher.

Text.

1.

Ak kî gârî, dhâk ke pahiye; surahî ke bail jurâwatî.
Merî Mâtâ Maiâ: tumhiṅ soṅ dhyân lagâwatî.

2.

Jâ meṅ chaṛhî âwaiṅ Kânhaur kî Mâtâ: kesan bagar buhâratî.
Merî Mâtâ Maiâ: tumhiṅ soṅ dhyân lagâwatî.

3.

Jâ meṅ chaṛhî âwaiṅ Lâltâ Maiâ: kesan bagar buhâratî.
Meri Mâtâ Maiâ: tumhiṅ soṅ dhyân lagâwatî.

4.

Jâ meṅ chaṛhî âwaiṅ Masânî Mâtâ.
Jâ meṅ chaṛhî âwaiṅ, Mâû kî Mâtâ.
Jâ meṅ chaṛhî âwaiṅ, Gargâweṅ kî Mâtâ.
Kesar bagar buhâratî.
Merî Mâtâ Maiâ, tumhiṅ soṅ dhyân lagâwatî.

5.

Jâ meṅ chaṛhî âwaiṅ Kûâṅwâlî.
Jâ meṅ chaṛhi âwaiṅ Sato Bahinain.
Jâ meṅ chaṛhî âwaiṅ ekhattar sau Mâtâ.
Ak kî gâṛî, dhâk ke pahiye, surahî kî bail jurâwati.
Merî Mâtâ Maiâ, tumhiṅ soṅ dhyân lagâwatî.

Translation.

1.

The car of *âk*, the wheels of *palâs*[1]; wild oxen yoked to it.
Mother Maiâ mine: I meditate only on thee.

2.

In the car is coming the Mother of Kânhaur: I sweep the way with my hair.
Mother Maiâ mine: I meditate only on thee.

3.

In the car is coming Mother Lâltâ: I sweep the way with my hair.
Mother Maiâ mine: I meditate only on thee.

4.

In the car is coming Mother Masânî.
In the car is coming the Mother of Mâû.
In the car is coming the Mother of Gurgâoṅ.
I sweep the way with my hair.
Mother Maiâ mine: I meditate only on thee.

5.

In the car is coming the Mother of the Wells.
In the car are coming the Seven Sisters.
In the car are coming the Seventy-one-hundred Mothers.
The car of *âk*, the wheels of *palâs*: wild oxen yoked to it.
Mother Maiâ mine: I meditate only on thee.

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[1] The *palâs* is the abode of the goddess.

No. XII.

A Song about the Forest godlings: The Cow and the Lion.

Sung by Sâlig Râm Kâyasth of Aparpûr Village.

Recorded by Lâltâ Prasâd, School Teacher of Aparpûr.

Text.

Din ko uan, kiran kî berâ surain ban ko jâwe, rî.
Ek ban nâgh; dujo ban nâghai; tîje ban pahunche jâyâ, rî.
Ban kai pataua mukhhû nâ dinhe, upar nâhar hûkai, rî.
"Ab kî dâîṅ bakas mere sama lâ; ghar bachhṛâ nâdân, rî."
"Kô tero sâkh bharat hai? Ko tero bhayo zâmanî, rî?"
"Sûraj sabitâ sâkh bharat hain; Banaspatî zamân, rî."
"Sûraj sabitâ sahajâyan athay gaye? Banaspatî jhar jây, rî?"
"Dhartî Mâtâ sâkh bharatî hain; Bâsuk hot zamân, rî."
Ek ban nâgh, dujo ban nâghî, tîje ban pahunchî jâyâ, rî.
Awo: "Mêre bachharâ pîlô dudhwâ, siṅh bachan hârî âî, rî."
"Awat dekhô ab to dudh ham nâ pîwaiṅ, mâtâ. Chalihôṅ tumhâro sâth, rî,"
Uṅche parbat here wâre siṅhlâ: "Surain âj na âî, rî."
Awat dekhî surabhî bachharâ, siṅhlâ man musukâî, rî.
"Ab to surbhî bachan, kî sâṅchî: ek gâî, do âî, rî."
"Pahile, mâmâ, moṅhîṅ bhaksh lîjo, pîchhê surain mâî, rî."
"Kaune, bhanaijâ, toṅhîṅ sikh dinhon kaun lagyô tere kân rî?"
"Dhartî Mâtâ moṅhîṅ sikh dinhî; langûr lagyo mere kân, rî."
"Jâwô, bhanaijâ, ban tumhîṅ ko dinhôn. Bhôr hot char jâwo, rî;"
Charne ko Kajali Ban dai dinho; pîne ko Gangâ jal pânî, rî."

Translation.

A cow went into the forest at day-break.

She passed one forest and then the second and then she went into the third forest.

She had not taken any leaf of the forest into her mouth before she found a lion roaring at her.

(She begged of him) "Have mercy on me this time. I have a very young calf at home."

(The lion asked) "Who is thy witness and who stands security for thee?"

(The cow replied) "The sun is my witness and Banaspatî is security for me."

(The lion rejoined) "The sun will set, and Banaspati will drop."

(The cow then said) "Mother Earth is my witness and Bâsuk (the snake king) is my security."

Then the lion allowed her to go and she went back from one forest to the other and then to the third and reached her home.

She arrived (and said to her calf), "My calf, come and suck my teats, I have given my word to a lion."

(The calf said) "Look here, mother, I won't suck thy teats now. I shall go with thee (to the lion)."

The lion kept watch on the lofty hills (and said within himself) "the cow does not come to-day."

He saw the cow and the calf coming towards him and he smiled.

(When the the cow with the calf went up to the lion, he said):—"O cow, thou art very truthful. Thou didst go alone and hast come back doubled."

(The calf broke in upon the conversation and said):—"O maternal uncle, first of all eat me, and then you can eat the mother-cow."

(The lion then said) "Who advised thee to call me maternal uncle and who poisoned thy ears against me?"

(The calf replied) "Mother Earth gave me her advice; the monkey poisoned my ears against thee."

(The lion then said) "O my sister's son, go, for I give this forest to thee. Come in the morning and graze in the forest.

I give thee Kajalî Forest to graze in and the water of the Ganges to drink."

Note.

The idea of the Hindus is that lions and demons are appeased and cease to do harm to any one who calls them 'maternal uncle,' because no Hindu can do injury to his sister's son, who is to him an object of worship.

No. XIII.

A Song of the Kanwârthûs.

Purveyors of Ganges water.

Text.

Kamarthiyâ (Kânwarithiyâ), mere param adhâr,
  Bholâ paras ghar âya jaiho.
Aya jaiho apne mâwâ kê bhâg,
  Bholâ paras ghar âya jaiho.
Aya jaiho apne bâbul ke bhâg,
  Bholâ paras ghar âya jaiho.
Aya jaiho apne bhâiâṅ ke bhâg,
  Bholâ paras ghar âya jaiho.
Aya jaiho apne bahinî ke bhâg,
  Bholâ paras ghar âya jaiho.
Aya jaiho apnî dhaniyâ ke bhâg,
  Bholâ paras ghar âya jaiho.
Kânwarathiyâ, mere param adhar,
  Bholâ paras ghar âya jaiho.
Are, pahalî 'bam' angnâ meṅ bolî; dûjî galiâṅ meṅ jâya;
Tijî 'bam' daure pai bolî; chauthî jhâṛî meṅ jâya;
Panchaîṅ 'bam' Gangâ pai bolî; chhathaiṅ Lakhnaua meṅ jâya;
Sataiṅ 'bam' Sheo nâre pai bolî; aṭhaîṅ Bholâ darbâr.
Kamarthiyâ, mere param adhâr,
  Bholâ paras ghar âya jaiho.

Translation.

O Kamarthî, thou art my chief support,
  Touching Mahâdev, come back home.
Come back for the blessing of your mother,
  Touching Mahâdev, come back home.
Come back for the blessing of your father,
  Touching Mahâdev, come back home.
Come back for the blessing of your brothers,
  Touching Mahâdev, come back home.
Come back for the blessing of your sisters,
  Touching Mahâdev, come back home.
Come back for the blessing of your wife,
  Touching Mahâdev, come back home.
O Kamarthî, thou art my chief support,
  Touching Mahâdev, come back home.
O, he (the Kanwarthî) says '*bam*:' first in the courtyard; next in the lanes;

Thirdly (he says) '*bam*' in the village precincts; fourthly in the woods;
Fifthly at the Ganges (he says) '*bam*'; sixthly at Lucknow;
Seventhly (he says) '*bam*' at the Sheo river; eighthly in the court of Mahâdev.
O Kamarthî, thou art my chief support,
Touching Mahâdev, come back home.

Note.

The Kanwarthîs are purveyors of Ganges water from Hardwâr for use on the *lingam* of important temples of Mahâdeva. Like the devouter pilgrims to Jagannâth, they have, in order to secure the full benefits of their merit, to eschew the Railways and travel on foot. The above song is that of the Kanwarthîs who supply the temple of Lodheswar Mahâdeva.

No. XIV.

Song to the Goddess of Small-pox.

(Sung when a boy is actually suffering from the disease.)

Recorded by Mathurâ Prasâd, School Teacher in Phanphund Village, District Itâwâ.

Text.

Devî hoyâ gaîṅ dayâl abai more anganâ.
Devî ke pâyan chandan kharâûṅ: khodai chaliṅ, re, abai more anganâ.
Devî hoyâ gaîṅ dayâl abai more anganâ.
Devî ke hâthâṅ phulâṅ kî chhaṛiyâṅ; chhariyâṅ mârai chalîṅ, re, abhai more anganâ.
Devî hoyâ gaîṅ dayâl abai more anganâ.
Devî kî godîṅ lâl bâlakwâ, lalnâ dewai chabu, re, abai more anganâ.
Devî hoyâ gâîṅ dayâl abai more anganâ.

Translation.

The Devî has been kind to us in our courtyard.
The Devî has a sandal made of gold: she has just gone to dig with it our courtyard just now.
The Devî has been kind to us in our courtyard.
The Devî has sticks of flowers in her hands: with them she has gone to beat us in our courtyard.
The Devî has been kind to us in our courtyard.
The Devî has a red child in her lap: she is just going to give the child to us in our courtyard.
The Devî has been kind to us in our courtyard.

No. XV.

A Morning Hymn (Sumirinî).

Sung by low-caste Hindus.

Sung by Sûrdâs. Reported by Lakî Telî of Pilnâ Village, District Etah.
Recorded by Pandit Shivdayâl, School Teacher of Pilnâ Village.

Text.

Deotâ sigare aju manâûṅ.
Shukrâ, Budh, Sanishchar, Vrihaspati, Sûraj, Chandrâ, sabai man lâûṅ.
Langûr, Gaurî, Ganesh, Sârdâ, Gangâjî, charan sir nâûṅ.
Bharat, Râm, Lakshman, Ripusudan, Sitâ, Hanumân, Yamunâ, chit lâûṅ.
Pâṅcho Pâṇḍâ, chhathe Nârâyan, Rohinî putra, charan sir nâûṅ.
Dhanyâ dhanyâ win Bhîmsên kô; aru Baldeo charan sir nâûṅ.
Sûr Dâs: Bhagwân bharose Râm Chandrâ ke sab gun gâûṅ.
Deotâ sigrê âju manâûṅ.

Translation.

To-day, invoke all the gods.

I call them all to mind : Shukrâ, Budh, Sanîchar, Vrahaspati, Surya and Chandra.

I salute the monkeys : Gaurî, Ganesh, Sârdâ, and Gangâjî.

I call to mind Bharat, Râm, Lakshman, Ripusudan, Sitâ and Hanumân and the Yamunâ.

I lay my head at the feet of the five Pândwas and the sixth Nârâyan, the son of Rohinî.

Blessed is Bhîmsen, and Baldeo I salute.

Sûr Dâs says that he has confidence in Bhagwân and so he sings the praises of Râm Chandrâ.

I invoke all the gods to-day.

No. XVI.

Village Hymns in Itâwâ District.

Recorded by Pandît Bhagwân Dîn from the lips of Kundan Ahîr and Gokul Ahîr of Pâlî Village.

1.—To Devî.

Text.

Bhawânî, tero Gangâjî meṅ ghalo, re, hindolô !
Kâhe ke khambhâ marware ? Kâhe ki hai bagdor ?
Bhawânî, tero, etc.
Chandan ke khambhâ marware : resham kî hai bagdor.
Bhawâni, tero, etc.
Kô jû jhulâi ? Kâun jhulâwai ? Kô jû dumachî machâwai ?
Bhawânî, tero, etc.
Devî jhûlain ; langûr jhulâwain. Hanumat dumachî machâwaiṇ.
Bhawânî, tero, etc.
Sumiri sumiri, Mâtâ, tero yash gâuṅ. Nagarî meṅ rah'ahu dâyâlu ;
Bhawânî tero Gangajî meṅ ghalo hai hindolô.

Translation.

O Bhawânî, thy cradle swings in the Ganges !
Of what are made the supports ? Of what is made the rope ?
O Bhawânî, thy cradle, etc.
The supports are made of sandalwood, and the rope is made of silk.
O Bhawânî, thy cradle, etc.
Who swings on it ? Who causes the cradle to swing ? Who plays on the drum ?
O Bhawânî, thy cradle, etc.
The Devî swings in it ; the apes make the cradle swing. Hanumân plays on the drum.
O Bhawânî, thy cradle, etc.
O Mâtâ, calling thee to my mind I sing thy praises. I pray that you may be kind to the city.
O Bhawânî, thy cradle swings in the Ganges.

2.—To Kâlî.

Text.

Gagan uṛî rath kî raj ; gagan uṛî Kâlî ke rath kî raj.
Kâhe ke pahiyâ banî aur kâhe ke don bail ?
Rath kî raj gagan uṛî.
Chandan kî pahiyâ banî aur surah gau ke bail.
Rath kî raj gagan uṛî.
Ko jâ rath meṅ baithî hai ? Ko hâṅke don bail ?

Rath kî raj gagan uṛî.
Kâlî rath meṅ baithî haiṅ : Hanumât hânkain don bail.
Rath kî raj gagan uṛî.
Sumirî sumirî, Mâtâ, terô yash gâoṅ ; tohî ke Ram dohâi.
Rath kî raj gagan uṛî.

Translation.

The dust of the chariot rose to the heavens : the dust of the chariot of Kâlî rose to the heavens.
Of what is made the wheel and of what are made the oxen ?
The dust of the chariot rose to the heavens.
The wheel is made of sandalwood and the oxen are the wild kine.
The dust of the chariot rose to the heavens.
Who sits in the chariot and who drives the two oxen ?
The dust of the chariot rose to the heavens.
Kâlî sits in the chariot and Hanumân drives the two oxen.
The dust of the chariot rose to the heavens.
O Mâtâ, I sing thy praises, calling thee to my mind : be kind to me for Râm's sake.
The dust of the chariot of Kâlî rose to the heavens.

3.—To Dharmdhârî.

Text.

Milan bhaye, re, Harî soṅ milan bhaye.
Gangâ ghâṭ Dharmdhârî soṅ milan bhaye.
Kâhâṅ teṅ âye Dharmî Deotâ ? Kahâṅ te âye Srî Râm ?
Pashchîm teṅ âye Dharmî Deotâ, Parat teṅ âye Srî Râm.
Harî soṅ milan bhaye.
Bheṅt le, bheṅt le Dharmî Deotâ, tere janam ke kati haiṅ pâp.
Harî soṅ milan bhaye.

Translation.

O ! I have met Harî.
On the banks of the Ganges I have met Dharmdhâri.
Whence has come Dharm Deotâ ? And whence has come Râm ?
Dharmî Deotâ has come from the West and Râm has come from the East.
I have met Harî.
Meet Dharmdhârî Deotâ and the sins of several lives shall be washed away.
I have met Harî.

4.—To Maikâ Sûr.

Text.

Kyoṅ jorî hath rainî, mâmâ merê ?
Ghî merî kapiyâṅ ; kanak kothariyâṅ ; bakar bandhe chatsâl.
Mâmâ merê, kyoṅ jorî hath rainî ?
Mâroṅ bakar ; karoṅ, re, kandûṛ ; prem newatî jimâon.
Mâmâ mere, kyoṅ jore hath rainî ?

Translation.

O (maternal) uncle, why have you folded hands ?
I have *ghî* in pitchers, gold in the treasure room and a goat is tied in the yard.
O uncle, why have you folded your hands ?
I shall kill the goat and offer flesh and food (to Maikâ Sûr) after respectfully inviting him.
O (maternal) uncle, why have you folded your hands ?

5.—Kâlû Khâṅ.

Text.

Aju nînd bharî sowo. Kâlû Khâṅ ke phir soe Gangâ tarahatî kai Isan nadiyâ kî pâr.

Kâlû Khâṅ nâ kahun sowain nâ Gangâ tarahatî na Isan nadiyâ ke tîr.

Bhramat phirain aswârî nadî pai ; lîlâ ghoṛâ, sîn sonaharâ Kâlû Khâṅ bhayo aswâr.

Kahâṅ lîlâ gard bhare ? Kahâṅ bhârî samal sej ? Gangâ pâr lîlâ gard bhare ; wahîṅ kathìn chalî talwâr.

Nadî pai bhramat phirain aswâr Kâlû Khâṅ.

Translation.

O Kâlû Khâṅ, have a sound sleep to-day. Kâlû Khâṅ sleeps either in the valley of the Ganges or beyond the Isan river.

Kâlû Khâṅ sleeps neither in the valley of the Ganges or the bank of the Isan river.

He wanders about (at Makanpur Village) on the river banks mounted on his steed: mounted on his dark-grey horse with the golden saddle.

Where did the dark-grey horse get covered with dust? Where did the bed get covered with dust ? The dark-grey horse got covered with dust beyond the Ganges, where a bloody fight took place.

Kâlû Khâṅ wanders about on the banks of the river mounted on his steed.

No. XVII.

A Hymn sung at the Ekâdashî Vrat, the most popular of the Vaishṇava fast

Sung by Kundan Ahîr of Pâlî Khurd.

Recorded by Pandit Bhagwân Dîn, School Teacher of Pâlî Khurd Village, District Itâwâ.

Text.

Bhalî rachî Raghubîr hamâre rath atake din huî râhe.
Pratham bandi guru charan shish Shârad ko nâûṅ.
Shârad kripâ jo hoyâ kachhu Harî ke gun gâûṅ.
Kanth baithu, Parmeshwarî, tîn bhuâṅ kî rânî.
Jo vrat sâdhe Râjâ Rûp Mangal te kachhu karôṅ bakhânî.
Dâdhisut upjai siṅh, îsh bin shîsh bihârâ.
Dhanî dhanî Singhal—dwîp jahâṅ Padminî paukhânâ.
Râjâ phirat kull thangar meṅ.
Sut Bâsuk lon jây pakariô we û tam lai âwô.
Asanô ek baṛô qarûr hai bîtî gayê bahu rozâ.
Mâlin âya, kahî Râjâ se: Moṅhî na paye khojâ."
Sughar banak ban banî, mânoṅ shobhâ ten kâṛhî.
Asht pâw rath ke bane wâ meṅ châr jurâî.
Dekhat banâî kahat nahîṅ âwai ; sar Basudâo ubârî.
"Râbi kî jwalâ kathìṅ, chhâṅh rath chalai hamârâ."
Waigan tul hamain tan byâpai, rath rakhe bilmây.
"Kai, Râjâ, tum rathahinchâ lâwo, nahîṅ lewo aprâdh."
Bhâi, sanjhâ ati bhîr, sabai ranwâs bulâî.
Sakal jure muni âi ke bahu ke dwâre.
"Kaun dishâ se gaman kigo hai ?" Bolo bachan samhâr.
Hin jâtî ek hatî nagar meṅ wâko khojî bulâî.
Bin puchheṅ vrat rahî kant wohî trâs dikhâyo.
Âî nikat thâṛhi Garuṛ ke takî pauriyâ, phir milai kutumb ko jây.

Translation.

The hero of the Raghuvanshîs (Râm Chandra) ordained that a chariot be stopped a long while in the daytime.

First of all I salute my religious guide and then I salute the goddess of learning.

If Shârdâ be kind to me I shall sing some praises of Hari.

Parmeshwarî, queen of the three regions, sit in my throat.

So that I may sing like Râjâ Rûp Mangal when he commenced his fast on the eleventh day of the month.

To Dâdhisut was born a lion (a very powerful man), but for lack of devotion his mind was troubled.

Blessed be the island of Singhal where a low-born woman is Padminî (a woman of the highest class).

The Râjâ wandered about in (search of) thieves and evil men.

If the son of Bâsuk (the king of the serpents) was found in evil acts, he was not spared.

Once there was trouble because (the Râjâ) did not return for a long time.

The *mâlin* (gardener's wife) came and informed the Râjâ that there was no trace of the prince.

Very beautifully adorned, she appeared as if she had been taken out from the ocean of beauty and loveliness.

Then appeared a chariot of eight wheels to which four horses were yoked.

(The chariot was so very beautiful) that it could not be admired in words, but merely on seeing Bâsûdeo bowed his head.

(The Raja said when the chariot was driving) that his chariot could not go in the sun and must travel in the shade.

(The chariot was stopped) and in the evening when he began to drive it again, it would not go.

(The snake king then asked the Râjâ Rûp Mangal) to set the chariot going or to hear his curse.

The Râjâ called all his *rânîs* and saints and relatives.

A great crowd assembled at his door.

They asked (the snake king) : " from which direction have you commenced your journey [2] ? "

Then (Râjâ Rûp Mangal) called from the city a low-caste woman that fasted (on eleventh day of the month).

Against the will of her husband, who would have punished her if he had heard of it.

No sooner she came than the chariot flew up with the help of the (sacred) Garuḍ bird and the woman went to her house and joined her family.

No. XVIII.

A popular Vaishṇava Song.

Attributed to Tulsî Dâs.

Text.

Aiso ko udâr jag mahîn !
Binu sewâ jo drawai din par Râm saris kau nâhîn !
Jô gatî yog virâg yatnâ karî nahîn pâwat munî jñânî.
Jô gatî daî Gîdh Shabarî kahang prabhu, tab hûn na jiyâ jânî
Jô sampati dash dîsh sâdhi kar Râwan Sheo pahan linhîn.
So sampadâ Bibhîshan, kô ati sakuch sahit Hari dinhîn ;
Tulshî Dâs : " Sab bhânti sakal sukh jo châhasi man mere ;
Tau bhaju Râm kâm sab pûran karai kripâ nidhi tere."

[2] They asked this to convince the snake king that the chariot did not go because he had commenced his journey facing an unauspicious and unlucky direction.

Translation.

There is none so charitable in this world !

There is not, except Râm, a single being who moves at the sight of the poor, without requiring any service from him.

That salvation which the saints and the wise do not get even after exerting themselves ;

To secure it he gave to the Vulture and to Shabarî, but even then, O Lord, the heart did not recognise thee.

That property which Râwan gained from Mahâdeva by offering his ten heads to him,

Hari gave to Bibhîshan with bashfulness.

Tulshî Dâs says : " O my heart, if thou desirest perfect happiness,

Worship Râm and all thy desires shall be fulfilled by him who is the Treasure of Mercy."

No. XIX

Hymns to Village Godlings.

Recorded by Sayyid Al-Hasan, Master of the Tahsîlî School, Mathurâ.

To Kelâ Dêvî, the Plantain Goddess.

Text.

Bhar Bhâdoṅ ke, Kelâ, rât andherî : kâre sint pai pâthar dârî. Kahâṅ kô chalî âdhî rât, he Mây ?

Ek ban dekh, bhagtâ tero koî na pâyo he Mây.

Pâyâ pâyâ Lâkhâ Gujar kô pâyâ.

Hâth kî lakaṛiyâ dâr de ban mâṅhîṅ.

Tuhaiṅ to niwâyan âgaî, hê Mây.

Translation.

During the whole of Bhâdoṅ, O Kelâ, the nights are very dark : on the black lion the hail falls. At midnight, O Mother, whither goest thou ?

Thou hast searched a forest, but found no votary of yours therein, O Mother.

Now thou hast found one : thou hast found one in Lâkhâ Gâjar.

Now, throw away the burning stick [3] to burn the negligent votaries with.

In the forest, O Mother, I have come to propitiate thee.

To Bhûmiyâ.

Text.

Unche khair Bhûmiyâ basai, jâke niche basai kalâr.

Mad ke pyâle Bhûmiyâ pîwai, bhar bhar dewai kalâr.

Bhûmiyâ ke hâth kî mundarî, jâkô hatî kalâr.

Khere ko rachhpâl Bhûmiyâ.

Khere kî châmaṛ sâth Bhûmiyâ.

Terê bâwan Bhairô sâth Bhûmiyâ.

Translation.

On a high platform (or catechu tree) does Bhûmiyâ live and below it lives the distiller.

Bhûmiyâ drinks cupfuls of wine : the distiller fills the cups, and hands them over (to Bhûmiyâ).

The large ring on Bhûmiyâ's hand is the reward of the distiller.

Bhûmiyâ is the protector of the village.

The skins (or the dead) of the village are with Bhûmiyâ[4].

Fifty-two Bhairoṅs are with Bhûmiyâ.

To Pret, the Arch-Demon.

Text.

Pret, tere bâj rahîṅ changhaṛiyâṅ.

Uncho so tero bano chautaro, upar jal kî ghaṛiyâṅ.

Pret, tere bâj ghaṛiyâṅ kâ thandhâ pâuî, yâhi pîwai, Pret Mahâbâbhaniyâ.

Kaune lagâî tere bâgh baghîchâ ? Kaun ner kî dariyâṅ ?

[3] *Lâth* is the most proper Hindî word for it.

[4] It may also mean that such goddesses as Chamariyâ, etc., are with Bhûmiyâ.

Pret tere bâj rahiṅ chaughaṛiyâṅ.
Mâr pâlthî baiṭh gayo : bhajan kiyo châr ghariyâṅ.
Pret, terî bâj rahîṅ chaughaṛiyâṅ.

Translation.

O Pret, thy bells are sounding hoarsely.
Thy platform is high : on it are placed water-pitchers.
O Pret, the water of some pitchers is cold: the demon-wife of the Mahâbrâhmaṅ[5] drinks it up.
Who has planted thy gardens ? Who has planted the *ner* trees[6] ?
O Pret, they bells are sounding hoarsely.
Thou sittest with crossed legs (*palthî*) : sing hymns for four hours.
O Pret, thy bells are sounding hoarsely.

No. XX.

Song sung on the Terâṅhwiṅ.

The last day of the obsequies of a Hindu.

Sung by Nandkumârî Thakurânî of Shamsâbâd, Agrâ—Recorded by the Head Master of Shamsâbâd Village School.

Text.

Aipan padulî mâṅdhatî, jahâṅ baiṭhe haiṅ sagaro deo. Badhâwo sâṅche deo ko.
Hâth mat pakarai, deotâ ; toî apnî kî ân. Badhâwo sancho deo kô.
Mohîṅ tohîṅmanaigo, samai khoygo. Badhâywo sâṅchî deo ko,
Mây to manai merê bhâujî aur sahodar bîr. Badhâwo sâṅchê deo ko.

Translation.

Balls of powdered rice and turmeric (I place), where are sitting all the gods (ancestors). I sing the praises of the true gods.

Hold not my hands, O gods (the departed) : let me make the balls. I sing the praises of the true gods.

Swear by thyself (not to dispute, the time for) dispute has gone. I sing the praises of the true gods.

Thy mother reminds me she is my brother's wife and my brother is a hero (godling). I sing the praises of the true gods.

Explanatory Version.

As given by the Recorder of the song.

I am making lumps of rice, powdered with water and mixed with turmeric in the name of the ancestors (these lumps represent ancestors). It is supposed that when a place is assigned to the lumps, the spirits of the ancestors inhabit them and then they do not wander about, but receive the offerings made to the lumps which represent them, where all the ghosts of the ancestors are sitting.

O gods (properly demons, ghosts of the ancestors) do not be stubborn, let me make lumps to represent you all, and inhabit your representations. I sing the praises of the true ghost (demon). Swear by yourself (*tum ko apnî qasum hai jo na badâwoṅ*) if you do not let me do so. The time of dispute between you and me is gone. I sing the praises of the true ghost (demon). Thy mother minds me as she is my brother's wife and my brother also minds me as he and I are born of the same mother's womb and he is a brave ghost. I sing the praises of the true ghost.

Notes by the Recorder.

This song exposes the fact that, even after the tenth day's ceremony, the ordinary Hindus do not believe that the ghost of the dead has been admitted into paradise, or that his connection with the family has ceased. They believe, though we have been hitherto ignorant of the fact, that the ghosts of the dead are supposed to remain ghosts for ever and to trouble the family if not regularly propitiated and this accounts for yearly *srâdh* in Kuâr. The Brâhmans say that in Kuâr, ancestors come out from paradise or hell, as the case may be, to receive offerings, but this song assures us that this explanation is intended for strangers only and does not express their inward belief.

[5] Who has become a *chuṛel* and hence the wife of the Pret.

[6] The *baṛ* or banyan tree.

In reality they teach that the ghosts are demons, who are constantly on a look-out for an opportunity to trouble the survivors, whenever they fail to do homage, and also to create new occasions for demanding *pûjâ*.

What we knew on the point amounted to this:—those ghosts, who have not been properly burnt or buried, become demons, and when proper ceremonies performed they cease to remain demons. But this song assures us that whether the ceremonies have been performed properly or not, the dead become demons and remain demons for ever and ever.

No. XXI.

A Hymn to Devî.

Low-castes of the Sahâranpûr District (gardeners and scavengers).

Recorded by Râmgharîb Chaube.

Text.

Sur kî dâtâ âdi Sarswatî, budh kî dâtâ dar hâlî.

Ann kî dâtâ Annpurna hai; dushtoṅ ko bhakshai Kâlî.

Sat Yug meṅ kis kî thî pûjâ? Dwâpar meṅ kis ne manî? Tretâ Yug meṅ kauṅ pûjî thî? Kal Yug, Kal Yug meṅ ko bâchâlî?

Ann kî dâtâ Annpurnâ; dushtoṅ ko bhakshai Kâlî.

Sat Yug meṅ sab kî devî Sîtâ: Dwâpar meṅ Dropadî Rânî.

Tretâ Yug meṅ Tulsîjî thiṅ, Kal Yug meṅ pragatî haiṅ Kâlî.

Sur kî dâtâ âdi Sarswatî; budhi kî dâtâ dar hâlî.

Vrahmâjî ko Kahiye Sûmitrâ; Vishnû ke Lakshmî Rânî;

Mahâdêva kê alakh Gaurâ kasht kalesh kâtai Kâli.

Translation.

Sarswatî is the prime giver of *sur* (melody) and also the giver of wisdom in times of necessity.

Annpurnâ Devî is the giver of food, and Kâlî is the devourer of the wicked.

Who was the object of worship in the Sat Yug? Who was acknowledged (as a deity) in the Dwâpar Yug?

Who was worshipped in the Tretâ Yug? Who speaks in the Kal Yug?

Annpurnâ is the giver of food, and Kâlî is the devourer of the wicked.

In the Sat Yug Sîtâ was the goddess of all. In the Dwâpar Yug Dropadî was Queen.

In the Tretâ Tulsîjî was (the goddess of all), and in the Kal Yug Kâlî is manifest.

Sarswatî is the prime giver of melody and also the giver of wisdom in times of necessity.

Vrahmâ has Sûmitrâ for his queen and Vishṇû has Lakshmî; Mahâdeva has Gaurâ for his queen, who, in her form of Kâlî, removes the pains and sufferings of the people.

Note by the Recorder.

In the District of Sahâranpûr, Mâlîs and Bhangîs are regarded to be special favourites of Devî by the low-caste people. The Mâlis act as priests of Devî in popular worship, and the Bhangîs act as chanters of hymns to her.

No. XXII.

Songs to Sîtalâ (goddess of Small-pox.)

Sung when commencing any important undertaking or on the departure of small-pox from a village or family.

Recorded by a School Teacher at Chhawarâ Mau, District Farrukhâbâd.

I.—Text.

Tu merî dîn dayâl ho, jagtârinî Mâtâ.

Sîtalâ ke ban meri gauweṅ bidar gaîṅ.

Tu merî dîn dayâlâ ho, jagtârinî Mâtâ.

Ishwar diyeṅ maiyâ kahâhat hai? Sîtalâ deyan, to pâi: ye jagtârini Mâtâ.

Dudh, dudhâṅrî, pût pâlnâ, ghar, anganâ, na suhây ho: jagtârinî Mâtâ.

Tum jal, tum thal tumhîṅ aparbal. Tîn lok kî rânî ho, jagtâranî Mâtâ.

Translation.

O Mother, giver of salvation to the world, thou art kind to the poor.

My kine have strayed into the forest of Sîtalâ.

O Mother, giver of salvation to the world, thou art kind to the poor.

What can avail if God gives (a child) to any one? One gets it only when Sîtalâ gives; the giver of salvation to the world.

When Sîtalâ is wroth with one, one finds no pleasure in milk, in the milk-pot, in the son on the cradle, in the house or the courtyard. O Mother, giver of salvation to the world.

Thou art land and water, and thou art the most powerful of all. Thou art the queen of three regions. O Mother, giver of salvation to the world.

2.—Text.

Shahar meṅ Sîtalâ shîtal bhaî.
Bâs o bagar bahoro, merî ablâ, biluâ bâṅt daî.
Gahgahe aipan pûjo, merî ablâ, rorî kî tîp daî.
Puriyâ suhariyâ ke bhojan banâye amrit dhâr daî.
Dîpak bârî dharo math bhîtor jag may joti barî.

Translation.

In the city Sîtalâ has abated the small-pox.

Sweep and plaster the dwelling-places and the streets, O women, and distribute sweets in your neighbourhood.

Worship (Sîtalâ) with fresh and shining mixture of powdered rice and turmeric and smear (the representation of Sîtalâ) with red powder (*rorî*).

Make cakes (of flour) and cakes with powdered gram, and offer the libation of the water of life (*amrit*) to the goddess.

Light lamps and put them in the temple (of the goddess) so that they may give out dazzling light.

No. XXIII.

A Malâr (August) Song for Rain.

Sung by Hari Vilâsh,

Recorded by School Teacher of Chhawarâ Mau, District Farrukhâbâd.

Text.

Un bin ghan garjat bâr bâr.
Chahuṅ dishî chhâye haiṅ kâr kâr.
Sîtal saras pawan purwâî, mand, sugandh mahâ sukh dâî.
Bundan megh mahâ jharî lâî.
Mor kuk drum dâr dâr, au bolat madhur kokilâ bânî.
Koyal shabd sunat akulânî.
Vraj banitâ Hari hâth bikânî.
Kaise jiye man mâr? Ek to moṅhîṅ darâwai dâminî:
Dûje jugunû chamakî andherî yâminî.
Mân marorat Vraj sab kâminî.
Shochatî hai hiyâ hâr hâr.
Ritu barkha moṅhîṅ lâgai pyâr pyâr.
Hari Vilâsh:—"Kab milai Murârî ban bihâr? Kab karaiṅ bihârî?"

Translation.

Without him (the beloved) clouds are thundering again and again.
They are overhanging on all sides, black and black.
The east wind is the coolest of all and to increase the happiness, it imparts (to the human beings) it is light and perfumed.
The showers are falling incessantly.
Peacocks are shrieking on every bough and cuckoo is singing sweetly.
But the voice of the cuckoo makes (women) uneasy in mind.
The maidens of Vraj are bought and sold for Hari (Srî Kṛishṇa Chandra).
How can I live suppressing my feelings? Lightning is threatening me on one hand;
On the other, the fire-fly is shining in the dark night.

Love arrests the maidens of Vraj.

They are discouraged at heart.

The rainy season seems very pleasant to me.

Hari Vilâsh says :— "When will Hari meet me in the garden? When shall I have his company?"

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE KHANJA ALI MOSQUE AT KHULNA.

IN ANCIENT times, the District of Khulna formed part of the old kingdom of Banga or Samatata, and subsequently of the Bāgrī division of Bengal constituted by Ballāl Sen. The earliest popular traditions are, however, associated with the name of Khāñjā Ali, who came to the district four and a half centuries ago. He obtained a *jāgīr* from one of the kings of Gauḍ and made extensive clearances in the Sundarbans, where he appears to have exercised all the rights of sovereignty till his death in 1459 A. D. He covered the country with numerous mosques and tombs, the remains of some of which are still to be seen at Bāgerhāt and Masjīdkur[1].

This note contains an account of one of these situated in the Bāgerhāt Sub-Division of the District. There is a Persian inscription on one of the walls, which states that Khānjā Ali concealed a vast quantity of wealth in the earth, covering about three or four *bīghās* of land round the mosque. The general belief is that he adopted this device, in order to increase the fertility of the land, and it is said that many local cultivators have become enriched by digging for money. The mosque is of a simple style.

To the east of the mosque is the Shāt-Ghomote, a gigantic hall or fortified building with sixty doors. It was erected in the end of the thirteenth century, and stands to the south by the Bāgerhāt Road.

North of the road are Mogrā and Chinterkhol villages and the Hauli *parganā*, to the north of which flows the Bhairab river. To the east lie Kāḍāpāḍā village and part of the Hauli *parganā*. To the south are the Modhudiā *parganā*, Khontākātā Chak and the Chaumohanā river. To the west are Barrākpur and the Rangdiā *parganā*. This last stretches as far as the Bhairab rivea.

There is a large tank at Barrākpur to the south-west of the mosque called Ghōrā Dīghi (Horse Tank), more than a mile in length. Its water is pure and deep, and it abounds in large fish.

To the east of the Shāt-Ghomote, there is a smaller tank called the Ṭhākur Dīghī or God's Tank, about half a mile in length, which is supposed to be the deepest in the place. At the bottom of this tank is a large temple, the roof of which can be seen in March, but during the rest of the year the temple remains wholly submerged in the water. There are two huge crocodiles in the Ṭhākur Dīghī, named respectively Dholā Pāhār and Kālā Pāhār (*i. e.*, White and Black). They are very timid and gentle and quite harmless. If any one calls them by name, they at once make for the *ghāṭ* in the hope of getting food. People generally give them hens, pigeons, &c.

Directly to the east of the Ṭhākur Dīghī is the Pachā Dīghī, about three-quarters of a mile in length, the second largest tank in the place. Both of the tanks are in the village of Kāḍā Pāḍā. The Chaumohanā river joins the Ṭhākur Dīghī, and thereby makes its water brackish, while the waters of the other two are so pure and healthy that a scheme is on foot to connect those two by pipes for the benefit of the town of Bāgerhāt.

It is said that when Khānjā Ali Sāḥib wished to build his mosques and tombs in Bāgerhāt and Masjīdkur, he sent an order to a well-known *faqīr* at Chittagong to send the stone and other materials required, as there was very good water communication with Chittagong. The *faqīr* wrote to Khānjā Ali Sāhib, "*Ek ratti bārānī tār Chātgāṅ ē borāt.*" You are too petty to send an order to Chittagong, as petty as a paddy husker and rice-grinder." The *faqīr* meant thereby that Khānjā Ali was a man in very straightened circumstances. But when he found out that he was a great *jāgīrdār*, he asked his pardon and acted in accordance with his bidding.

All the *ghāṭs* of the *dīghīs*, mosques, the hall, and the tombs are built of stone with *khilan*, *i.e.*, without mortar. Earthquakes have made no changes in them.

GANAPATI RAY,
Librarian, Bengal National College.

166, BOWBAZAR STREET,
Calcutta, 27*th December* 1909.

[1] *I. G. of India*, New Edition, Vol. xv, p. 287.

BOOK-NOTICE.

SRI-JAINA-YASO-VIJAYA-GRANTHAMALA.

Benares, 1904 ff.

THE learned Jainâchârya Vijayadharmasûri having been good enough to present the German Oriental Society with a complete set of the Jaina works published under his direction in a series entitled **Srî-Jaina-Yaśô-Vijaya-Granthamâlâ**, it gives me much pleasure to draw the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the carefully edited and beautifully printed volumes which we owe to his disinterested enterprise. During the last few years he has issued no less than fourteen books, a short description of which is subjoined here.

No. 1.—*Pramâṇanayatattvâlôkâlaṁkâra* by Vâdidêvasûri. Benares, 1904, pp. 55, on glazed paper. The author of this philosophical treatise lived from Vikrama-Saṁvat 1134 to 1226 and was a contemporary of the Chaulukya king Siddharâja (*i e.*, Jayasiṁha); see my *Third Report on Sanskrit MSS*, p. vi.

No. 2.—*Haimaliṅgânuśâsana* by Hêmachandrâchârya, with *Avachûri* Benares, 1905, pp 160. A fine edition of this well-known treatise on the gender of Sanskrit words.

No. 3.—*Siddhahêmaśabdânuśâsana* by Hêmachandrâchârya, with his own *Laghuvṛitti*, *Dhâtupâṭha*, etc. Benares, 1905, pp. 580. A beautiful edition in large type of Hêmachandra's Sanskrit grammar.

No. 4.—*Gurvâvalî* by Munisundarasûri. Benares, 1905, pp. 110. A pedigree of the teachers of the Tapâgachchha sect, composed in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1466; see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 179.

No. 5.—The first two chapters (*parichchhêda*) of Vâdidêvasûri's *Pramâṇanayatattvâlôkâlaṁkâra* (No. 1) with Ratnaprabhâchârya's commentary (*Ratnâkarâvatârikâ*) and two other commentaries Benares, Vîra-Saṁvat 2431, pp. 136.

No. 6.—*Siddhahêmasûtrapâṭha*. Benares, Vîra-Saṁvat 2432, pp. 143. The aphorisms of Hêmachandra's Sanskrit grammar.

Nos. 7 and 9.—*Jainastôtrasaṁgraha*. A collection of religious poems. Two parts, pp. 118 and 256. Benares, Vîra-Saṁvat 2432. Part II contains a photograph of the high-priest Vṛiddhichandra. A list of the contents of Part I was given by Dr. Guérinot in the *Journal Asiatique*, 10. série, Vol. XIV, p 102 f.

No. 8—*Mudritakumudachandraprakaraṇa* by Yaśaśchandra. Benares, Vîra-Saṁvat 2432, pp 51. A drama of five acts. The scene is laid at the court of king Jayasiṁha Siddharâja of Gujarât.

No. 10.—*Kriyâratnasamuchchaya* by Guṇaratnasûri Benares, Vîra-Saṁvat 2434, pp. 315. This work was written in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1466. It forms a supplement of Hêmachandra's grammar and contains very useful paradigms of Sanskrit verbs.

No. 11—*Siddhahêmasûtrapâṭhasya Akârâdyanukramaṇikâ*. Benares, Vîra-Saṁvat 2435, pp 46. An alphabetical list of the aphorisms of Hêmachandra's Sanskrit grammar.

No. 12.—*Kavikalpadruma* by Harshakulagaṇi Benares, Vîra-Saṁvat 2435, pp. 64. A treatise on the meaning of Sanskrit roots, composed about Vikrama-Saṁvat 1570.

No. 13.—Abhayadêvasûri's *Tattvabôdhinî*, a huge, philosophical commentary on Siddhasênadivâkara's *Saṁmatyâkhyaprakaraṇa*. Benares, Vîra-Saṁvat 2436. The published portion consists of 200 pages and contains the commentary on a single Prâkṛit stanza. This reminds of the great Jaina professor Vakragrîva, who 'briefly discussed the meaning of the word *atha* (the first word of his text) in the course of six months' (*Ep. Ind*, Vol. III, p. 199).

No 14.—*Jagadgurukâvya* by Padmasâgaragaṇi. Benares, pp. 34. With a photograph of the high-priest Vijayadharmasûri, the editor of this series. A poem of 233 Śârdûlavikrîḍita stanzas in honour of the teacher Hîravijayasûri, written in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1646.

Yaśôvijayajainagranthamâlâ. This is a magazine arranged on the plan of the Bombay *Kâvyamâlâ*. The two parts before me (for the months Kârttika and Mârgaśîrsha of Vîra-Saṁvat 2436) contain the *Jagadgurukâvya* (No. 14) and portions of the *Vijayapraśastikâvya* with commentary, *Śântinâthacharita*, *Gadya-Pâṇḍavacharita*, *Anêkântajayapatâkâ* with commentary, and *Abhidhânachintâmaṇi* with commentary.

HALLE (SAALE), *18th March, 1910.* E. HULTZSCH.

THE ELEMENTS OF THE BURMESE CALENDAR FROM A.D. 638 TO 1752.

BY SIR ALFRED IRWIN, C.S.I., I.C.S. (RETD.).

THE following table has been prepared, at the suggestion of the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, as a supplement to "**The Burmese and Arakanese Calendars**" (1909), with a view to facilitating the calculation and verification of Burmese inscriptional dates for the period before A.D. 1739. It is compiled on the assumption that the rules of Makaranta were observed in Burma from 0 to 1100 B.E. = A.D. 638 to 1738. In paragraph 10 of the above-mentioned book, it was indicated that it is not certain what calendars were actually observed in Burma and in Arakan before the year 1100 B.E. (see also paragraphs 11, 12 and 13). The present table, therefore, must be taken only as a working hypothesis for those 1101 years.

The fourteen years 1101 to 1114 B E. are added by way of correction to the corresponding part of Table I of the book. In that table the "English dates" are New Style throughout, because New Style is a correct index of the seasons But New Style, though current in Roman Catholic countries, was not introduced into England until A.D. 1752. Consequently, the dates given for these fourteen years in the book may be misleading. In the present table the dates are Old Style throughout.

For the years 0 to 1100 B.E., the time (hours, minutes and seconds) is Laṅkā time, following Makaranta, that is, the time is according to the Original Sūrya-Siddhānta, and is for the meridian of Ujjain. For the years 1101 and onwards it is Amarapura local time, in accordance with the present practice in Burma, that is, the time is according to the Present Sūrya-Siddhānta, reduced for Amarapura (Mandalay) by the addition of 1 hour, 19 mins., 12 secs., which is the amount taken by the Burmese as the difference of time for the difference of longitude between Ujjain and Amarapura. See paragraphs 13 and 63 of the book.

The intercalated days for the years 0 to 1100 are taken from Htoon Chan's table. For the remaining years they are from notes supplied by Maung Kyaw Yan and other records, as stated in the preface to "The Burmese Calendar" (1901).

The present table is for Burma proper; but it applies equally to Arakan if "Second Tagu" be substituted for "Kason" wherever Kason occurs in column 10. In Watat years, *i.e.*, years in which there is an intercalated month, the first five months stand thus:—

WA-NGE-TAT.				WA-GYI-TAT			
Burma.		Arakan.		Burma.		Arakan.	
Month.	Days.	Month.	Days.	Month.	Days.	Month.	Days.
Tagu	29	1st Tagu ..	29	Tagu	29	1st Tagu ...	29
Kason ..	30	2nd Tagu ...	30	Kason ..	30	2nd Tagu ...	30
Nayon ...	29	Kason ..	30	Nayon ...	30	Kason ...	30
1st Wazo ..	30	Nayon ...	29	1st Wazo ...	30	Nayon ...	30
2nd Wazo ...	30	Wazo... ..	30	2nd Wazo ...	30	Wazo... ...	30

In the extended table now given, Tagu waxing 1st sometimes falls as early as 19th February: whereas, Table IX in "The Burmese and Arakanese Calendars" does not go back beyond 13th March in Part I and 2nd March in Parts II and III. As, however, the table applies to

any day of the Burmese month, it may be used by understanding "the full-moon day" instead of "the first day" in the titling of it.

The following corrections may be made in "The Burmese and Arakanese Calendars":—

PAGE 4. Last line but four. In the decimal ·006, the figure 6 should be marked as repeating.

PAGE 7. Para. 35; last line. *For* "·36" *read* "·56."

PAGE 16. Para. 55. *For* "1099 Tabaung Lagwè midnight" *read* "midnight of the day on which mean new-moon occurred, *viz.*, 1099 Hnaung Tagu waxing 1st."

PAGE 16. Para. 56. *For* "Kali Yug 3738 Tabaung Lagwè midnight" *read* "midnight of the day on which mean new-moon occurred, *viz.*, Kali Yug 3738 Hnaung Tagu waxing 1st."

PAGE 17. Para. 59.
- *For* "$\frac{176}{692}$ day" *read* "$\frac{176}{692}$ didi or $\frac{176}{703}$ day."
- *For* "$\frac{650}{692}$ day" *read* "$\frac{650}{692}$ didi or $\frac{650}{703}$ day."
- *For* "Tabaung Lagwè", in both places where it occurs, *read* "Hnaung Tagu waxing 1st."

PAGE 43. In the heading of col. 8, *for* "English" *read* "Gregorian." This correction is essential only for the fourteen years A.D. 1739-1752. The dates in cols. 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8 are New Style, which was not current in England until September, 1752.

SAME PAGE. Year 1132 B.E., col. 9, has a defective type. The figures should be "10."

PAGE 45. Col. 9. *For* "15" *read* "14."

PAGE 51. Year 1272 B.E., cols. 9 and 10. *For* "6 12" *read* "16 22."

PAGE 53. Col. 10. Year 1301. *For* "29" *read* "30." Year 1310. *For* "22" *read* "23."

PAGE 68. Year 103. *For* "2" *read* "1."

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B E. New Year.	Expired.		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese. Month.	Burmese. Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
638	Sat.	March	21	March 22	11	11	24	Sun.	Tagu	2	0	0	0	
639	Wed.		10	22	17	24	0	Mon.		13	1		1	
640	Sun.	Feb.	27	21	23	36	36	Tues.		24	2		2	29
641	Sat.	March	17	22	5	49	12	Thur.		6	3		3	
642	Wed.		6	22	12	1	48	Fri.		17	4		4	
643	Sun.	Feb.	23	22	18	14	24	Sat.		28	5		5	30
644	Sun.	March	14	22	0	27	0	Mon.		9	6		6	
645	Thur.		3	22	6	39	36	Tues.		20	7		7	29
646	Wed.		22	22	12	52	12	Wed.		1	8		8	
647	Sun.		11	22	19	4	48	Thur.		12	9		9	
648	Thur.	Feb.	28	22	1	17	24	Sat.		24	11		10	30
649	Thur.	March	19	22	7	30	0	Sun.		4	10		11	
650	Mon.		8	22	13	42	36	Mon.		15	12		12	
651	Fri.	Feb.	25	22	19	55	12	Tues.		26	13		13	29
652	Thur.	March	15	22	2	7	48	Thur.		8	14		14	
653	Mon.		4	22	8	20	24	Fri.		19	15		15	30
654	Mon.		24	22	14	33	0	Sat.	Tabaung	29	16		16	
655	Fri.		13	22	20	45	36	Sun.	Tagu	10	17		17	
656	Tues.		1	22	2	58	12	Tues.		22	18		18	29
657	Mon.		20	22	9	10	48	Wed.		3	19	1	0	
658	Fri.		9	22	15	23	24	Thur.		14	20		1	
659	Tues.	Feb.	26	22	21	36	0	Fri.		25	21		2	30
660	Tues.	March	17	22	3	48	36	Sun.		6	22		3	
661	Sat.		6	22	10	1	12	Mon.		17	23		4	
662	Wed.	Feb.	23	22	16	13	48	Tues.		28	24		5	30
663	Wed.	March	15	22	22	26	24	Wed.		8	25		6	
664	Sun.		3	22	4	39	0	Fri.		20	26		7	29
665	Sat.		22	22	10	51	36	Sat.		1	27		8	
666	Wed.		11	22	17	4	12	Sun.		12	28		9	
667	Sun.	Feb.	28	22	23	16	48	Mon.		23	29		10	29
668	Sat.	March	18	22	5	29	24	Wed.		5	30		11	
669	Wed.		7	22	11	42	0	Thur.		16	31		12	
670	Sun.	Feb.	24	22	17	54	36	Fri.		27	32		13	30
671	Sun.	March	16	23	0	7	12	Sun.		8	33		14	
672	Thur.		4	22	6	19	48	Mon.		19	34		15	29
673	Wed.		23	22	12	32	24	Tues.	Tabaung	30	35		16	
674	Sun.		12	22	18	45	0	Wed.	Tagu	11	36		17	
675	Thur.		1	23	0	57	36	Fri.		23	37		18	30
676	Thur.		20	22	7	10	12	Sat.		3	38	2	0	
677	Mon.		9	22	13	22	48	Sun.		14	39		1	
678	Fri.	Feb.	26	22	19	35	24	Mon.		25	40		2	30
679	Fri.	March	18	23	1	48	0	Wed.		6	41		3	
680	Tues.		6	22	8	0	36	Thur.		17	42		4	
681	Sat.	Feb.	23	22	14	13	12	Fri.		28	43		5	29
682	Fri.	March	14	22	20	25	48	Sat.		9	44		6	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
683	Tues.	March	3	March 23	2	38	24	Mon.	Tagu	21	45	2	7	29
684	Mon.		21	22	8	51	0	Tues.		2	46		8	
685	Fri.		10	22	15	3	36	Wed.		13	47		9	
686	Tues.	Feb.	27	22	21	16	12	Thur.		24	48		10	30
687	Tues.	March	19	23	3	28	48	Sat.		5	49		11	
688	Sat.		7	22	9	41	24	Sun.		16	50		12	
689	Wed.	Feb.	24	22	15	54	0	Mon.		27	51		13	30
690	Wed.	March	16	22	22	6	36	Tues.		7	52		14	
691	Sun.		5	23	4	19	12	Thur.		19	53		15	29
692	Sat.		23	22	10	31	48	Fri.	Tabaung	30	54		16	
693	Wed.		12	22	16	44	24	Sat.	Tagu	11	55		17	
694	Sun.		1	22	22	57	0	Sun.		22	56		18	30
695	Sun.		21	23	5	9	36	Tues.		3	57	3	0	
696	Thur.		9	22	11	22	12	Wed.		14	58		1	
697	Mon.	Feb.	26	22	17	34	48	Thur.		25	59		2	29
698	Sun.	March	17	22	23	47	24	Fri.		6	60		3	
699	Thur.		6	23	6	0	0	Sun.		18	61		4	
700	Mon.	Feb.	23	22	12	12	36	Mon.		29	62		5	30
701	Mon	March	14	22	18	25	12	Tues.		9	63		6	
702	Fri.		3	23	0	37	48	Thur.		21	64		7	29
703	Thur.		22	23	6	50	24	Fri.		2	65		8	
704	Mon.		10	22	13	3	0	Sat.		13	66		9	
705	Fri.	Feb.	27	22	19	15	36	Sun.		24	67		10	30
706	Fri.	March	19	23	1	28	12	Tues.		5	68		11	
707	Tues.		8	23	7	40	48	Wed.		16	69		12	
708	Sat.	Feb.	25	22	13	53	24	Thur.		27	70		13	29
709	Fri.	March	15	22	20	6	0	Fri.		8	71		14	
710	Tues.		4	23	2	18	36	Sun.		20	72		15	30
711	Tues.		24	23	8	31	12	Mon.	Tabaung	30	73		16	
712	Sat.		12	22	14	43	48	Tues.	Tagu	11	74		17	
713	Wed.		1	22	20	56	24	Wed.		22	75		18	29
714	Tues.		20	23	3	9	0	Fri.		4	76	4	0	
715	Sat.		9	23	9	21	36	Sat.		15	77		1	
716	Wed.	Feb.	26	22	15	34	12	Sun.		26	78		2	30
717	Wed.	March	17	22	21	46	48	Mon.		6	79		3	
718	Sun.		6	23	3	59	24	Wed.		18	80		4	
719	Thur.	Feb.	23	23	10	12	0	Thur.		29	81		5	30
720	Thur.	March	14	22	16	24	36	Fri.		9	82		6	
721	Mon.		3	22	22	37	12	Sat.		20	83		7	29
722	Sun.		22	23	4	49	48	Mon.		2	84		8	
723	Thur.		11	23	11	2	24	Tues.		13	85		9	
724	Mon.	Feb.	28	22	17	15	0	Wed.		24	86		10	29
725	Sun.	March	18	22	23	27	36	Thur.		5	87		11	
726	Thur.		7	23	5	40	12	Sat.		17	88		12	
727	Mon.	Feb.	24	23	11	52	48	Sun.		28	89		13	30

A. D	Tagu waxing 1st. Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet). Julian date.	H	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.	B. E. New Year.	Expired Cycles.	Expired Years.	Days in Nayon.
728	Mon.	March	15	March 22	18	5	24	Mon.	Tagu	8	90	4	14	30
729	Fri.		4	23	0	18	0	Wed.		20	91		15	29
730	Thur.		23	23	6	30	36	Thur.		1	92		16	
731	Mon.		12	23	12	43	12	Fri.		12	93		17	
732	Fri.	Feb.	29	22	18	55	48	Sat.		23	94		18	30
733	Fri.	March	20	23	1	8	24	Mon.		4	95	5	0	
734	Tues.		9	23	7	21	0	Tues.		15	96		1	
735	Sat.	Feb.	26	23	13	33	36	Wed.		26	97		2	30
736	Sat.	March	17	22	19	46	12	Thur.		6	98		3	
737	Wed.		6	23	1	58	48	Sat.		18	99		4	
738	Sun.	Feb.	23	23	8	11	24	Sun.		29	100		5	29
739	Sat.	March	14	23	14	24	0	Mon.		10	101		6	
740	Wed.		2	22	20	36	36	Tues.		21	102		7	30
741	Wed.		22	23	2	49	12	Thur.		2	103		8	
742	Sun.		11	23	9	1	48	Fri.		13	104		9	
743	Thur.	Feb.	28	23	15	14	24	Sat.		24	105		10	29
744	Wed.	March	18	22	21	27	0	Sun.		5	106		11	
745	Sun.		7	23	3	39	36	Tues.		17	107		12	
746	Thur.	Feb.	24	23	9	52	12	Wed.		28	108		13	30
747	Thur.	March	16	23	16	4	48	Thur.		8	109		14	
748	Mon.		4	22	22	17	24	Fri.		19	110		15	29
749	Sun.		23	23	4	30	0	Sun.		1	111		16	
750	Thur.		12	23	10	42	36	Mon.		12	112		17	
751	Mon.		1	23	16	55	12	Tues.		23	113		18	30
752	Mon.		20	22	23	7	48	Wed.		3	114	6	0	
753	Fri.		9	23	5	20	24	Fri.		15	115		1	
754	Tues.	Feb.	26	23	11	33	0	Sat.		26	116		2	29
755	Mon.	March	17	23	17	45	36	Sun.		7	117		3	
756	Fri.		5	22	23	58	12	Mon.		18	118		4	
757	Tues.	Feb.	22	23	6	10	48	Wed.	Kason	1	119		5	30
758	Tues.	March	14	23	12	23	24	Thur.	Tagu	10	120		6	
759	Sat.		3	23	18	36	0	Fri.		21	121		7	29
760	Fri.		21	23	0	48	36	Sun.		3	122		8	
761	Tues.		10	23	7	1	12	Mon.		14	123		9	
762	Sat.	Feb.	27	23	13	13	48	Tues.		25	124		10	30
763	Sat.	March	19	23	19	26	24	Wed.		5	125		11	
764	Wed.		7	23	1	39	0	Fri.		17	126		12	
765	Sun.	Feb.	24	23	7	51	36	Sat.		28	127		13	29
766	Sat.	March	15	23	14	4	12	Sun.		9	128		14	
767	Wed.		4	23	20	16	48	Mon.		20	129		15	30
768	Wed.		23	23	2	29	24	Wed.		1	130		16	
769	Sun.		12	23	8	42	0	Thur.		12	131		17	
770	Thur.		1	23	14	54	36	Fri.		23	132		18	29
771	Wed.		20	23	21	7	12	Sat.		4	133	7	0	
772	Sun.		8	23	3	19	48	Mon.		16	134		1	

A. D	Tagu Waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
773	Thur.	Feb.	25	March 23	9	32	24	Tues.	Tagu	27	135	7	2	30
774	Thur.	March	17	23	15	45	0	Wed		7	136		3	
775	Mon.		6	23	21	57	36	Thur.		18	137		4	
776	Fri.	Feb.	23	23	4	10	12	Sat.	Kason	1	138		5	30
777	Fri.	March	14	23	10	22	48	Sun.	Tagu	10	139		6	
778	Tues.		3	23	16	35	24	Mon.		21	140		7	29
779	Mon.		22	23	22	48	0	Tues.		2	141		8	
780	Fri.		10	23	5	0	36	Thur.		14	142		9	
781	Tues.	Feb.	27	23	11	13	12	Fri.		25	143		10	30
782	Tues.	March	19	23	17	25	48	Sat.		5	144		11	
783	Sat.		8	23	23	38	24	Sun.		16	145		12	
784	Wed.	Feb.	25	23	5	51	0	Tues.		28	146		13	29
785	Tues.	March	15	23	12	3	36	Wed.		9	147		14	
786	Sat.		4	23	18	16	12	Thur.		20	148		15	29
787	Fri.		23	24	0	28	48	Sat.		2	149		16	
788	Tues.		11	23	6	41	24	Sun.		13	150		17	
789	Sat.	Feb.	28	23	12	54	0	Mon.		24	151		18	30
790	Sat.	March	20	23	19	6	36	Tues.		4	152	8	0	
791	Wed.		9	24	1	19	12	Thur.		16	153		1	
792	Sun.	Feb.	26	23	7	31	48	Fri.		27	154		2	30
793	Sun.	March	17	23	13	44	24	Sat.		7	155		3	
794	Thur.		6	23	19	57	0	Sun.		18	156		4	
795	Mon.	Feb.	23	24	2	9	36	Tues.	Kason	1	157		5	29
796	Sun.	March	13	23	8	22	12	Wed.	Tagu	11	158		6	
797	Thur.		2	23	14	34	48	Thur.		22	159		7	30
798	Thur.		22	23	20	47	24	Fri.		2	160		8	
799	Mon.		11	24	3	0	0	Sun.		14	161		9	
800	Fri.	Feb.	28	23	9	12	36	Mon.		25	162		10	29
801	Thur.	March	18	23	15	25	12	Tues.		6	163		11	
802	Mon.		7	23	21	37	48	Wed.		17	164		12	
803	Fri.	Feb.	24	24	3	50	24	Fri.		29	165		13	30
804	Fri.	March	15	23	10	3	0	Sat.		9	166		14	
805	Tues.		4	23	16	15	36	Sun.		20	167		15	29
806	Mon.		23	23	22	28	12	Mon.		1	168		16	
807	Fri.		12	24	4	40	48	Wed.		13	169		17	
808	Tues.	Feb.	29	23	10	53	24	Thur.		24	170		18	30
809	Tues.	March	20	23	17	6	0	Fri.		4	171	9	0	
810	Sat.		9	23	23	18	36	Sat.		15	172		1	
811	Wed.	Feb.	26	24	5	31	12	Mon.		27	173		2	29
812	Tues.	March	16	23	11	43	48	Tues.		8	174		3	
813	Sat.		5	23	17	56	24	Wed.		19	175		4	
814	Wed.	Feb.	22	24	0	9	0	Fri.	Kason	2	176		5	30
815	Wed.	March	14	24	6	21	36	Sat.	Tagu	11	177		6	
816	Sun.		2	23	12	34	12	Sun.		22	178		7	29
817	Sat.		21	23	18	46	48	Mon.		3	179		8	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).					Burmese		B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Month.	Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
818	Wed.	March	10	March 24	0	59	24	Wed.	Tagu	15	180	9	9	
819	Sun.	Feb.	27	24	7	12	0	Thur.		26	181		10	30
820	Sun.	March	18	23	13	24	36	Fri.		6	182		11	
821	Thur.		7	23	19	37	12	Sat.		17	183		12	
822	Mon.	Feb.	24	24	1	49	48	Mon.		29	184		13	30
823	Mon.	March	16	24	8	2	24	Tues.		9	185		14	
824	Fri.		4	23	14	15	0	Wed.		20	186		15	29
825	Thur.		23	23	20	27	36	Thur.		1	187		16	
826	Mon.		12	24	2	40	12	Sat.		13	188		17	
827	Fri.		1	24	8	52	48	Sun.		24	189		18	29
828	Thur.		19	23	15	5	24	Mon.		5	190	10	0	
829	Mon.		8	23	21	18	0	Tues.		16	191		1	
830	Fri.	Feb.	25	24	3	30	36	Thur.		28	192		2	30
831	Fri.	March	17	24	9	43	12	Fri.		8	193		3	
832	Tues.		5	23	15	55	48	Sat.		19	194		4	
833	Sat.	Feb.	22	23	22	8	24	Sun.	Kason	1	195		5	30
834	Sat.	March	14	24	4	21	0	Tues.	Tagu	11	196		6	
835	Wed.		3	24	10	33	36	Wed.		22	197		7	29
836	Tues.		21	23	16	46	12	Thur.		3	198		8	
837	Sat.		10	23	22	58	48	Fri.		14	199		9	
838	Wed.	Feb.	27	24	5	11	24	Sun.		26	200		10	30
839	Wed.	March	19	24	11	24	0	Mon.		6	201		11	
840	Sun.		7	23	17	36	36	Tues.		17	202		12	
841	Thur.	Feb.	24	23	23	49	12	Wed.		28	203		13	29
842	Wed.	March	15	24	6	1	48	Fri.		10	204		14	
843	Sun.		4	24	12	14	24	Sat.		21	205		15	30
844	Sun.		23	23	18	27	0	Sun.		1	206		16	
845	Thur.		12	24	0	39	36	Tues.		13	207		17	
846	Mon.		1	24	6	52	12	Wed.		24	208		18	29
847	Sun.		20	24	13	4	48	Thur.		5	209	11	0	
848	Thur.		8	23	19	17	24	Fri.		16	210		1	
849	Mon.	Feb.	25	24	1	30	0	Sun.		28	211		2	30
850	Mon.	March	17	24	7	42	36	Mon.		8	212		3	
851	Fri.		6	24	13	55	12	Tues.		19	213		4	
852	Tues.	Feb.	23	23	20	7	48	Wed.	Kason	1	214		5	29
853	Mon.	March	13	24	2	20	24	Fri.	Tagu	12	215		6	
854	Fri.		2	24	8	33	0	Sat.		23	216		7	30
855	Fri.		22	24	14	45	36	Sun.		3	217		8	
856	Tues.		10	23	20	58	12	Mon.		14	218		9	
857	Sat.	Feb.	27	24	3	10	48	Wed.		26	219		10	29
858	Fri.	March	18	24	9	23	24	Thur.		7	220		11	
859	Tues.		7	24	15	36	0	Fri.		18	221		12	
860	Sat.	Feb.	24	23	21	48	36	Sat.		29	222		13	30
861	Sat.	March	15	24	4	1	12	Mon.		10	223		14	
862	Wed.		4	24	10	13	48	Tues.		21	224		15	29

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
863	Tues.	March	23	March 24	16	26	24	Wed.	Tagu	2	225	11	16	
864	Sat.		11	23	22	39	0	Thur.		13	226		17	
865	Wed.	Feb.	28	24	4	51	36	Sat.		25	227		18	30
866	Wed.	March	20	24	11	4	12	Sun.		5	228	12	0	
867	Sun.		9	24	17	16	48	Mon.		16	229		1	
868	Thur.	Feb.	26	23	23	29	24	Tues.		27	230		2	29
869	Wed.	March	16	24	5	42	0	Thur.		9	231		3	
870	Sun.		5	24	11	54	36	Fri.		20	232		4	
871	Thur.	Feb.	22	24	18	7	12	Sat.	Kason	2	233		5	30
872	Thur.	March	13	24	0	19	48	Mon.	Tagu	12	234		6	
873	Mon.		2	24	6	32	24	Tues.		23	235		7	29
874	Sun.		21	24	12	45	0	Wed.		4	236		8	
875	Thur.		10	24	18	57	36	Thur.		15	237		9	
876	Mon.	Feb.	27	24	1	10	12	Sat.		27	238		10	30
877	Mon.	March	18	24	7	22	48	Sun.		7	239		11	
878	Fri.		7	24	13	35	24	Mon.		18	240		12	
879	Tues.	Feb.	24	24	19	48	0	Tues.		29	241		13	30
880	Tues.	March	15	24	2	0	36	Thur.		10	242		14	
881	Sat.		4	24	8	13	12	Fri.		21	243		15	29
882	Fri.		23	24	14	25	48	Sat.		2	244		16	
883	Tues.		12	24	20	38	24	Sun.		13	245		17	
884	Sat.	Feb.	29	24	2	51	0	Tues.		25	246		18	30
885	Sat.	March	20	24	9	3	36	Wed.		5	247	13	0	
886	Wed.		9	24	15	16	12	Thur.		16	248		1	
887	Sun.	Feb.	26	24	21	28	48	Fri.		27	249		2	29
888	Sat.	March	16	24	3	41	24	Sun.		9	250		3	
889	Wed.		5	24	9	54	0	Mon.		20	251		4	
890	Sun.	Feb.	22	24	16	6	36	Tues.	Kason	2	252		5	30
891	Sun.	March	14	24	22	19	12	Wed.	Tagu	11	253		6	
892	Thur.		2	24	4	31	48	Fri.		23	254		7	29
893	Wed.		21	24	10	44	24	Sat.		4	255		8	
894	Sun.		10	24	16	57	0	Sun.		15	256		9	
895	Thur.	Feb.	27	24	23	9	36	Mon.		26	257		10	30
896	Thur.	March	18	24	5	22	12	Wed.		7	258		11	
897	Mon.		7	24	11	34	48	Thur.		18	259		12	
898	Fri.	Feb.	24	24	17	47	24	Fri.		29	260		13	29
899	Thur.	March	15	25	0	0	0	Sun.		11	261		14	
900	Mon.		3	24	6	12	36	Mon.		22	262		15	30
901	Mon.		23	24	12	25	12	Tues.		2	263		16	
902	Fri.		12	24	18	37	48	Wed.		13	264		17	
903	Tues.		1	25	0	50	24	Fri.		25	265		18	29
904	Mon.		19	24	7	3	0	Sat.		6	266	14	0	
905	Fri.		8	24	13	15	36	Sun.		17	267		1	
906	Tues.	Feb.	25	24	19	28	12	Mon.		28	268		2	30
907	Tues.	March	17	25	1	40	48	Wed.		9	269		3	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
908	Sat.	March	5	March 24	7	53	24	Thur.	Tagu	20	270	14	4	30
909	Wed.	Feb.	22	24	14	6	0	Fri.	Kason	2	271		5	29
910	Tues.	March	13	24	20	18	36	Sat.	Tagu	12	272		6	
911	Sat.		2	25	2	31	12	Mon.		24	273		7	30
912	Sat.		21	24	8	43	48	Tues.		4	274		8	
913	Wed.		10	24	14	56	24	Wed.		15	275		9	
914	Sun.	Feb.	27	24	21	9	0	Thur.		26	276		10	29
915	Sat.	March	18	25	3	21	36	Sat.		8	277		11	
916	Wed.		6	24	9	34	12	Sun.		19	278		12	
917	Sun.	Feb.	23	24	15	46	48	Mon.	Kason	1	279		13	30
918	Sun.	March	15	24	21	59	24	Tues.	Tagu	10	280		14	
919	Thur.		4	25	4	12	0	Thur.		22	281		15	29
920	Wed.		22	24	10	24	36	Fri.		3	282		16	
921	Sun.		11	24	16	37	12	Sat.		14	283		17	
922	Thur.	Feb.	28	24	22	49	48	Sun.		25	284		18	30
923	Thur.	March	20	25	5	2	24	Tues.		6	285	15	0	
924	Mon.		8	24	11	15	0	Wed.		17	286		1	
925	Fri.	Feb.	25	24	17	27	36	Thur.		28	287		2	30
926	Fri.	March	17	24	23	40	12	Fri.		8	288		3	
927	Tues.		6	25	5	52	48	Sun.		20	289		4	
928	Sat.	Feb.	23	24	12	5	24	Mon.	Kason	2	290		5	29
929	Fri.	March	13	24	18	18	0	Tues.	Tagu	12	291		6	
930	Tues.		2	25	0	30	36	Thur.		24	292		7	29
931	Mon.		21	25	6	43	12	Fri.		5	293		8	
932	Fri.		9	24	12	55	48	Sat.		16	294		9	
933	Tues.	Feb.	26	24	19	8	24	Sun.		27	295		10	30
934	Tues.	March	18	25	1	21	0	Tues.		8	296		11	
935	Sat.		7	25	7	33	36	Wed.		19	297		12	
936	Wed.	Feb.	24	24	13	46	12	Thur.	Kason	1	298		13	30
937	Wed.	March	15	24	19	58	48	Fri.	Tagu	10	299		14	
938	Sun.		4	25	2	11	24	Sun.		22	300		15	29
939	Sat.		23	25	8	24	0	Mon.		3	301		16	
940	Wed.		11	24	14	36	36	Tues.		14	302		17	
941	Sun.	Feb.	28	24	20	49	12	Wed.		25	303		18	30
942	Sun.	March	20	25	3	1	48	Fri.		6	304	16	0	
943	Thur.		9	25	9	14	24	Sat.		17	305		1	
944	Mon.	Feb.	26	24	15	27	0	Sun.		28	306		2	29
945	Sun.	March	16	24	21	39	36	Mon.		9	307		3	
946	Thur.		5	25	3	52	12	Wed.		21	308		4	
947	Mon.	Feb.	22	25	10	4	48	Thur.	Kason	3	309		5	30
948	Mon.	March	13	24	16	17	24	Fri.	Tagu	12	310		6	
949	Fri.		2	24	22	30	0	Sat.		23	311		7	29
950	Thur.		21	25	4	42	36	Mon.		5	312		8	
951	Mon.		10	25	10	55	12	Tues.		16	313		9	
952	Fri.	Feb.	27	24	17	7	48	Wed.		27	314		10	30

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M.	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
953	Fri.	March	18	March 24	23	20	24	Thur.	Tagu	7	315	16	11	30
954	Tues.		7	25	5	33	0	Sat.		19	316		12	
955	Sat.	Feb.	24	25	11	45	36	Sun.	Kason	1	317		13	29
956	Fri.	March	14	24	17	58	12	Mon.	Tagu	11	318		14	
957	Tues.		3	25	0	10	48	Wed.		23	319		15	30
958	Tues.		23	25	6	23	24	Thur.		3	320		16	
959	Sat.		12	25	12	36	0	Fri.		14	321		17	
960	Wed.	Feb.	29	24	18	48	36	Sat.		25	322		18	29
961	Tues.	March	19	25	1	1	12	Mon.		7	323	17	0	
962	Sat.		8	25	7	13	48	Tues.		18	324		1	
963	Wed.	Feb.	25	25	13	26	24	Wed.		29	325		2	30
964	Wed.	March	16	24	19	39	0	Thur.		9	326		3	
965	Sun.		5	25	1	51	36	Sat.		21	327		4	
966	Thur.	Feb.	22	25	8	4	12	Sun.	Kason	3	328		5	30
967	Thur.	March	14	25	14	16	48	Mon.	Tagu	12	329		6	
968	Mon.		2	24	20	29	24	Tues.		23	330		7	29
969	Sun.		21	25	2	42	0	Thur.		5	331		8	
970	Thur.		10	25	8	54	36	Fri.		16	332		9	
971	Mon.	Feb.	27	25	15	7	12	Sat.		27	333		10	29
972	Sun.	March	17	24	21	19	48	Sun.		8	334		11	
973	Thur.		6	25	3	32	24	Tues.		20	335		12	
974	Mon.	Feb.	23	25	9	45	0	Wed.	Kason	2	336		13	30
975	Mon.	March	15	25	15	57	36	Thur.	Tagu	11	337		14	
976	Fri.		3	24	22	10	12	Fri.		22	338		15	29
977	Thur.		22	25	4	22	48	Sun.		4	339		16	
978	Mon.		11	25	10	35	24	Mon.		15	340		17	
979	Fri.	Feb.	28	25	16	48	0	Tues.		26	341		18	30
980	Fri.	March	19	24	23	0	36	Wed.		6	342	18	0	
981	Tues.		8	25	5	13	12	Fri.		18	343		1	
982	Sat.	Feb.	25	25	11	25	48	Sat.		29	344		2	30
983	Sat.	March	17	25	17	38	24	Sun.		9	345		3	
984	Wed.		5	24	23	51	0	Mon.		20	346		4	
985	Sun.	Feb.	22	25	6	3	36	Wed.	Kason	3	347		5	29
986	Sat.	March	13	25	12	16	12	Thur.	Tagu	13	348		6	
987	Wed.		2	25	18	28	48	Fri.		24	349		7	29
988	Tues.		20	25	0	41	24	Sun.		6	350		8	
989	Sat.		9	25	6	54	0	Mon.		17	351		9	
990	Wed.	Feb.	26	25	13	6	36	Tues.		28	352		10	30
991	Wed.	March	18	25	19	19	12	Wed.		8	353		11	
992	Sun.		6	25	1	31	48	Fri.		20	354		12	
993	Thur.	Feb.	23	25	7	44	24	Sat.	Kason	2	355		13	30
994	Thur.	March	15	25	13	57	0	Sun.	Tagu	11	356		14	
995	Mon.		4	25	20	9	36	Mon.		22	357		15	29
996	Sun.		22	25	2	22	12	Wed.		4	358		16	
997	Thur.		11	25	8	34	48	Thur.		15	359		17	

A. D.	T gu waxing 1st. Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet). Julian date.	H.	M.	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.	B. E. New Year.	Expired Cycles.	Expired Years.	Days in Nayon.
998	Mon.	Feb.	28	March 25	14	47	24	Fri.	Tagu	26	360	18	18	30
999	Mon.	March	20	25	21	0	0	Sat.		6	361	19	0	
1000	Fri.		8	25	3	12	36	Mon.		18	362		1	
1001	Tues.	Feb.	25	25	9	25	12	Tues.		29	363		2	29
1002	Mon.	March	16	25	15	37	48	Wed.		10	364		3	
1003	Fri.		5	25	21	50	24	Thur.		21	365		4	
1004	Tues.	Feb.	22	25	4	3	0	Sat.	Kason	4	366		5	30
1005	Tues.	March	13	25	10	15	36	Sun.	Tagu	13	367		6	
1006	Sat.		2	25	16	28	12	Mon.		24	368		7	29
1007	Fri.		21	25	22	40	48	Tues.		5	369		8	
1008	Tues.		9	25	4	53	24	Thur.		17	370		9	
1009	Sat.	Feb.	26	25	11	6	0	Fri.		28	371		10	30
1010	Sat.	March	18	25	17	18	36	Sat.		8	372		11	
1011	Wed.		7	25	23	31	12	Sun.		19	373		12	
1012	Sun.	Feb.	24	25	5	43	48	Tues.	Kason	2	374		13	29
1013	Sat.	March	14	25	11	56	24	Wed.	Tagu	12	375		14	
1014	Wed.		3	25	18	9	0	Thur.		23	376		15	30
1015	Wed.		23	26	0	21	36	Sat.		4	377		16	
1016	Sun.		11	25	6	34	12	Sun.		15	378		17	
1017	Thur.	Feb.	28	25	12	46	48	Mon.		26	379		18	29
1018	Wed.	March	19	25	18	59	24	Tues.		7	380	20	0	
1019	Sun.		8	26	1	12	0	Thur.		19	381		1	
1020	Thur.	Feb.	25	25	7	24	36	Fri.	Kason	1	382		2	30
1021	Thur.	March	16	25	13	37	12	Sat.	Tagu	10	383		3	
1022	Mon.		5	25	19	49	48	Sun.		21	384		4	
1023	Fri.	Feb.	22	26	2	2	24	Tues.	Kason	4	335		5	30
1024	Fri.	March	13	25	8	15	0	Wed.	Tagu	13	386		6	
1025	Tues.		2	25	14	27	36	Thur.		24	387		7	29
1026	Mon.		21	25	20	40	12	Fri.		5	388		8	
1027	Fri.		10	26	2	52	48	Sun.		17	389		9	
1028	Tues.	Feb.	27	25	9	5	24	Mon.		28	390		10	29
1029	Mon.	March	17	25	15	18	0	Tues.		9	391		11	
1030	Fri.		6	25	21	30	36	Wed.		20	392		12	
1031	Tues.	Feb.	23	26	3	43	12	Fri.	Kason	3	393		13	30
1032	Tues.	March	14	25	9	55	48	Sat.	Tagu	12	394		14	
1033	Sat.		3	25	16	8	24	Sun.		23	395		15	29
1034	Fri.		22	25	22	21	0	Mon.		4	396		16	
1035	Tues.		11	26	4	33	36	Wed.		16	397		17	
1036	Sat.	Feb.	28	25	10	46	12	Thur.		27	398		18	30
1037	Sat.	March	19	25	16	58	48	Fri.		7	399	21	0	
1038	Wed.		8	25	23	11	24	Sat.		18	400		1	
1039	Sun.	Feb.	25	26	5	24	0	Mon.	Kason	1	401		2	30
1040	Sun.	March	16	25	11	36	36	Tues.	Tagu	10	402		3	
1041	Thur.		5	25	17	49	12	Wed.		21	403		4	
1042	Mon.	Feb.	22	26	0	1	48	Fri.	Kason	4	404		5	29

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st. Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet). Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.	B. E. New Year.	Expired Cycles.	Expired Years.	Days in Nayon.
1043	Sun.	March	13	March 26	6	14	24	Sat.	Tagu	14	405	21	6	29
1044	Thur.		1	25	12	27	0	Sun.		25	406		7	30
1045	Thur.		21	25	18	39	36	Mon.		5	407		8	
1046	Mon.		10	26	0	52	12	Wed.		17	408		9	
1047	Fri.	Feb.	27	26	7	4	48	Thur.		28	409		10	29
1048	Thur.	March	17	25	13	17	24	Fri.		9	410		11	
1049	Mon.		6	25	19	30	0	Sat.		20	411		12	
1050	Fri.	Feb.	23	26	1	42	36	Mon.	Kason	3	412		13	30
1051	Fri.	March	15	26	7	55	12	Tues.	Tagu	12	413		14	
1052	Tues.		3	25	14	7	48	Wed.		23	414		15	29
1053	Mon.		22	25	20	20	24	Thur.		4	415		16	
1054	Fri.		11	26	2	33	0	Sat.		16	416		17	
1055	Tues.	Feb.	28	26	8	45	36	Sun.		27	417		18	30
1056	Tues.	March	19	25	14	58	12	Mon.		7	418	22	0	
1057	Sat.		8	25	21	10	48	Tues.		18	419		1	
1058	Wed.	Feb.	25	26	3	23	24	Thur.	Kason	1	420		2	29
1059	Tues.	March	16	26	9	36	0	Fri.	Tagu	11	421		3	
1060	Sat.		4	25	15	48	36	Sat.		22	422		4	
1061	Wed.	Feb.	21	25	22	1	12	Sun.	Kason	4	423		5	30
1062	Wed.	March	13	26	4	13	48	Tues.	Tagu	14	424		6	
1063	Sun.		2	26	10	26	24	Wed.		25	425		7	29
1064	Sat.		20	25	16	39	0	Thur.		6	426		8	
1065	Wed.		9	25	22	51	36	Fri.		17	427		9	
1066	Sun.	Feb.	26	26	5	4	12	Sun.		29	428		10	30
1067	Sun.	March	18	26	11	16	48	Mon.		9	429		11	
1068	Thur.		6	25	17	29	24	Tues.		20	430		12	
1069	Mon.	Feb.	23	25	23	42	0	Wed.	Kason	2	431		13	29
1070	Sun.	March	14	26	5	54	36	Fri.	Tagu	13	432		14	
1071	Thur.		3	26	12	7	12	Sat.		24	433		15	30
1072	Thur.		22	25	18	19	48	Sun.		4	434		16	
1073	Mon.		11	26	0	32	24	Tues.		16	435		17	
1074	Fri.	Feb.	28	26	6	45	0	Wed.		27	436		18	29
1075	Thur.	March	19	26	12	57	36	Thur.		8	437	23	0	
1076	Mon.		7	25	19	10	12	Fri.		19	438		1	
1077	Fri.	Feb.	24	26	1	22	48	Sun.	Kason	2	439		2	30
1078	Fri.	March	16	26	7	35	24	Mon.	Tagu	11	440		3	
1079	Tues.		5	26	13	48	0	Tues.		22	441		4	
1080	Sat.	Feb.	22	25	20	0	36	Wed.	Kason	4	442		5	30
1081	Sat.	March	13	26	2	13	12	Fri.	Tagu	14	443		6	
1082	Wed.		2	26	8	25	48	Sat.		25	444		7	29
1083	Tues.		21	26	14	38	24	Sun.		6	445		8	
1084	Sat.		9	25	20	51	0	Mon.		17	446		9	
1085	Wed.	Feb.	26	26	3	3	36	Wed.		29	447		10	30
1086	Wed.	March	18	26	9	16	12	Thur.		9	448		11	
1087	Sun.		7	26	15	28	48	Fri.		20	449		12	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
1088	Thur.	Feb.	24	March 25	21	41	24	Sat.	Kason	2	450	23	13	29
1089	Wed.	March	14	26	3	54	0	Mon.	Tagu	13	451		14	
1090	Sun.		3	26	10	6	36	Tues.		24	452		15	29
1091	Sat.		22	26	16	19	12	Wed.		5	453		16	
1092	Wed.		10	25	22	31	48	Thur.		16	454		17	
1093	Sun.	Feb.	27	26	4	44	24	Sat.		28	455		18	30
1094	Sun.	March	19	26	10	57	0	Sun.		8	456	24	0	
1095	Thur.		8	26	17	9	36	Mon.		19	457		1	
1096	Mon.	Feb.	25	25	23	22	12	Tues.	Kason	1	458		2	30
1097	Mon.	March	16	26	5	34	48	Thur.	Tagu	11	459		3	
1098	Fri.		5	26	11	47	24	Fri.		22	460		4	
1099	Tues.	Feb.	22	26	18	0	0	Sat.	Kason	4	461		5	29
1100	Mon.	March	12	26	0	12	36	Mon.	Tagu	15	462		6	
1101	Fri.		1	26	6	25	12	Tues.		26	463		7	30
1102	Fri.		21	26	12	37	48	Wed.		6	464		8	
1103	Tues.		10	26	18	50	24	Thur.		17	465		9	
1104	Sat.	Feb.	27	26	1	3	0	Sat.		29	466		10	29
1105	Fri.	March	17	26	7	15	36	Sun.		10	467		11	
1106	Tues.		6	26	13	28	12	Mon.		21	468		12	
1107	Sat.	Feb.	23	26	19	40	48	Tues.	Kason	3	469		13	30
1108	Sat.	March	14	26	1	53	24	Thur.	Tagu	13	470		14	
1109	Wed.		3	26	8	0	0	Fri.		24	471		15	29
1110	Tues.		22	26	14	18	36	Sat.		5	472		16	
1111	Sat.		11	26	20	31	12	Sun.		16	473		17	
1112	Wed.	Feb.	28	26	2	43	48	Tues.		28	474		18	30
1113	Wed.	March	19	26	8	56	24	Wed.		8	475	25	0	
1114	Sun.		8	26	15	9	0	Thur.		19	476		1	
1115	Thur.	Feb.	25	26	21	21	36	Fri.	Kason	1	477		2	29
1116	Wed.	March	15	26	3	34	12	Sun.	Tagu	12	478		3	
1117	Sun.		4	26	9	46	48	Mon.		23	479		4	
1118	Thur.	Feb.	21	26	15	59	24	Tues.	Kason	5	480		5	30
1119	Thur.	March	13	26	22	12	0	Wed.	Tagu	14	481		6	
1120	Mon.		1	26	4	24	36	Fri.		26	482		7	29
1121	Sun.		20	26	10	37	12	Sat.		7	483		8	
1122	Thur.		9	26	16	49	48	Sun.		18	484		9	
1123	Mon.	Feb.	26	26	23	2	24	Mon.		29	485		10	30
1124	Mon.	March	17	26	5	15	0	Wed.		10	486		11	
1125	Fri.		6	26	11	27	36	Thur.		21	487		12	
1126	Tues.	Feb.	23	26	17	40	12	Fri.	Kason	3	488		13	30
1127	Tues.	March	15	26	23	52	48	Sat.	Tagu	12	489		14	
1128	Sat.		3	26	6	5	24	Mon.		24	490		15	29
1129	Fri.		22	26	12	18	0	Tues.		5	491		16	
1130	Tues.		11	26	18	30	36	Wed.		16	492		17	
1131	Sat.	Feb.	28	27	0	43	12	Fri.		28	493		18	29
1132	Fri.	March	18	26	6	55	48	Sat.		9	494	26	0	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st. Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet). Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Day.	B E. New Year.	Expired Cycles.	Years.	Days in Nayon.
1133	Tues.	March	7	March 26	13	8	24	Sun.	Tagu	20	495	26	1	29
1134	Sat.	Feb.	24	26	19	21	0	Mon.	Kason	2	496		2	30
1135	Sat.	March	16	27	1	33	36	Wed.	Tagu	12	497		3	
1136	Wed.		4	26	7	46	12	Thur.		23	498		4	
1137	Sun.	Feb.	21	26	13	58	48	Fri.	Kason	5	499		5	30
1138	Sun.	March	13	26	20	11	24	Sat.	Tagu	14	500		6	
1139	Thur.		2	27	2	24	0	Mon.		26	501		7	29
1140	Wed.		20	26	8	36	36	Tues.		7	502		8	
1141	Sun.		9	26	14	49	12	Wed.		18	503		9	
1142	Thur.	Feb.	26	26	21	1	48	Thur.		29	504		10	30
1143	Thur.	March	18	27	3	14	24	Sat.		10	505		11	
1144	Mon.		6	26	9	27	0	Sun.		21	506		12	
1145	Fri.	Feb.	23	26	15	39	36	Mon.	Kason	3	507		13	29
1146	Thur.	March	14	26	21	52	12	Tues.	Tagu	13	508		14	
1147	Mon.		3	27	4	4	48	Thur.		25	509		15	29
1148	Sun.		21	26	10	17	24	Fri.		6	510		16	
1149	Thur.		10	26	16	30	0	Sat.		17	511		17	
1150	Mon.	Feb.	27	26	22	42	36	Sun.		28	512		18	30
1151	Mon.	March	19	27	4	55	12	Tues.		9	513	27	0	
1152	Fri.		7	26	11	7	48	Wed.		20	514		1	
1153	Tues.	Feb.	24	26	17	20	24	Thur.	Kason	2	515		2	30
1154	Tues.	March	16	26	23	33	0	Fri.	Tagu	11	516		3	
1155	Sat.		5	27	5	45	36	Sun.		23	517		4	
1156	Wed.	Feb.	22	26	11	58	12	Mon.	Kason	5	518		5	29
1157	Tues.	March	12	26	18	10	48	Tues.	Tagu	15	519		6	
1158	Sat.		1	27	0	23	24	Thur.		27	520		7	30
1159	Sat.		21	27	6	36	0	Fri.		7	521		8	
1160	Wed.		9	26	12	48	36	Sat.		18	522		9	
1161	Sun.	Feb.	26	26	19	1	12	Sun.		29	523		10	29
1162	Sat.	March	17	27	1	13	48	Tues.		11	524		11	
1163	Wed.		6	27	7	26	24	Wed.		22	525		12	
1164	Sun.	Feb.	23	26	13	39	0	Thur.	Kason	4	526		13	30
1165	Sun.	March	14	26	19	51	36	Fri.	Tagu	13	527		14	
1166	Thur.		3	27	2	4	12	Sun.		25	528		15	29
1167	Wed.		22	27	8	16	48	Mon.		6	529		16	
1168	Sun.		10	26	14	29	24	Tues.		17	530		17	
1169	Thur.	Feb.	27	26	20	42	0	Wed.		28	531		18	30
1170	Thur.	March	19	27	2	54	36	Fri.		9	532	28	0	
1171	Mon.		8	27	9	7	12	Sat.		20	533		1	
1172	Fri.	Feb.	25	26	15	19	48	Sun	Kason	2	534		2	29
1173	Thur.	March	15	26	21	32	24	Mon.	Tagu	12	535		3	
1174	Mon.		4	27	3	45	0	Wed.		24	536		4	
1175	Fri.	Feb.	21	27	9	57	36	Thur.	Kason	6	537		5	30
1176	Fri.	March	12	26	16	10	12	Fri.	Tagu	15	538		6	
1177	Tues.		1	26	22	22	48	Sat.		26	539		7	29

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
1178	Mon.	March	20	March 27	4	35	24	Mon.	Tagu	8	540	28	8	29
1179	Fri.		9	27	10	48	0	Tues.		19	541		9	
1180	Tues.	Feb.	26	26	17	0	36	Wed.	Kason	1	542		10	30
1181	Tues.	March	17	26	23	13	12	Thur.	Tagu	10	543		11	
1182	Sat.		6	27	5	25	48	Sat.		22	544		12	
1183	Wed.	Feb.	23	27	11	38	24	Sun.	Kason	4	545		13	30
1184	Wed.	March	14	26	17	51	0	Mon.	Tagu	13	546		14	
1185	Sun.		3	27	0	3	36	Wed.		25	547		15	29
1186	Sat.		22	27	6	16	12	Thur.		6	548		16	
1187	Wed.		11	27	12	28	48	Fri.		17	549		17	
1188	Sun.	Feb.	28	26	18	41	24	Sat.		28	550		18	30
1189	Sun.	March	19	27	0	54	0	Mon.		9	551	29	0	
1190	Thur.		8	27	7	6	36	Tues.		20	552		1	
1191	Mon.	Feb.	25	27	13	19	12	Wed.	Kason	2	553		2	29
1192	Sun.	March	15	26	19	31	48	Thur.	Tagu	12	554		3	
1193	Thur.		4	27	1	44	24	Sat.		24	555		4	
1194	Mon.	Feb.	21	27	7	57	0	Sun.	Kason	6	556		5	30
1195	Mon.	March	13	27	14	9	36	Mon.	Tagu	15	557		6	
1196	Fri.		1	26	20	22	12	Tues.		26	558		7	29
1197	Thur.		20	27	2	34	48	Thur.		8	599		8	
1198	Mon.		9	27	8	47	24	Fri.		19	560		9	
1199	Fri.	Feb.	26	27	15	0	0	Sat.	Kason	1	561		10	30
1200	Fri.	March	17	26	21	12	36	Sun.	Tagu	10	562		11	
1201	Tues.		6	27	3	25	12	Tues.		22	563		12	
1202	Sat.	Feb.	23	27	9	37	48	Wed.	Kason	4	564		13	29
1203	Fri.	March	14	27	15	50	24	Thur.	Tagu	14	565		14	
1204	Tues.		2	26	22	3	0	Fri.		25	566		15	30
1205	Tues.		22	27	4	15	36	Sun.		6	567		16	
1206	Sat.		11	27	10	28	12	Mon.		17	568		17	
1207	Wed.	Feb.	28	27	16	40	48	Tues.		28	569		18	29
1208	Tues.	March	18	26	22	53	24	Wed.		9	570	30	0	
1209	Sat.		7	27	5	6	0	Fri.		21	571		1	
1210	Wed.	Feb.	24	27	11	18	36	Sat.	Kason	3	572		2	30
1211	Wed.	March	16	27	17	31	12	Sun.	Tagu	12	573		3	
1212	Sun.		4	26	23	43	48	Mon.		23	574		4	
1213	Thur.	Feb.	21	27	5	56	24	Wed.	Kason	6	575		5	29
1214	Wed.	March	12	27	12	9	0	Thur.	Tagu	16	576		6	30
1215	Sun.		1	27	18	21	36	Fri.		27	577		7	
1216	Sun.		20	27	0	34	12	Sun.		8	578		8	
1217	Thur.		9	27	6	46	48	Mon.		19	579		9	
1218	Mon.	Feb.	26	27	12	59	24	Tues.	Kason	1	580		10	29
1219	Sun.	March	17	27	19	12	0	Wed.	Tagu	11	581		11	
1220	Thur		5	27	1	24	36	Fri.		23	582		12	30
1221	Mon.	Feb.	22	27	7	37	12	Sat.	Kason	5	583		13	
1222	Mon.	March	14	27	13	49	48	Sun.	Tagu	14	584		14	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st. Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet). Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.	B. E. New Year.	Expired Cycles.	Expired Years.	Days in Nayon.
1223	Fri.	March	3	March 27	20	2	24	Mon.	Tagu	25	585	30	15	29
1224	Thur.		21	27	2	15	0	Wed.		7	586		16	
1225	Mon.		10	27	8	27	36	Thur.		18	587		17	
1226	Fri.	Feb.	27	27	14	40	12	Fri.		29	588		18	30
1227	Fri.	March	19	27	20	52	48	Sat.		9	589	31	0	
1228	Tues.		7	27	3	5	24	Mon.		21	590		1	
1229	Sat.	Feb.	24	27	9	18	0	Tues.	Kason	3	591		2	30
1230	Sat.	March	16	27	15	30	36	Wed.	Tagu	12	592		3	
1231	Wed.		5	27	21	43	12	Thur.		23	593		4	
1232	Sun.	Feb.	22	27	3	55	48	Sat.	Kason	6	594		5	29
1233	Sat.	March	12	27	10	8	24	Sun.	Tagu	16	595		6	
1234	Wed.		1	27	16	21	0	Mon.		27	596		7	29
1235	Tues.		20	27	22	33	36	Tues.		8	597		8	
1236	Sat.		8	27	4	46	12	Thur.		20	598		9	
1237	Wed.	Feb.	25	27	10	58	48	Fri.	Kason	2	599		10	30
1238	Wed.	March	17	27	17	11	24	Sat.	Tagu	11	600		11	
1239	Sun.		6	27	23	24	0	Sun.		22	601		12	
1240	Thur.	Feb.	23	27	5	36	36	Tues.	Kason	5	602		13	30
1241	Thur.	March	14	27	11	49	12	Wed.	Tagu	14	603		14	
1242	Mon.		3	27	18	1	48	Thur.		25	604		15	29
1243	Sun.		22	28	0	14	24	Sat.		7	605		16	
1244	Thur.		10	27	6	27	0	Sun.		18	606		17	
1245	Mon.	Feb.	27	27	12	39	36	Mon.		29	607		18	30
1246	Mon.	March	19	27	18	52	12	Tues.		9	608	32	0	
1247	Fri.		8	28	1	4	48	Thur.		21	609		1	
1248	Tues.	Feb.	25	27	7	17	24	Fri.	Kason	3	610		2	29
1249	Mon.	March	15	27	13	30	0	Sat.	Tagu	13	611		3	
1250	Fri.		4	27	19	42	36	Sun.		24	612		4	
1251	Tues.	Feb.	21	28	1	55	12	Tues.	Kason	7	613		5	30
1252	Tues.	March	12	27	8	7	48	Wed.	Tagu	16	614		6	
1253	Sat.		1	27	14	20	24	Thur.		27	615		7	29
1254	Fri.		20	27	20	33	0	Fri.		8	616		8	
1255	Tues.		9	28	2	45	36	Sun.		20	617		9	
1256	Sat.	Feb.	26	27	8	58	12	Mon.	Kason	2	618		10	30
1257	Sat.	March	17	27	15	10	48	Tues.	Tagu	11	619		11	
1258	Wed.		6	27	21	23	24	Wed.		22	620		12	
1259	Sun.	Feb.	28	28	3	36	0	Fri.	Kason	5	621		13	29
1260	Sat.	March	18	27	9	48	36	Sat.	Tagu	15	622		14	
1261	Wed.		2	27	16	1	12	Sun.		26	623		15	30
1262	Wed.		22	27	22	13	48	Mon.		6	624		16	
1263	Sun.		11	28	4	26	24	Wed.		18	625		17	
1264	Thur.	Feb.	28	27	10	39	0	Thur.		29	626		18	29
1265	Wed.	March	18	27	16	51	36	Fri.		10	627	33	0	
1266	Sun.		7	27	23	4	12	Sat.		21	628		1	
1267	Thur.	Feb.	24	28	5	16	48	Mon.	Kason	4	629		2	30

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired.		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
1268	Thur.	March	15	March 27	11	29	24	Tues.	Tagu	13	630	33	3	
1269	Mon.		4	27	17	42	0	Wed.		24	631		4	
1270	Fri.	Feb.	21	27	23	54	36	Thur.	Kason	6	632		5	30
1271	Fri.	March	13	28	6	7	12	Sat.	Tagu	16	633		6	
1272	Tues.		1	27	12	19	48	Sun.		27	634		7	29
1273	Mon.		30	27	18	32	24	Mon.		8	635		8	
1274	Fri.		9	28	0	45	0	Wed.		20	636		9	
1275	Tues.	Feb.	26	28	6	57	36	Thur.	Kason	2	637		10	29
1276	Mon.	March	16	27	13	10	12	Fri.	Tagu	12	638		11	
1277	Fri.		5	27	19	22	48	Sat.		23	639		12	
1278	Tues.	Feb.	22	28	1	35	24	Mon.	Kason	6	640		13	30
1279	Tues.	March	14	28	7	48	0	Tues.	Tagu	15	641		14	
1280	Sat.		2	27	14	0	36	Wed.		26	642		15	29
1281	Fri.		21	27	20	13	12	Thur.		7	643		16	
1282	Tues.		10	28	2	25	48	Sat.		19	644		17	
1283	Sat.	Feb.	27	28	8	38	24	Sun.	Kason	1	645		18	30
1284	Sat.	March	18	27	14	51	0	Mon.	Tagu	10	646	34	0	
1285	Wed.		7	27	21	3	36	Tues.		21	647		1	
1286	Sun.	Feb	24	28	3	16	12	Thur.	Kason	4	648		2	30
1287	Sun.	March	16	28	9	28	48	Fri.	Tagu	13	649		3	
1288	Thur.		4	27	15	41	24	Sat.		24	650		4	
1289	Mon.	Feb.	21	27	21	54	0	Sun.	Kason	6	651		5	29
1290	Sun.	March	12	28	4	6	36	Tues.	Tagu	17	652		6	
1291	Thur.		1	28	10	19	12	Wed.		28	653		7	29
1292	Wed.		19	27	16	31	48	Thur.		9	654		8	
1293	Sun.		8	27	22	44	24	Fri.		20	655		9	
1294	Thur.	Feb.	25	28	4	57	0	Sun.	Kason	3	656		10	30
1295	Thur.	March	17	28	11	9	36	Mon.	Tagu	12	657		11	
1296	Mon.		5	27	17	22	12	Tues.		23	658		12	
1297	Fri.	Feb.	22	27	23	34	48	Wed.	Kason	5	659		13	30
1298	Fri.	March	14	28	5	47	24	Fri.	Tagu	15	660		14	
1299	Tues.		3	28	12	0	0	Sat.		26	661		15	29
1300	Mon.		21	27	18	12	36	Sun.		7	662		16	
1301	Fri.		10	28	0	25	12	Tues.		19	663		17	
1302	Tues.	Feb.	27	28	6	37	48	Wed.	Kason	1	664		18	30
1303	Tues.	March	19	28	12	50	24	Thur.	Tagu	10	665	35	0	
1304	Sat.		7	27	19	3	0	Fri.		21	666		1	
1305	Wed.	Feb.	24	28	1	15	36	Sun.	Kason	4	677		2	29
1306	Tues.	March	15	28	7	28	12	Mon.	Tagu	14	688		3	
1307	Sat.		4	28	13	40	48	Tues.		25	699		4	
1308	Wed.	Feb.	21	27	19	53	24	Wed.	Kason	7	670		5	30
1309	Wed.	March	12	28	2	6	0	Fri.	Tagu	17	671		6	
1310	Sun.		1	28	8	18	36	Sat.		28	672		7	29
1311	Sat.		20	28	14	31	12	Sun.		9	673		8	
1312	Wed.		8	27	20	43	48	Mon.		20	674		9	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st. Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet). Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Day.	B. E. New Year.	Expired Cycles.	Years.	Days in Nayon.
1313	Sun.	Feb.	25	March 28	2	56	24	Wed.	Kason	3	675	35	10	30
1314	Sun.	March	17	28	9	9	0	Thur.	Tagu	12	676		11	
1315	Thur.		6	28	15	21	36	Fri.		23	677		12	
1316	Mon.	Feb.	23	27	21	34	12	Sat.	Kason	5	678		13	29
1317	Sun.	March	13	28	3	46	48	Mon.	Tagu	16	679		14	
1318	Thur.		2	28	9	59	24	Tues.		27	680		15	30
1319	Thur.		22	28	16	12	0	Wed.		7	681		16	
1320	Mon.		10	27	22	24	36	Thur.		18	682		17	
1321	Fri.	Feb.	27	28	4	37	12	Sat.	Kason	1	683		18	29
1322	Thur.	March	18	28	10	49	48	Sun.	Tagu	11	684	36	0	
1323	Mon.		7	28	17	2	24	Mon.		22	685		1	
1324	Fri.	Feb.	24	27	23	15	0	Tues.	Kason	4	686		2	30
1325	Fri.	March	15	28	5	27	36	Thur.	Tagu	14	687		3	
1326	Tues.		4	28	11	40	12	Fri.		25	688		4	
1327	Sat.	Feb.	21	28	17	52	48	Sat.	Kason	7	689		5	30
1328	Sat.	March	12	28	0	5	24	Mon.	Tagu	17	690		6	
1329	Wed.		1	28	6	18	0	Tues.		28	691		7	29
1330	Tues.		20	28	12	30	36	Wed.		9	692		8	
1331	Sat.		9	28	18	43	12	Thur.		20	693		9	
1332	Wed.	Feb.	26	28	0	55	48	Sat.	Kason	3	694		10	29
1333	Tues.	March	16	28	7	8	24	Sun.	Tagu	13	695		11	
1334	Sat.		5	28	13	21	0	Mon.		24	696		12	
1335	Wed.	Feb.	22	28	19	33	36	Tues.	Kason	6	697		13	30
1336	Wed.	March	13	28	1	46	12	Thur.	Tagu	16	698		14	
1337	Sun.		2	28	7	58	48	Fri.		27	699		15	29
1338	Sat.		21	28	14	11	24	Sat.		8	700		16	
1339	Wed.		10	28	20	24	0	Sun.		19	701		17	
1340	Tues.	Feb.	27	28	2	36	36	Tues.	Kason	2	702		18	30
1341	Sun.	March	18	28	8	49	12	Wed.	Tagu	11	703	37	0	
1342	Thur.		7	28	15	1	48	Thur.		22	704		1	
1343	Mon.	Feb.	24	28	21	14	24	Fri.	Kason	4	705		2	30
1344	Mon.	March	15	28	3	27	0	Sun.	Tagu	14	706		3	
1345	Fri.		4	28	9	39	36	Mon.		25	707		4	
1346	Tues.	Feb.	21	28	15	52	12	Tues.	Kason	7	708		5	29
1347	Mon.	March	12	28	22	4	48	Wed.	Tagu	17	709		6	
1348	Fri.	Feb.	29	28	4	17	24	Fri.		29	710		7	30
1349	Fri.	March	20	28	10	30	0	Sat.		9	711		8	
1350	Tues.		9	28	16	32	36	Sun.		20	712		9	
1351	Sat.	Feb.	26	28	22	55	12	Mon.	Kason	2	713		10	29
1352	Fri.	March	16	28	5	7	48	Wed.	Tagu	13	714		11	
1353	Tues.		5	28	11	20	24	Thur.		24	715		12	
1354	Sat.	Feb.	22	28	17	33	0	Fri.	Kason	6	716		13	30
1355	Sat.	March	14	28	23	45	36	Sat.	Tagu	15	717		14	
1356	Wed.		2	28	5	58	12	Mon.		27	718		15	29
1357	Tues.		21	28	12	10	48	Tues.		8	719		16	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).					Burmese		B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M.	S.	Week-day.	Month.	Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
1358	Sat.	March	10	March 28	18	23	24	Wed.	Tagu	19	720	37	17	29
1359	Wed.	Feb.	27	29	0	36	0	Fri.	Kason	2	721		18	30
1360	Wed.	March	18	28	6	48	36	Sat.	Tagu	11	722	38	0	
1361	Sun.		7	28	13	1	12	Sun.		22	723		1	
1362	Thur.	Feb.	24	28	19	13	48	Mon.	Kason	4	724		2	29
1363	Wed.	March	15	29	1	26	24	Wed.	Tagu	15	725		3	
1364	Sun.		3	28	7	39	0	Thur.		26	726		4	
1365	Thur.	Feb.	20	28	13	51	36	Fri.	Kason	8	727		5	30
1366	Thur.	March	12	28	20	4	12	Sat.	Tagu	17	728		6	
1367	Mon.		1	29	2	16	48	Mon.		29	729		7	29
1368	Sun.		19	28	8	29	24	Tues.		10	730		8	
1369	Thur.		8	28	14	42	0	Wed.		21	731		9	
1370	Mon.	Feb.	25	28	20	54	36	Thur.	Kason	8	732		10	30
1371	Mon.	March	17	29	3	7	12	Sat.	Tagu	13	733		11	
1372	Fri.		5	28	9	19	48	Sun.		24	734		12	
1373	Tues.	Feb.	22	28	15	32	24	Mon.	Kason	6	735		13	29
1374	Mon.	March	13	28	21	45	0	Tues.	Tagu	16	736		14	
1375	Fri.		2	29	3	57	36	Thur.		28	737		15	30
1376	Fri.		21	28	10	10	12	Fri.		8	738		16	
1377	Tues.		10	28	16	22	48	Sat.		19	739		17	
1378	Sat.	Feb.	27	28	22	35	24	Sun.	Kason	1	740		18	29
1379	Fri.	March	18	29	4	48	0	Tues.	Tagu	12	741	39	0	
1380	Tues.		6	28	11	0	36	Wed.		23	742		1	
1381	Sat.	Feb.	23	28	17	13	12	Thur.	Kason	5	743		2	30
1382	Sat.	March	15	28	23	25	48	Fri.	Tagu	14	744		3	
1383	Wed.		4	29	5	38	24	Sun.		26	745		4	
1384	Sun.	Feb.	21	28	11	51	0	Mon.	Kason	8	746		5	30
1385	Sun.	March	12	28	18	3	36	Tues.	Tagu	17	747		6	
1386	Thur.		1	29	0	16	12	Thur.		29	748		7	29
1387	Wed.		20	29	6	28	48	Fri.		10	749		8	
1388	Sun.		8	28	12	41	24	Sat.		21	750		9	
1389	Thur.	Feb.	25	28	18	54	0	Sun.	Kason	3	751		10	30
1390	Thur.	March	17	29	1	6	36	Tues.	Tagu	13	752		11	
1391	Mon.		6	29	7	19	12	Wed.		24	753		12	
1392	Fri.	Feb.	23	28	13	31	48	Thur.	Kason	6	754		13	29
1393	Thur.	March	13	28	19	44	24	Fri.	Tagu	16	755		14	
1394	Mon.		2	29	1	57	0	Sun.		28	756		15	29
1395	Sun.		21	29	8	9	36	Mon.		9	757		16	
1396	Thur.		9	28	14	22	12	Tues.		20	758		17	
1397	Mon.	Feb.	26	28	20	34	48	Wed.	Kason	2	759		18	30
1398	Mon.	March	18	29	2	47	24	Fri.	Tagu	12	760	40	0	
1399	Fri.		7	29	9	0	0	Sat.		23	761		1	
1400	Tues.	Feb.	24	28	15	12	36	Sun.	Kason	5	762		2	30
1401	Tues.	March	15	28	21	25	12	Mon.	Tagu	14	763		3	
1402	Sat.		4	29	3	37	48	Wed.		26	764		4	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M.	S.	Week-day.	Burmese. Month.	Burmese. Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
1403	Wed.	Feb.	21	March 29	9	50	24	Thur.	Kason	8	765	40	5	29
1404	Tues.	March	11	28	16	3	0	Fri.	Tagu	18	766		6	
1405	Sat.	Feb.	28	28	22	15	36	Sat.		29	767		7	30
1406	Sat.	March	20	29	4	28	12	Mon.		10	768		8	
1407	Wed.		9	29	10	40	48	Tues.		21	769		9	
1408	Sun.	Feb.	26	28	16	58	24	Wed.	Kason	3	770		10	29
1409	Sat.	March	16	28	23	6	0	Thur.	Tagu	13	771		11	
1410	Wed.		5	29	5	18	36	Sat.		25	772		12	
1411	Sun.	Feb.	22	29	11	31	12	Sun.	Kason	7	773		13	30
1412	Sun.	March	13	28	17	43	48	Mon.	Tagu	16	774		14	
1413	Thur.		2	28	23	56	24	Tues.		27	775		15	29
1414	Wed.		21	29	6	9	0	Thur.		9	776		16	
1415	Sun.		10	29	12	21	36	Fri.		20	777		17	
1416	Thur.	Feb.	27	28	18	34	12	Sat.	Kason	2	778		18	30
1417	Thur.	March	18	29	0	46	48	Mon.	Tagu	12	779	41	0	
1418	Mon.		7	29	6	59	24	Tues.		23	780		1	
1419	Fri.	Feb.	24	29	13	12	0	Wed.	Kason	5	781		2	29
1420	Thur.	March	14	28	19	24	36	Thur.	Tagu	15	782		3	
1421	Mon.		3	29	1	37	12	Sat.		27	783		4	
1422	Fri.	Feb.	20	29	7	49	48	Sun.	Kason	9	784		5	30
1423	Fri.	March	12	29	14	2	24	Mon.	Tagu	18	785		6	
1424	Tues.	Feb.	29	28	20	15	0	Tues.		29	786		7	29
1425	Mon.	March	19	29	2	27	36	Thur.		11	787		8	
1426	Fri.		8	29	8	40	12	Fri.		22	788		9	
1427	Tues.	Feb.	25	29	14	52	48	Sat.	Kason	4	789		10	30
1428	Tues.	March	16	28	21	5	24	Sun.	Tagu	13	790		11	
1429	Sat.		5	29	3	18	0	Tues.		25	791		12	
1430	Wed.	Feb.	22	29	9	30	36	Wed.	Kason	7	792		13	30
1431	Wed.	March	14	29	15	43	12	Thur.	Tagu	16	793		14	
1432	Sun.		2	28	21	55	48	Fri.		27	794		15	29
1433	Sat.		21	29	4	8	24	Sun.		9	795		16	
1434	Wed.		10	29	10	21	0	Mon.		20	796		17	
1435	Sun.	Feb.	27	29	16	33	36	Tues.	Kason	2	797		18	29
1436	Sat.	March	17	28	22	46	12	Wed.	Tagu	12	798	42	0	
1437	Wed.		6	29	4	58	48	Fri.		24	799		1	
1438	Sun.	Feb.	23	29	11	11	24	Sat.	Kason	6	800		2	30
1439	Sun.	March	15	29	17	24	0	Sun.	Tagu	15	801		3	
1440	Thur.		3	28	23	36	36	Mon.		26	802		4	
1441	Mon.	Feb.	20	29	5	49	12	Wed.	Kason	9	803		5	30
1442	Mon.	March	12	29	12	1	48	Thur.	Tagu	18	804		6	
1443	Fri.		1	29	18	14	24	Fri.		29	805		7	29
1444	Thur.		19	29	0	27	0	Sun.		11	806		8	
1445	Mon.		8	29	6	39	36	Mon.		22	807		9	
1446	Fri.	Feb.	25	29	12	52	12	Tues.	Kason	4	808		10	30
1447	Fri.	March	17	29	19	4	48	Wed.	Tagu	13	809		11	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
1448	Tues.	March	5	March 29	1	17	24	Fri.	Tagu	25	810	42	12	30
1449	Sat.	Feb.	22	29	7	30	0	Sat.	Kason	7	811		13	29
1450	Fri.	March	13	29	13	42	36	Sun.	Tagu	17	812		14	
1451	Tues.		2	29	19	55	12	Mon.		28	813		15	29
1452	Mon.		20	29	2	7	48	Wed.		10	814		16	
1453	Fri.		9	29	8	20	24	Thur.		21	815		17	
1454	Tues.	Feb.	26	29	14	33	0	Fri.	Kason	3	816		18	30
1455	Tues.	March	18	29	20	45	36	Sat.	Tagu	12	817	43	0	
1456	Sat.		6	29	2	58	12	Mon.		24	818		1	
1457	Wed.	Feb.	23	29	9	10	48	Tues.	Kason	6	819		2	30
1458	Wed.	March	15	29	15	23	24	Wed.	Tagu	15	820		3	
1459	Sun.		4	29	21	36	0	Thur.		26	821		4	
1460	Thur.	Feb.	21	29	3	48	36	Sat.	Kason	9	822		5	29
1461	Wed.	March	11	29	10	1	12	Sun.	Tagu	19	823		6	
1462	Sun.	Feb.	28	29	16	13	48	Mon.	Kason	1	824		7	30
1463	Sun.	March	20	29	22	26	24	Tues.	Tagu	10	825		8	
1464	Thur.		8	29	4	39	0	Thur.		22	826		9	
1465	Mon.	Feb.	25	29	10	51	36	Fri.	Kason	4	827		10	29
1466	Sun.	March	16	29	17	4	12	Sat.	Tagu	14	828		11	
1467	Thur.		5	29	23	16	48	Sun.		25	829		12	
1468	Mon.	Feb.	22	29	5	29	24	Tues.	Kason	8	830		13	30
1469	Mon.	March	13	29	11	42	0	Wed.	Tagu	17	831		14	
1470	Fri.		2	29	17	54	36	Thur.		28	832		15	29
1471	Thur.		21	30	0	7	12	Sat.		10	833		16	
1472	Mon.		9	29	6	19	48	Sun.		21	834		17	
1473	Fri.	Feb.	26	29	12	32	24	Mon.	Kason	3	835		18	30
1474	Fri.	March	18	29	18	45	0	Tues.	Tagu	12	836	44	0	
1475	Tues.		7	30	0	57	36	Thur.		24	837		1	
1476	Sat.	Feb.	24	29	7	10	12	Fri.	Kason	6	838		2	29
1477	Fri.	March	14	29	13	22	48	Sat.	Tagu	16	839		3	
1478	Tues.		3	29	19	35	24	Sun.		27	840		4	
1479	Sat.	Feb.	20	30	2	48	0	Tues.	Kason	10	841		5	30
1480	Sat.	March	11	29	8	0	36	Wed.	Tagu	19	842		6	
1481	Wed.	Feb.	28	29	14	13	12	Thur.	Kason	1	843		7	29
1482	Tues.	March	19	29	20	25	48	Fri.	Tagu	11	844		8	
1483	Sat.		8	30	2	38	24	Sun.		23	845		9	
1484	Wed.	Feb.	25	29	8	51	0	Mon.	Kason	5	846		10	30
1485	Wed.	March	16	29	15	3	36	Tues.	Tagu	14	847		11	
1486	Sun.		5	29	21	16	12	Wed.		25	848		12	
1487	Thur.	Feb.	22	30	3	28	48	Fri.	Kason	8	849		13	30
1488	Thur.	March	13	29	9	41	24	Sat.	Tagu	17	850		14	
1489	Mon.		2	29	15	54	0	Sun.		28	851		15	29
1490	Sun.		21	29	22	6	36	Mon.		9	852		16	
1491	Thur.		10	30	4	19	12	Wed.		21	853		17	
1492	Mon.	Feb.	27	29	10	31	48	Thur.	Kason	3	854		18	29

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st. Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet). Julian date.	H.	M.	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.	B. E. New Year.	Expired Cycles.	Expired Years.	Days in Nayon.
1493	Sun.	March	17	March 29	16	44	24	Fri.	Tagu	13	855	45	0	
1494	Thur.		6	29	22	57	0	Sat.		24	856		1	
1495	Mon.	Feb.	23	30	5	9	36	Mon.	Kason	7	857		2	30
1496	Mon.	March	14	29	11	22	12	Tues.	Tagu	16	858		3	
1497	Fri.		3	29	17	34	48	Wed.		27	859		4	
1498	Tues.	Feb.	20	29	23	47	24	Thur.	Kason	9	860		5	30
1499	Tues.	March	12	30	6	0	0	Sat.	Tagu	19	861		6	
1500	Sat.	Feb.	29	29	12	12	36	Sun.	Kason	1	862		7	29
1501	Fri.	March	19	29	18	25	12	Mon.	Tagu	11	863		8	
1502	Tues.		8	30	0	37	48	Wed.		23	864		9	
1503	Sat.	Feb.	25	30	6	50	24	Thur.	Kason	5	865		10	30
1504	Sat.	March	16	29	13	3	0	Fri.	Tagu	14	866		11	
1505	Wed.		5	29	19	15	36	Sat.		25	867		12	
1506	Sun.	Feb.	22	30	1	28	12	Mon.	Kason	8	868		13	29
1507	Sat.	March	13	30	7	40	48	Tues.	Tagu	18	869		14	
1508	Wed.		1	29	13	53	24	Wed.		29	870		15	30
1509	Wed.		21	29	20	6	0	Thur.		9	871		16	
1510	Sun.		10	30	2	18	36	Sat.		21	872		17	
1511	Thur.	Feb.	27	30	8	31	12	Sun.	Kason	3	873		18	29
1512	Wed.	March	17	29	14	43	48	Mon.	Tagu	13	874	46	0	
1513	Sun.		6	29	20	56	24	Tues.		24	875		1	
1514	Thur.	Feb.	23	30	3	9	0	Thur.	Kason	7	876		2	30
1515	Thur.	March	15	30	9	21	36	Fri.	Tagu	16	877		3	
1516	Mon.		3	29	15	34	12	Sat.		27	878		4	
1517	Fri.	Feb.	20	29	21	46	48	Sun.	Kason	9	879		5	29
1518	Thur.	March	11	30	3	59	24	Tues.	Tagu	20	880		6	
1519	Mon.	Feb.	28	30	10	12	0	Wed.	Kason	2	881		7	30
1520	Mon.	March	19	29	16	24	36	Thur.	Tagu	11	882		8	
1521	Fri.		8	29	22	37	12	Fri.		22	883		9	
1522	Tues.	Feb.	25	30	4	49	48	Sun.	Kason	5	884		10	29
1523	Mon.	March	16	30	11	2	24	Mon.	Tagu	15	885		11	
1524	Fri.		4	29	17	15	0	Tues.		26	886		12	
1525	Tues.	Feb.	21	29	23	27	36	Wed.	Kason	8	887		13	30
1526	Tues.	March	13	30	5	40	12	Fri.	Tagu	18	888		14	
1527	Sat.		2	30	11	52	48	Sat.		29	889		15	29
1528	Fri.		20	29	18	5	24	Sun.		10	890		16	
1529	Tues.		9	30	0	18	0	Tues.		22	891		17	
1530	Sat.	Feb.	26	30	6	30	36	Wed.	Kason	4	892		18	30
1531	Sat.	March	18	30	12	43	12	Thur.	Tagu	13	893	47	0	
1532	Wed.		6	29	18	55	48	Fri.		24	894		1	
1533	Sun.	Feb.	23	30	1	8	24	Sun.	Kason	7	895		2	30
1534	Sun.	March	15	30	7	21	0	Mon.	Tagu	16	896		3	
1535	Thur.		4	30	13	33	36	Tues.		27	897		4	
1536	Mon.	Feb.	21	29	19	46	12	Wed.	Kason	9	898		5	29
1537	Sun.	March	11	30	1	58	48	Fri.	Tagu	20	899		6	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
1538	Thur.	Feb.	28	March 30	8	11	24	Sat.	Kason	2	900	47	7	29
1539	Wed.	March	19	30	14	24	0	Sun.	Tagu	12	901		8	
1540	Sun.		7	29	20	36	36	Mon.		23	902		9	
1541	Thur.	Feb.	24	30	2	49	12	Wed.	Kason	6	903		10	30
1542	Thur.	March	16	30	9	1	48	Thur.	Tagu	15	904		11	
1543	Mon.		5	30	15	14	24	Fri.		26	905		12	
1544	Fri.	Feb.	22	29	21	27	0	Sat.	Kason	8	906		13	30
1545	Fri.	March	13	30	3	39	36	Mon.	Tagu	18	907		14	
1546	Tues.		2	30	9	52	12	Tues.		29	908		15	29
1547	Mon.		21	30	16	4	48	Wed.		10	909		16	
1548	Fri.		9	29	22	17	24	Thur.		21	910		17	
1549	Tues.	Feb.	26	30	4	30	0	Sat.	Kason	4	911		18	30
1550	Tues.	March	18	30	10	42	36	Sun.	Tagu	13	912	48	0	
1551	Sat.		7	30	16	55	12	Mon.		24	913		1	
1552	Wed.	Feb.	24	29	23	7	48	Tues.	Kason	6	914		2	29
1553	Tues.	March	14	30	5	20	24	Thur.	Tagu	17	915		3	
1554	Sat.		3	30	11	33	0	Fri.		28	916		4	
1555	Wed.	Feb.	20	30	17	45	36	Sat.	Kason	10	917		5	30
1556	Wed.	March	11	29	23	58	12	Sun.	Tagu	19	918		6	
1557	Sun.	Feb.	28	30	6	10	48	Tues.	Kason	2	919		7	29
1558	Sat.	March	19	30	12	23	24	Wed.	Tagu	12	920		8	
1559	Wed.		8	30	18	36	0	Thur.		23	921		9	
1560	Sun.	Feb.	25	30	0	48	36	Sat.	Kason	6	922		10	30
1561	Sun.	March	16	30	7	1	12	Sun.	Tagu	15	923		11	
1562	Thur.		5	30	13	13	48	Mon.		26	924		12	
1563	Mon.	Feb.	22	30	19	26	24	Tues.	Kason	8	925		13	29
1564	Sun.	March	12	30	1	39	0	Thur.	Tagu	19	926		14	
1565	Thur.		1	30	7	51	36	Fri.	Kason	1	927		15	30
1566	Thur.		21	30	14	4	12	Sat.	Tagu	10	928		16	
1567	Mon.		10	30	20	16	48	Sun.		21	929		17	
1568	Fri.	Feb.	27	30	2	29	24	Tues	Kason	4	930		18	29
1569	Thur.	March	17	30	8	42	0	Wed	Tagu	14	931	49	0	
1570	Mon.		6	30	14	54	36	Thur.		25	932		1	
1571	Fri.	Feb.	23	30	21	7	12	Fri.	Kason	7	933		2	30
1572	Fri.	March	14	30	3	19	48	Sun.	Tagu	17	934		3	
1573	Tues.		3	30	9	32	24	Mon.		28	935		4	
1574	Sat.	Feb.	20	30	15	45	0	Tues.	Kason	10	936		5	30
1575	Sat.	March	12	30	21	57	36	Wed.	Tagu	19	937		6	
1576	Wed.	Feb.	29	30	4	10	12	Fri.	Kason	2	938		7	29
1577	Tues.	March	19	30	10	22	48	Sat.	Tagu	12	939		8	
1578	Sat.		8	30	16	35	24	Sun.		23	940		9	
1579	Wed.	Feb.	25	30	22	48	0	Mon.	Kason	5	941		10	29
1580	Tues.	March	15	30	5	0	36	Wed.	Tagu	16	942		11	
1581	Sat.		4	30	11	13	12	Thur.		27	943		12	
1582	Wed.	Feb.	21	30	17	25	48	Fri.	Kason	9	944		13	30

A. D.	Tagu Waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
1583	Wed.	March	13	March 30	23	38	24	Sat.	Tagu	18	945	49	14	
1584	Sun.		1	30	5	51	0	Mon.	Kason	1	946		15	29
1585	Sat.		20	30	12	3	36	Tues.	Tagu	11	947		16	
1586	Wed.		9	30	18	16	12	Wed.		22	948		17	
1587	Sun.	Feb.	26	31	0	28	48	Fri.	Kason	5	949		18	30
1588	Sun.	March	17	30	6	41	24	Sat.	Tagu	14	950	50	0	
1589	Thur.		6	30	12	54	0	Sun.		25	951		1	
1590	Mon.	Feb.	23	30	19	6	36	Mon.	Kason	7	952		2	30
1591	Mon.	March	15	31	1	19	12	Wed.	Tagu	17	953		3	
1592	Fri.		3	30	7	31	48	Thur.		28	954		4	
1593	Tues.	Feb.	20	30	13	44	24	Fri.	Kason	10	955		5	29
1594	Mon.	March	11	30	19	57	0	Sat.	Tagu	20	956		6	
1595	Fri.	Feb.	28	31	2	9	36	Mon.	Kason	3	957		7	29
1596	Thur.	March	18	30	8	22	12	Tues.	Tagu	13	958		8	
1597	Mon.		7	30	14	34	48	Wed.		24	959		9	
1598	Fri.	Feb.	24	30	20	47	24	Thur.	Kason	6	960		10	30
1599	Fri.	March	16	31	3	0	0	Sat.	Tagu	16	961		11	
1600	Tues.		4	30	9	12	36	Sun.		27	962		12	
1601	Sat.	Feb.	21	30	15	25	12	Mon.	Kason	9	963		13	30
1602	Sat.	March	13	30	21	37	48	Tues.	Tagu	18	964		14	
1603	Wed.		2	31	3	50	24	Thur.	Kason	1	965		15	29
1604	Tues.		20	30	10	3	0	Fri.	Tagu	11	966		16	
1605	Sat.		9	30	16	15	36	Sat.		22	967		17	
1606	Wed.	Feb.	26	30	22	28	12	Sun.	Kason	4	968		18	30
1607	Wed.	March	18	31	4	40	48	Tues.	Tagu	14	969	51	0	
1608	Sun.		6	30	10	53	24	Wed.		25	970		1	
1609	Thur.	Feb.	23	30	17	6	0	Thur.	Kason	7	971		2	29
1610	Wed.	March	14	30	23	18	36	Fri.	Tagu	17	972		3	
1611	Sun.		3	31	5	31	12	Sun.		29	973		4	
1612	Thur.	Feb.	20	30	11	43	48	Mon.	Kason	11	974		5	30
1613	Thur.	March	11	30	17	56	24	Tues.	Tagu	20	975		6	
1614	Mon.	Feb.	28	31	0	9	0	Thur.	Kason	3	976		7	29
1615	Sun.	March	19	31	6	21	36	Fri.	Tagu	13	977		8	
1616	Thur.		7	30	12	34	12	Sat.		24	978		9	
1617	Mon.	Feb.	24	30	18	46	48	Sun.	Kason	6	979		10	30
1618	Mon.	March	16	31	0	59	24	Tues.	Tagu	16	980		11	
1619	Fri.		5	31	7	12	0	Wed.		27	981		12	
1620	Tues.	Feb.	22	30	13	24	32	Thur.	Kason	9	982		13	29
1621	Mon.	March	12	30	19	37	16	Fri.	Tagu	19	983		14	
1622	Fri.		1	31	1	49	48	Sun.	Kason	2	984		15	30
1623	Fri.		21	31	8	2	24	Mon.	Tagu	11	985		16	
1624	Tues.		9	30	14	15	0	Tues.		22	986		17	
1625	Sat.	Feb.	26	30	20	27	36	Wed.	Kason	4	987		18	29
1626	Fri.	March	17	31	2	40	12	Fri.	Tagu	15	988	52	0	
1627	Tues.		6	31	8	52	48	Sat.		26	989		1	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st. Week-day.	Month.	Day	Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet). Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.	B. E. New Year.	Expired Cycles.	Expired Years.	Days in Nayon.
1628	Sat.	Feb.	23	March 30	15	5	24	Sun.	Kason	8	990	52	2	30
1629	Sat.	March	14	30	21	18	0	Mon.	Tagu	17	991		3	
1630	Wed.		3	31	3	30	36	Wed.		29	992		4	
1631	Sun.	Feb.	20	31	9	43	12	Thur.	Kason	11	993		5	30
1632	Sun.	March	11	30	15	55	48	Fri.	Tagu	20	994		6	
1633	Thur.	Feb.	28	30	22	8	24	Sat.	Kason	2	995		7	29
1634	Wed.	March	19	31	4	21	0	Mon.	Tagu	13	996		8	
1635	Sun.		8	31	10	33	36	Tues.		24	997		9	
1636	Thur.	Feb.	25	30	16	46	12	Wed.	Kason	6	998		10	29
1637	Wed.	March	15	30	22	58	48	Thur.	Tagu	16	999		11	
1638	Sun.		4	31	5	11	24	Sat.		28	1000		12	
1639	Thur.	Feb.	21	31	11	24	0	Sun.	Kason	10	1001		13	30
1640	Thur.	March	12	30	17	36	36	Mon.	Tagu	19	1002		14	
1641	Mon.		1	30	23	49	12	Tues.	Kason	1	1003		15	29
1642	Sun.		20	31	6	1	48	Thur.	Tagu	12	1004		16	
1643	Thur		9	31	12	14	24	Fri.		23	1005		17	
1644	Mon.	Feb.	26	30	18	27	0	Sat.	Kason	5	1006		18	30
1645	Mon.	March	17	31	0	39	36	Mon.	Tagu	15	1007	53	0	
1646	Fri.		6	31	6	52	12	Tues.		26	1008		1	
1647	Tues.	Feb.	23	31	13	4	48	Wed.	Kason	8	1009		2	30
1648	Tues.	March	14	30	19	17	24	Thur.	Tagu	17	1010		3	
1649	Sat.		3	31	1	30	0	Sat.		29	1011		4	
1650	Wed.	Feb.	20	31	7	42	36	Sun.	Kason	11	1012		5	29
1651	Tues.	March	11	31	13	55	12	Mon.	Tagu	21	1013		6	
1652	Sat.	Feb.	28	30	20	7	48	Tues.	Kason	3	1014		7	30
1653	Sat.	March	19	31	2	20	24	Thur.	Tagu	13	1015		8	
1654	Wed.		8	31	8	33	0	Fri.		24	1016		9	
1655	Sun.	Feb.	25	31	14	45	36	Sat.	Kason	6	1017		10	29
1656	Sat.	March	15	30	20	58	12	Sun.	Tagu	16	1018		11	
1657	Wed.		4	31	3	10	48	Tues.		28	1019		12	
1658	Sun.	Feb.	21	31	9	23	24	Wed.	Kason	10	1020		13	30
1659	Sun.	March	13	31	15	36	0	Thur.	Tagu	19	1021		14	
1660	Thur.		1	30	21	48	36	Fri.	Kason	1	1022		15	29
1661	Wed.		20	31	4	1	12	Sun.	Tagu	12	1023		16	
1662	Sun.		9	31	10	13	48	Mon.		23	1024		17	
1663	Thur.	Feb.	26	31	16	26	24	Tues.	Kason	5	1025		18	30
1664	Thur.	March	17	30	22	39	0	Wed.	Tagu	14	1026	54	0	
1665	Mon.		6	31	4	51	36	Fri.		26	1027		1	
1666	Fri.	Feb.	23	31	11	4	12	Sat.	Kason	8	1028		2	29
1667	Thur.	March	14	31	17	16	48	Sun.	Tagu	18	1029		3	
1668	Mon.		2	30	23	29	24	Mon.		29	1030		4	
1669	Fri.	Feb.	19	31	5	42	0	Wed.	Kason	12	1031		5	30
1670	Fri.	March	11	31	11	54	36	Thur.	Tagu	21	1032		6	
1671	Tues.	Feb.	28	31	18	7	12	Fri.	Kason	3	1033		7	29
1672	Mon.	March	18	31	0	19	48	Sun.	Tagu	14	1034		8	

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon.
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
1673	Fri.	March	7	March 31	6	32	24	Mon.	Tagu	25	1035	54	9	
1674	Tues.	Feb.	24	31	12	45	0	Tues.	Kason	7	1036		10	30
1675	Tues.	March	16	31	18	57	36	Wed.	Tagu	16	1037		11	
1676	Sat.		4	31	1	10	12	Fri.		28	1038		12	
1677	Wed.	Feb.	21	31	7	22	48	Sat.	Kason	10	1039		13	29
1678	Tues.	March	12	31	13	35	24	Sun.	Tagu	20	1040		14	
1679	Sat.		1	31	19	48	0	Mon.	Kason	2	1041		15	30
1680	Sat.		20	31	2	0	36	Wed.	Tagu	12	1042		16	
1681	Wed.		9	31	8	13	12	Thur.		23	1043		17	
1682	Sun.	Feb.	26	31	14	25	48	Fri.	Kason	5	1044		18	29
1683	Sat.	March	17	31	20	38	24	Sat.	Tagu	15	1045	55	0	
1684	Wed.		5	31	2	51	0	Mon.		27	1046		1	
1685	Sun.	Feb.	22	31	9	3	36	Tues.	Kason	9	1047		2	30
1686	Sun.	March	14	31	15	16	12	Wed.	Tagu	18	1048		3	
1687	Thur.		3	31	21	28	48	Thur.		29	1049		4	
1688	Mon.	Feb.	20	31	3	41	24	Sat.	Kason	12	1050		5	30
1689	Mon.	March	11	31	9	54	0	Sun.	Tagu	21	1051		6	
1690	Fri.	Feb.	28	31	16	6	36	Mon.	Kason	3	1052		7	29
1691	Thur.	March	19	31	22	19	12	Tues.	Tagu	13	1053		8	
1692	Mon.		7	31	4	31	48	Thur.		25	1054		9	
1693	Fri.	Feb.	24	31	10	44	24	Fri.	Kason	7	1055		10	30
1694	Fri.	March	16	31	16	57	0	Sat.	Tagu	16	1056		11	
1695	Tues.		5	31	23	9	36	Sun.		27	1057		12	
1696	Sat.	Feb.	22	31	5	22	12	Tues.	Kason	10	1058		13	29
1697	Fri.	March	12	31	11	34	48	Wed.	Tagu	20	1059		14	
1698	Tues.		1	31	17	47	24	Thur.	Kason	2	1060		15	29
1699	Mon.		20	April 1	0	0	0	Sat.	Tagu	13	1061		16	
1700	Fri.		8	March 31	6	12	36	Sun.		24	1062		17	
1701	Tues.	Feb.	25	31	12	25	12	Mon.	Kason	6	1063		18	30
1702	Tues	March	17	31	18	37	48	Tues.	Tagu	15	1064	56	0	
1703	Sat.		6	April 1	0	50	24	Thur.		27	1065		1	
1704	Wed.	Feb.	23	March 31	7	3	0	Fri.	Kason	9	1066		2	30
1705	Wed.	March	14	31	13	15	36	Sat.	Tagu	18	1067		3	
1706	Sun.		3	31	19	28	12	Sun.		29	1068		4	
1707	Thur.	Feb.	20	April 1	1	40	48	Tues.	Kason	12	1069		5	29
1708	Wed.	March	10	March 31	7	53	24	Wed.	Tagu	22	1070		6	
1709	Sun.	Feb.	27	31	14	6	0	Thur.	Kason	4	1071		7	30
1710	Sun.	March	19	31	20	18	36	Fri.	Tagu	13	1072		8	
1711	Thur.		8	April 1	2	31	12	Sun.		25	1073		9	
1712	Mon.	Feb.	25	March 31	8	43	48	Mon.	Kason	7	1074		10	29
1713	Sun.	March	15	31	14	56	24	Tues.	Tagu	17	1075		11	
1714	Thur.		4	31	21	9	0	Wed.		28	1076		12	
1715	Mon.	Feb.	21	April 1	3	21	36	Fri.	Kason	11	1077		13	30
1716	Mon.	March	12	March 31	9	34	12	Sat.	Tagu	20	1078		14	
1717	Fri.		1	31	15	46	48	Sun.	Kason	2	1079		15	29

A. D.	Tagu waxing 1st.			Solar New Year (Thingyan Tet).							B. E. New Year.	Expired		Days in Nayon
	Week-day.	Month.	Day.	Julian date.	H.	M	S.	Week-day.	Burmese Month.	Burmese Day.		Cycles.	Years.	
1718	Thur.	March	20	March 31	21	59	24	Mon.	Tagu	12	1080	56	16	
1719	Mon.		9	April 1	4	12	0	Wed.		24	1081		17	
1720	Fri.	Feb.	26	March 31	10	24	36	Thur.	Kason	6	1082		18	30
1721	Fri.	March	17	31	16	37	12	Fri.	Tagu	15	1083	57	0	
1722	Tues.		6	31	22	49	48	Sat.		26	1084		1	
1723	Sat.	Feb.	23	April 1	5	2	24	Mon.	Kason	9	1085		2	29
1724	Fri.	March	13	March 31	11	15	0	Tues.	Tagu	19	1086		3	
1725	Tues.		2	31	17	27	36	Wed.	Kason	1	1087		4	
1726	Sat.	Feb.	19	31	23	40	12	Thur.		12	1088		5	30
1727	Sat.	March	11	April 1	5	52	48	Sat.	Tagu	22	1089		6	
1728	Wed.	Feb.	28	March 31	12	5	24	Sun.	Kason	4	1090		7	29
1729	Tues.	March	18	31	18	18	0	Mon.	Tagu	14	1091		8	
1730	Sat.		7	April 1	0	30	36	Wed.		26	1092		9	
1731	Wed.	Feb.	24	1	6	43	12	Thur.	Kason	8	1093		10	30
1732	Wed.	March	15	March 31	12	55	48	Fri.	Tagu	17	1094		11	
1733	Sun.		4	31	19	8	24	Sat.		28	1095		12	
1734	Thur.	Feb.	21	April 1	1	21	0	Mon.	Kason	11	1096		13	30
1735	Thur.	March	13	1	7	33	36	Tues.	Tagu	20	1097		14	
1736	Mon.		1	March 31	13	46	12	Wed.	Kason	2	1098		15	29
1737	Sun.		20	31	19	58	48	Thur.	Tagu	12	1099		16	
1738	Thur.		9	April 1	2	11	24	Sat.		24	1100		17	
1739	Mon.	Feb.	26	1	10	28	12	Sun.	Kason	6	1101		18	30
1740	Mon.	March	17	March 31	16	40	48	Mon.	Tagu	15	1102	58	0	
1741	Fri.		6	31	22	53	24	Tues.		26	1103		1	
1742	Tues.	Feb.	23	April 1	5	6	0	Thur.	Kason	9	1104		2	29
1743	Mon.	March	14	1	11	18	36	Fri.	Tagu	19	1105		3	
1744	Fri.		2	March 31	17	31	12	Sat.	Kason	1	1106		4	
1745	Tues.	Feb.	19	31	23	43	48	Sun.		12	1107		5	30
1746	Tues.	March	11	April 1	5	56	24	Tues.	Tagu	22	1108		6	
1747	Sat.	Feb.	28	1	12	9	0	Wed.	Kason	4	1109		7	29
1748	Fri.	March	18	March 31	18	21	36	Thur.	Tagu	14	1110		8	
1749	Tues.		7	April 1	0	34	12	Sat.		26	1111		9	
1750	Sat.	Feb.	24	1	6	46	48	Sun.	Kason	8	1112		10	30
1751	Sat.	March	16	1	12	59	24	Mon.	Tagu	17	1113		11	
1752	Wed.		4	March 31	19	12	0	Tues.		28	1114		12	

THE NAVARATNA-MALA OR THE NINE-GEMMED GARLAND OF PILLAI LOKACHARYA.

Translated from the Tamil original.

BY ALKONDAVILLI GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN, C.E., M.R.A S.

THE view, the Suppliant (śaraṇâ-'gata) or the God-resigned is to take, of

1. Himself (Âtman)
2. His body (Dêha)
3. His kin (Bandhu)
4. The Worldlings (Saṁsârins)
5. The Godlings (Devatâ-'ntaras)
6. The Godly (Śrî-vaiṣṇavas)
7. The Spiritual Guide (Âchârya)
8. The Spiritual Mother (Śrî)
9. The Spiritual Lord (Îśvara)

is as described hereinafter :—

1. Himself or the Soul is an entity distinct from the body ;—eternal ;—subtile in its own kind (*aṇu*) ;—determined by consciousness (*jñâna*) and bliss (*ânanda*) ;—the seat of consciousness (*jñâna*) and bliss (*ânanda*) ;—naturally kin to the Lord to the exclusion of all other thought or utterance ;—not master of its destiny, but having the Lord alone as Goal.

2. The Body—his (or its) foe—is a congeries of Twenty-four (material) categories ;—the generator of illusion ;—ephemeral—constantly changing ;—the root of endless pain and never the haven of knowledge ;—and even tempting the soul to fall into the five-fold worldly snares consisting of sound, touch, sight, taste, and smell.

3. The kin (or those who gather round his body) are those who destroy Soul-knowledge, God-knowledge, God-love and God-yearning ; but on the other hand, they foster body-love, the I-ness and My-ness, the lusts and hates and, crowded round to one's side by the agency of sin, compass ruin (or damnation).

4. The Worldlings are those who obstruct the love and service of the Lord, and encourage wanderings (in material realms).

5. The Godlings are those subordinate or minor lords who oppose the One Supreme Lord, albeit their genesis from Him, albeit their own little knowledge and little power, and albeit their high estate, enjoyed by His sufferance ;—those who delude humanity by leading them to disaster.

6. The Godly are those who prosper God-knowledge and God-love and loathing for all that is not God,—masters and companions,—and the final reach (of ambition).

7. The Spiritual Guide is he, who has vouchsafed to correct (the erring), and make (him) fit for acceptance by the All-Lord, and has brought (him, the erring) to His Feet, and giving (him) the light of knowledge, not known (before), stands (to him) as the master and benefactor, planting (him) in (Divine) Service.

8. The Spiritual Mother is she who pardons all faults (of sinners) and, constraining the free play of the Lord's independence, renders possible the free play of His Graces such as mercy and compassion,—stands between Him and souls as the Mediatrix,—the Mother, the Mistress and the Goal.

9. The Spiritual Lord (or Father) is He, who at the time of Creation, equips (souls) with bodies and senses,—indwells (in them) as the Support of life,[1]—engenders (in them) the soul-ish qualities of non-hate, love for the Lord, and holy association,—leads (them) to the Spiritual Guide,—overlooks all faults—relieves (them) from the world of changes (*saṁsâra*),—grants (them) the Path of Light (*archirâdi*), the Highest State (*parama-pada*) and the joy of loving and serving Him, the Supreme Master, for ever and ever.

[1] *Sattâ-' haraka.*

THE PRAPANNA-PARITRANA, OR THE REFUGE OF THE REFUGEE, OF PILLAI LOKACHARYA.

Translated from the Tamil original.

BY ALKONDAVILLI GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN, C.E., M.R.A.S.

THE aspirant for release (moksha), who solely leans upon the All-Lord, must posses the two-fold qualifications of:—

1. Resortlessness (Ananya-gatitva).
2. Waylessness (Âkiñchanyatva).

1. **Resortlessness** means that attitude of the refugee (or aspirant) which makes him to rely as his Protector on no other than the Universal Lord Himself (Sarvê-'śvara), according to the text: 'Relieve me or not of distress, I have no other resort[1].'

It may be argued however, why may not brothers, sons, mother, father, Brahmâ, Rudra and others be protectors? This argument is met by the answer that (in the Sacred History) it is discovered that:—

(*a*) Brothers cannot be protectors, taking the examples of Vâli[2] and Râvaṇa[3].

(*b*) Sons cannot be so, from examples of Rudra[4] and Kaṁsa[5].

(*c*) Mother cannot be so, from the example of Kaikêyî[6].

(*d*) Father cannot be, from the example of Hiraṇya[7].

(*e*) Husbands cannot be, from the examples of the Dharma-putra-brothers[8] and Naḷa[9].

(*f*) Sun, Moon, etc., cannot be.

(*g*) Indra, Brahmâ and Rudra, cannot be.

(*h*) Wealth or Riches, cannot be.

Some of the foregoing incidents are expanded for the instruction of the novices. Thus:—

(*c*) and (*d*) Mothers and Fathers often neglect their children, thinking they are inimical to their youth[10]; cast them into pits, unobserved, in times of famine; sometimes sell them; part from them in times of distress, and oft oppose and kill them for the sake of wealth and acres.

(*b*) The sons retaliate upon the parents, and when the latter are on their death-bed, besiege their beds with demands as to where they might have hidden their property, in the manner of the verse:—

"If thou art becoming forgetful, let us know where thou hast hidden thy wealth"[11] and thus at the hour of death prevent the dying from remembering God, the Lord—, and thereby reaching the Shore (of their pilgrimage). Thus do they harass and finish their parents.

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1 "*Kaḷaivây lunbam kaḷaiyâd-ozhivây kaḷai kaṇ maittilên*" (St. Nammâzhvâr's *Tiruvây-mozhi*. V. 8. 8.).

2 This is the story between the fighting brothers, Vâli and Sugrîva (*Râmâyana*).

3 This again is the story of enmity between the brothers Râvaṇa and Vibhîshaṇa (*Râmâyaṇa*).

4 This is the story of Rudra, the son, wrenching the head of his father Brahmâ.

5 This is the story with reference to Kaṁsa usurping the throne of his father, Ugrasêna.

6 This is with reference to Râma's betaking to the woods through his stepmother Kaikêyî (*Râmâyana*).

7 This is the reference to Prahlâda persecuted by his father Hiraṇya-Kaśipu (*Vishṇu-Purâṇa*).

8 This is referring to the Five Sons of Pâṇḍu unable to help their wife Draupadî in her hour of disgrace (*Mahâ-Bhârata*).

9 This is again the story of Naḷa neglecting his wife Damayantî—in the wilds (*Mahâ-Bhârata*).

10 For example, mothers not suckling their infants, and otherwise entrusting their holy charges to the care of outsiders who cannot love the children.

11 "*Sôrvinâl poruḷ-vaittad-uṇḍagil śollu soll*' *eṉṟu śuttum iṟundu.*" (*Periy-Âzhvâr Tirumozhi* IV. 5. 3).

(*f*) But they may say: "Well and good so far, but may not celestial denizens like the Sun and Moon who are to us like our eyes, be our protectors?" This objection is met by the answer that these beings go round their determined orbits at determined velocities by the fiat of a Supreme Lord above them, and thus have their risings and settings in fixed order. And more, they are sometimes known to be vanquished by such mighty Asuras as Hiraṇya and Râvaṇa, and compelled to do for them all sorts of menial services.

(*g*) But what about (the demi-gods such as) Indra, Brahmâ and Rudra? an objector may ask. The answer is:—It is too true that Indra is the Ruler of the Three Regions[12], and yet it is too well-known how he is in constant fear of losing this high estate. He is often curse-stricken[13], pays the penalty, by suffering for Brahmicide[14], is bound as a captive by Indrajit[15] and allows his sway to get into the hands of such beings as Mahâ-bali[16]. Such then is Indra, weeping and crawling in the dust!

Brahmâ (the four-faced demiurge—the Lord of the Brahmâṇḍa) is no better (than Indra); for he is assailed by such evil genii as Madhu and Kaitabha, and is deprived of his Vêdas which to him are his 'eyes and treasure.' And his head he allows to be ripped by Rudra (his own son).

Nor again is Rudra any the better. For he is to begin with, the Destroyer *par excellence* (how can he then protect?). Water is wished for by the thirsty, but Rudra of the fire-colour offers himself to such thirsty (worshippers of his) as fire! He exacts horrid offerings from his devotees by saying: "Kill for me, roast for me[17]." Bâṇâ-'sura was his votary—so much so that Rudra pledged himself to guard him so that even 'the flower he wore on his head should not fade.' But when Kṛshṇa was hacking Bâṇa's (one thousand) arms as if they were so many cactus-stems, the boasted guardian Rudra shut his eyes and slipped away from his ward, uttering: "If life is spared, I can live by selling salt." Again he, a sinner, cut the throat of Brahmâ, the Guide of the worlds, his own father; and wandered about after such acts of treason in his own house, with the skull of his victim (father) fast clinging to his hand, from door to door, in search of a Saviour[18].

(*h*) Can wealth save a man then? No. For it is subject to be stolen by thieves, bartered away for lust, seized by kings, mulcted by kith and kin, chased by illness, breeds enmity and war—and men for its sake poison themselves and die.

Hence, the All-God (Nârâyaṇa) alone is the True Resort or Protector inasmuch as He stands by us when parents and all have deserted. He is the true Nurse of the soul from the beginning. He incarnates for us and thus stands like a mother in visible presence, speaking to us like her in sweet endearing accents. He takes upon Himelf the duties of a Carrier, when brothers and husbands stand aloof. He guides the chariot (of his votary) in the thick of raging battle, breasts the falling arrows, saves from death and gives life to the dead. All this He does by virtue of His being Nârâyaṇa (or He who is *in* and *over* all), the Life of life, Soul of soul, abiding in the core of all things[19]. Only He can be the Resort and none else. This is the attitude of the refugee known as **Resortlessness**, for he is destitute of all Resorts save Him—the High Lord.

2. Now what is **Waylessness**? It is the attitude of the refugee (or aspirant) which makes him resign all the several ways, indicated in the Śâstras, leading to the Highest Goal he has in view; and by virtue of such resignation alone, and by virtue of his sole leaning on the Lord, considering

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[12] The *Bhû* (lower), *Bhuvar* (middle) and *Svar* (upper) worlds.

[13] This is with reference to the curse of Durvâsas (*Vishṇu-Purâṇa*).

[14] Refers to Vṛtra killed by Indra (*Śrîmad-Bhâgavata*).

[15] See *Râmâyaṇa*.

[16] See *Śrî-Bhâgavata*.

[17] Read Sirutondar's legend in the Śaiva books.

[18] See *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* and *Mâtsya*, p. 183, v. 87 to 100 [*Ânandâsrama* Series].

[19] See *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, *Mahâ-Bhârata* and *Śrî-Bhâgavata* for the story of Kṛshṇa and other Avatâras.

his nature (or soul-nature) made perfect, *i.e.*, realised. These several ways are *karma*, *jñâna* and *bhakti*[20]. In this attitude of perfect resignation he recognizes that it is not he who is the fashioner of his destiny, but He the Lord alone. This is named **Waylessness**, for the refugee is bereft of all other Ways save The Way—the High Lord.

Thus **Resortlessness** and **Waylessness** mean in other words that the Lord Nârâyaṇa alone is the True and Only Goal (*upêya*) and Way (*upâya*). The refugee in such a frame of mind feels that he is disburdened, or rather relieved of all burden. When the time comes for ending the body (with which the soul is mating), and the Goal is near, the Lord Himself deigns to come, as said in the verse: "I lead him[21]"—comes as the most willing Servitor of his refugee, escorts him along the 'Path of Light or Glory' known as *archir-âdi*,[22] and in the Spiritual Regions known as *parama-pada*, unites him with the blessed bands of *nityas* and *muktas*,[23] thus ordained in Divine Service for ever and ever.

Note.—**Resortlessness** is the *positive* attitude of the soul, and **Waylessness** is the *negative*. The soul empties itself as it were of itself (*negative*) and fills in the same with God (*positive*). These two joined together produce the required effect, *viz.*, eternal salvation, which is no other, according to the Bhâgavata Religion, than Eternal Disinterested Divine Service.

A NOTE ON THE NAME "VASUDEVA."

BY ALKONDAVILLI GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN, C.E., M.R.A.S.

THIS word has two meanings: (i) He who is resident everywhere, and (ii) the Son of Vasudêva. The first meaning is connected with the word wherever it happens in the *Vêdas*, *Smṛtis*, *Itihâsas*[1] and *Purâṇas*, and with the Holy twelve-syllable Mantra of the *Bhagavat-Śastra* or the *Pâñcha-râtra*. As illustrations of this position, one may read :—

(1) *Îśâ-'vâsyô-'panishad*—the term *vâsya*[1].

(2) The *Taittirîyô-'panishad*—Vishṇu-gâyatri, *viz.*, "Narâyaṇâya vidmahê, *Vâsudêvâya*, dhîmahi, tan nô Vishṇuḥ prachôdayât."

(3) The many minor *Upanishads* where the term occurs, and the *Pâñcha-râtras*.

(4) The explanation of the term given in the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*: (*a*) confirming its universal sense in V. 17, 15: '*Vâsudêvaś* cha sâtvatâiḥ' (here *sâtvata* meaning *Pâñcha-râtra*), and confirming the *Pâñcha-râtra* also indirectly; and (*b*) entering into an explanation of its meaning in VI. 5, 79:—

"Sarvâṇi tatra bhûtâni
vasanti paramâ-'tmani ।
bhûtêshu cha sa sarvâ-'tmâ
Vâsudêvas tatas smṛitaḥ" ||[2]

and

(5) The *Bhagavad-gîtâ* itself, where the real son of Vasudêva (second meaning of the word) *viz.*, Śrî Kṛishṇa, declares its universal sense in the verse:—

"*Vâsudêvas* sarvam iti
Sa mahâtmâ su-durlabhaḥ." (vii—19).

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[20] See *J. R. A. S.* for July, 1910, *Artha-Pañchaka*.

[21] These are two verses called the *Varâha-charama*, one beginning with: "*sthite manasi su-svasthê śarîrê*" and "*tatas tam mriyamâṇam tam.*"

[22] See *Chhândôgya* and other *Upanishads* and *Bh. Gîtâ*, viii, 24 ff.

[23] See *J. R. A. S.*, July, 1910, *Ârtha-pañchaka*.

[1] Also read:—"*Vishṇum krātam* VASUDEVAM *vijânan vipro vipratvam âpnuyāt tatva darśî.*"

[2] Cp. *Sahasra-nâma-bhâshya* (name 334) and *M. Bh. Moksha*. 166:—
Chhâdayâmi jagat sarvam, bhûtvâ sûrya ivâ 'ṁśûbhiḥ ।
Sarva-bhûtâ-'dhivâsaś cha Vâsudêvas tatas smṛitaḥ ॥

These are the documents from which it may be inferred that Bhâgavatism or Vâsudêvism was not *founded by Krishṇa Vâsudêva*, as Dr. G. A. Grierson says on page 3 of his 'Nârâyaṇîya and the Bhâgavatas' (*Indian Antiquary*, 1908)[3]; but it may be safely said that Kṛishṇa Vâsudêva was most decidedly a propagator or promulgator[4] of that religion.

In this same paper (*loc. cit.*) Dr. Grierson further says :—"Kṛishṇa Vâsudêva . . . . . . *must be identified* with the Kṛishṇa Dêvakîputra, mentioned as a disciple of Ghôra Âṅgiras in *Chhândôgyô-'panisad* III. 17, 6." Why should the two be identified? Is it because the disciple of Ghôra Âṅgiras happens to bear the matronymic Dêvakî-putra, *i. e.*, the son of Dêvakî, which Śrî Kṛishṇa also bore? But no identification should so hastily be established or conceived, simply from *similarity* of names. For such similarities are a legion in Indian literature, and much historical confusion is, therefore, likely to occur. Further, there is no vindication for this identification in view of the fact that Ghôra Âṅgiras is never mentioned as the Tutor of Kṛishṇa Dêvakî-putra (=Kṛishṇa Vâsudêva, by the bye) in any of the several treatises dealing with Śrî Kṛishṇa, for instance, *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, *Śrî-Bhâgavata*, *Mahâbhârata* or *Harivaṁśa*. Whereas, in all these treatises, Sândîpani is the real Tutor of Kṛishṇa Vâsudêva, who is also of course Kṛishṇa Dêvakî-putra. But the other Kṛishṇa Dêvakî-putra[5], who is the pupil of Ghôra Âṅgiras is quite a different personage altogether, is further made clear from Śrî Madhva's (=Pûrṇa-Prajña) *Bhâshya* on the Chhândôgya passage under discussion. This is what he writes there :—

"Sâkshât sa Bhagavân Vishṇuḥ ı
tan-nâmaikô munir hy abhût ||
Kṛishṇas tu Vâsudêvâ 'khyaḥ ı
Paramâ-tmaiva kevalam ||
tan-nâmâ Dêvakî-putras ı
tv anyô 'py abhavad añjasâ ||
Kapilô Vâsudêvâ 'khyaḥ ı
Sâkshâd Nârâyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ ||
tan-nâmâ Kapilô 'nyas tu ı
Śishya nâmnâ sahâ 'bhavat ||
Sa shoḍaśa-śataṁ jîvî ı
Mahidâsô paras tv ṛishiḥ ||
Ghôra-śishyas tathâ Kṛishṇaḥ ı
Kapilaś cha ku-sâstra-kṛit ||
traya êtê varaṁ prâpya ı
Brahmaṇaḥ paramêshṭhinaḥ ||
Kṛita-kṛityâḥ pra-mumuduḥ ı
tan-nâmânaś cha tê 'bhavan" || (*Kâlakîyê.*)

That the two Vâsudêvas are different is also evident from the verse :—"*Vâsudêva sutasya* pi'sthâpanom *Vâsudeva* vat" [*Pāñcharātra, Pādma*, III. 29, 28].

Hence, in the light of these remarks one needs be over-cautious before establishing identities between personages from mere similarity of names, particularly in Hindu literature.

[3] *Ante.* Vol. xxxvii, p. 253.

[4] "Vasudev âpatyatvê dvisaṭkâ-'dhyâtmam niyachhatî-'ti Vâsudêvaḥ" (*Sahasra-nâma-bhâṣya*, Name 714).

[5] *Devakî* also means *Brahma-vidyā*. Read : "Devakyām Brahma-vidyāyām" [*Bṛihad-Brahma-Saṁhitā*, II, 4, 176].

RELIGIOUS SONGS FROM NORTHERN INDIA.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE (LATE I.C.S.).

(*Continued from p. 287.*)

No. XXIV.

A Song sung at the investiture with the janeu (sacred thread).

Recorded by a teacher of the Village School of Talgrâm, District Farrukhâbâd.

Text.

1.

Lâo, merî âjî, satuâ, o das laṛuâ ; main to Kâshî Benares jaihoṅ, Ved paṛhî aihoṅ.
Kâheko, betâ, Benares jaiho, Ved paṛhi aiho ? Betâ, ghar hî meṅ vidyâmân : Ved paṛhî lîjô.

2.

Lâo, merî mâtâ, satuâ o das laṛuâ ; main to Kâshî Benares jaihoṅ, Ved paṛhî aihoṅ,
Kâheko, betâ, Benares jaiho, Ved parhî aiho ? ghar hî meṅ vidyâmân, Ved paṛhî lîjo.

Translation.

O my grand-mother, give me some parched and powdered barley and gram and ten *sers* of *laddû* (a sweetmeat) and I shall go to Benares and after reading the Vedas return home.

Why will you go my son, to Benares to read the Vedas ? My son, there is a learned man at home : read the Vedas with him.

[The second verse is a repetition of the first.]

Note by the Recorder.

This song reminds one of the ancient custom of Brâhmans, when they, after investiture with sacred thread, go to Benares to read the Vedas and return home, after becoming well versed in their ancient scriptures.

No. XXV.

A Hymn to Mahâdeva.

(*Sung at the Holî.*)

Recorded by a teacher of the School at Chhawarâ Mau Village, District Farrukhâbâd.

Text.

Khelat phâg Sadâsheo dânî, Shesh, Surêsh, sakhâ sang lînhe, shîsh Gang laptânî.
Parsat ang bhayo ang ang par, shobhit ṛaj laptânî.
Charan parain pawan o pânî.
Pârbatî kar kam kum lînhe haiṅ ai bartan tânî.
Paryo jâya ar mund mâl par, dauro gulâl asmânî.
Gaur hanske masukânî.
Gail chheṅk, chaṛh bail chhail ne, nar khojat Mahrânî.
Dwij Sheo Shankar, shakti kî apmâ Ved Purân bakhânî.
Manorath deyaṅ man mâni.

Translation.

The charitable, eternal Sheo played *phâg* with Shesh (Snake-god) and Surêsh (Indra) and the Ganges stuck to his body.

By touching him one smears the body with red powder, and brilliant ashes stick to every member of the body.

On the feet water and air throw themselves.

Pârbatî had a vessel full of red water and stretched out her hand for it.

Then red water fell on the garland of skulls around the neck of Mahâdeva and then the red powder of the heavens ran towards him.

Then Gaurâ (Pârbatî) laughed at the curious sight.

The husband of the great queen (Pârbatî) mounted on an ox has blocked the way and is in search of a man to do a favour to.

(The Brâhman) Shankar says that the power of the two, Mahâdeva and Pârbatî, has been sung by Vedas and Purânâs.

He gives to mankind to their entire satisfaction.

No. XXVI.

An Ahîr Hymn to Birhâ.

Sung by Niranjan Ahîr of Mahonâ Village, District Jaunpur.

Recorded by Ram Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Nâ Birhâ ke mâî bâp ; nâ Birhâ ke bhâî ;

Nâ Birhâ kahun dâr pharat hain : gâo banây banâî.

Sânjhi gâun Sanjhâ Târan, aur adhî rât ko Arjun bân;

Hot bhor gâun Râjâ Karan ko, jin din kuârin kâ dân.

Translation.

Birhâ has neither father nor mother; Birhâ has no brother ;

Neither is Birhâ borne as a fruit by a tree : we sing this song anew.

In the evening we sing of Sanjhâ Târan (probably Sheo), and at midnight the praises of the arrows of Arjun.[7]

In the morning we sing the praises of the Râjâ Karan, who gave alms to unmarried girls.

No. XXVII.

A Hymn to Shâkambarî Devî.

Sung by Râm Chandrâ Brâhman

Recorded by a school teacher of the Sahâranpûr District.

Text.

Darshan de, Mâî, anukampâ karke.

Dashmî bijay Asauj pâyatâ pûj sant jan chale daras kô Shâkambar ke.

Anhad naubat bajai sabhon par ; lâl dhwajâ phahrânî shikhar par girwar ke.

Pân-supârî, dhwajâ, nârial liye, sant jan khare thâl magdal ke.

Bhakt janon kî bijai karai nij kshetra men, phirte dusht dal sanghar ke.

Râm Chandra Dwij daras lihe ten sakal pâp hon dur janmântar ke.

[7] Arjun was such a kind man that if he heard anybody crying at midnight he got up from bed and went to his succour. To give alms to unmarried girls is considered an act of great piety.

Translation.

O Mother, show me thyself kindly.

On the tenth lunar day of Asauj good men flock to pay their respects to Shâkambarî Devî.

Over all is blown an infinite sound and red flags waive on the top of the mountains.

Good men are standing (before thee) with dishes, containing betel, betel-nut, curd, coco-nut and sweetmeats.

Thou givest victory to thy votaries in thy region, and thy followers wander about to kill the evil men.

Râm Chandra Brâhman says, that by paying his respects (to Shâkambarî Devî) a man frees himself from all his sins.

No. XXVIII.

A popular prayer.

Recorded by Ram Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Suratî âya gaî tumhârî âs jiyâ jân ;
Swâmî mor baṛ samarath jiyâ harkhân.
Sabhin alang teṅ man hathî tumhârî or,
Arz karâhîṅ ; sunî lijahî tanî karî kor.
Tanik dayâ ke chitaye mor bachâu ;
Jal ûpar chîṅtî ko tinakau nâu.

Translation.

I remembered thee at last and was cheered ;
Thinking that my Lord was Almighty.
Collecting (alms) from all directions, my attention I directed it towards thee,
I make a request ; of this kindness lend me thine ears awhile.
If thou showest it but a little kindness to me, I am saved :
For to an ant a straw on the water is like a boat.

No. XXIX.

Gratitude to God.

A popular hymn by Bindu Madan.
Recorded by Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Tere dar hai ham sar jhukâi hue haiṅ.
Gunah bakhshwâne ko aye hue haiṅ.
Banâyâ hai tû ne hamen khâk se bhî. Zabâṅ pai terî shukrâ lâe hue haiṅ.
Karoge hamâre gunah mâf ab tum. Tere sâmne ham lajâe hue haiṅ.
Wah bunyâd kyâ thî shikam meṅ. ? Hamârî karam se sab âzo banâe hue haiṅ.
Karî parwarish tû ne us dam. Hamârî shikam meṅ ô mâ ke palâe hue haiṅ.
"Na âkar kabhi hamko Shaitân chherai;" tere pâs faryâd lâe hue haiṅ.
Tere nûr se yah roshan hai âlam. Karâmât terî jo hâe hue haiṅ.
Kiyâ hai sadaq meṅ wo qatare ko roshan, wahî dâne gauhar kahâi hue haiṅ.
Diyâ martabâ tu ne bhaktoṅ ko aisâ jo âdam se deote kahâye hue haiṅ.
Kisî se nahiṅ kâm Bindu Madan ko. Terâ dhyân har dam lagâe hue haiṅ.

Translation.

I have bowed my head at thy door.

I have come to have my sins forgiven.

Thou hast made me out of the dust. I have brought gratitude to thee on my tongue.

Thou wilt forgive my sins now. I am ashamed before thee.

What was my foundation in the (mother's) womb? Thou hast made every limb of mine through thy generosity.

Thou nourished me at that moment. I have been tended (by thee) in my mother's womb.

"Let not Satan interfere with me:" I have brought to thee this request.

This universe is illuminated by thy splendour. It has received thy miraculous power.

Thou hast brightened the drop in the shell which has come to be called the grains of pearls.

Thou hast given so (high) a rank to (thy) devotees that being in human form they are called gods.

Bindu Madan has nothing to do with anyone. He has fixed his attention on thee.

No. XXX.

A Hymn of the Kahârs.

Attributed to Kabîr.

Text.

Râm nâm bhaju, Râm nâm bhaju. Chetî dekhu man mâhin ho.

Laksh karorî jorî dhan gâṛinh, chale dolâwat bâṅhî ho.

Dâdâ bâbâ an pariwârâ jin ke î bhuîṅ gaṛe ho.

Andhre bhayehu hiye hu kî phutî; tin kâhe sab chhaṛe ho.

I sansâr asâr kai dhandhâ. Ant kâl koî nâhiṅ ho.

Upjat binsat bârna lagaî, jyoṅ bâdal kî chhabiṅ ho.

Nâtâ qotâ ḳul kutumb sab iṅh kî kaun barâî ho?

Kahaiṇ Kabir; ek Râm bhaje binu buṛî sub chaturâî ho.

Translation.

Repeat the name of Râm, repeat the name of Râm. Think it over in your mind.

Collecting millions of rupees they bury them under earth and (at last) go empty-handed.

The father, the grandfather are buried under the earth.

You are blind and the eyes of your heart are also blind; (for) you do not see that they have also left everything (behind them).

In this world every business is unreal. In the long run nothing is yours.

No time is spent in coming into existence and sinking into oblivion, like the shadow of a cloud.

What is the reputation of relatives, kinsmen and family?

Kabîr says that without the repetition of Râm's name all skill is drowned (worth nothing).

No. XXXI.

A Hymn to Hardaul (Hardeo) Râjâ

(a deified hero of Bundelkhand).

Recorded by Râm Sewak, a teacher in the village School, Audinyâ, District Mainpurî.

Text.

Kin birahin belmhâyo Hardaul Râjâ ?
Apne to baithê lâl palang par qadam kî chhahiyâñ.
Jê galiyâñ ham kabahûñ na dekhî, so galiyâñ dikhrâye Hardeo Râjâ.
Nai kalâ terî jâgî, Hardeo Râjâ.
Kin birahin belmhâyo Hardaul Râjâ?
Chalat chalat merî pendurî pirâno, ghut bal ke bal âyo.
Kin birahin belmhâyo Hardaul Râjâ ?

Translation.

What woman with an absent husband has allured Hardaul Râjâ ?
He sits himself on a red cot under the shade of the *qadam* tree.
I have seen Hardeo Râjâ in a street, in which I had never seen him before.
A new lustre is visible (added to thee), O Hardeo Râjâ.
What woman with an absent husband has allured Hardaul Râjâ ?
On account of having to travel long I have a pain in the bowels, and have managed to come to you on my knees.
What woman with an absent husband has allured Hardaul Râjâ ?

No. XXXII.

A Prayer to Hardaul Râjâ.

Recorded by Chaube Vrij Kishor, Assistant Master in the Town School, Pinâhat, District Agrâ.

Text.

Hardaul, merî binatî sunî lîjai.
Inatî mâno, bînatî mâno ; chuk parai, to bakshî dîjo.
Hardaul merî binatî mân lîjo.

Translation.

O Hardaul, lend a hearing to my request.
Mind my entreaties and supplications, and if I commit any omission, of thy kindness forgive me.
O Hardaul, lend a hearing to my request.

No. XXXIII.

Kajalî Songs.

Recorded by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.

The Origin of the Kajalî Songs.

The Kajalî is a kind of song, which according to the well-informed on such subjects, owes its origin to Mirzâpur. It is said that there was one Dânu Râi, a Gaharwâr Ṭhâkur and ancestor of the present Râjâ of Kantit, who founded a very powerful kingdom on the banks of the Ganges with its capital at Pampâpur. Dânu had such an overwhelming hatred for the Musalmâns, who were then new-comers, that he allowed no Musalmân to touch the Ganges. Muhamadans could not, like others who have manly blood in their veins, brook this insult with impunity. They attacked Dânu and some say that he fell in the fight with them.

Dânu was held in great esteem by his subjects, partly on account of his religious enthusiasm and partly on account of his love for them. On his death, the women of his kingdom retired into a forest known as Kajjal Ban (Black Forest, properly near Hardwâr) and mourned his loss by singing mournful songs in his honour. These songs afterwards came to be named Kajalî. Though they were originally rhymes expressive of sorrow and grief, yet in after-times, people began to compose love songs to the tune of Kajalî. They too, took the same name accordingly.

The Kajalî song is sung throughout the month of Srâwan (July-August) by men and women in Mirzâpur and on the last day of that month there is a festival of the same name.

In Mirzâpur City, and in every village of that district, there is a tank or reservoir which is termed Kajrahawâ Pokhrâ. On Kajalî Day women and girls of every Hindu family go to this tank to bathe. After bathing they wash certain plants of barley, which they grow in this month for the purpose of tying round the top-knot on their heads. Then four or five of them stand in a circle and perform what is called by the people of Mirzâpur, Dhun Muniyâ. This consists in each woman moving in a circle without breaking it, and at short intervals of bending the back and then stretching out the hands and closing the fists. They walk round this circle at least five times, singing Kajalî. Then they return home and tie the plants of barley in the *chotî* of their brothers, for which they get some reward in return.

On the night preceding the Kajalî Day, women of every Hindu family keep awake the whole night and sing Kajalî. In short, there is now a religious festival where there was none before.

Another Version.

In the Kantit Country (Mirzâpur District) there was a Gaharwâr Râjput named Dâdu Râi. He was a powerful Râjâ, and ruled over Mâṅdâ and Bijaipûr. Near the temple of Vindhyâbâsinî Devî at Mirzâpur (Vindhychal is three miles from Mirzâpur) by the stream, the imprints of his fort are still to be seen. He surrounded his fort with four Bhairoṅs, or guardian-gods of a sacred place, and he never allowed any Musalmâns in his dominions to touch the Ganges. Once when the annual rains held off for a very long while and great distress prevailed, he performed charitable acts on a large scale, and then the rain-god Indra was propitiated, shedding showers of rain in abundance. When Dâdu Râi died and his wife Nâgmatî became *sati*, the women of Kantit, who held their Râjâ and the Râni in great esteem, sang their praises in a melody of their own, now called Kajalî. The name owes its origin to a forest, owned by the Râjâ, in which the women mourned his loss. The third day of the month, in which this song is sung, is named in the *Purânas* or local records, Kajalî Tîj, or the Black Third.

Old Kajalîs.

1.

Text.

Piyâ binu pîar bhailyun re jas anar kî kalî;
Dillî ke darwâzwân ho nathiyâ ailin bikây lây.
Jây kaho more bâre sainân se nakiyâ chhuchhai bây.

Translation.

I have been as pale as the young flower of a pomegranate.
I have sold my nose-ring at the Dillî Gate.
Go and tell my young bridegroom that my nose is empty.

2.

Text.

Kâhe morê sudhî bisarâye, re bidesiyâ ?

Taṛapî taṛapî din rainâ gaṅwâyo, re. Kâhe mon sê nehiyân lagâye, re bidesiyâ.

Apnê to Kubarî ke prem bhulâne, re; moke likh jog pathâe, re bidesiyâ.

Jin mukh adhar amî ras pâye re ; tin bish pân karâye, re bidesiyâ.

Kahain Beni Râm :—"Lagî prem katârî re, Udho jî ko jñân bhulâyô, re bidesiyâ.

Translation.

O foreigner, why dost thou forget me ?

O foreigner, I am spending days and nights in the greatest anxiety. Why didst thou make friends with me ?

O foreigner, thou hast made friends with Kubarî and so forgotten me.[8]

O foreigner, thou hast made the lips, that have tasted nectar, taste the poison.

Benî Râm says :—" The women have been struck with the dagger of love (*kâtôrî*), and so they do not care for Udho's[9] instructions in asceticism, O foreigner.

Modern Kajalis.

1.

Text.

Kahân gâye ? Dâdu Raia bin jag sun ?

Turkan Gang juthârâ bin Arjun.

Translation.

Whither art thou gone ? Without thee Dâdu Râi, the world is all alone.

The Turks have made the Ganges impure without Arjun.[10]

2.

Text.

Kâhe mose lagan lagâl, re Sâṅwaliyâ.

Lagan lagâi hây bedardî, Kubjâ ke ghar chhâye, re Sâṅwaliâ.

As be pir Ahîr jâtî tain, kaul qarâr bhulâê, re Sâṅwaliyâ.

Sâwan bitâ Kajrî âi, tain na suratiyâ dekhâe, re Sâṅwaliyâ.

Srî Murlîdhar ju piyâ, bhal ham ko tar sâye, re Sâṅwaliyâ.

Translation.

O Sâṅwaliyâ (Krishṇa), why did you make love to me ?

O Sâṅwaliyâ the cruel, having made love to me, thou hast made thy home at Kubjâ's house.

O Sâṅwaliyâ, as thou art a cowherd by caste, thou hast forgotten thy promises.

Sâwan has come to an end and the Kajalî festival has arrived, but thou hast not shown thyself, O Sâṅwaliyâ.

O beloved Kṛishṇa (Murlîdhar, flute-bearer) well thou hast tantalized me, O Sâṅwaliyâ.

8 " But in order to screen it, thou hast sent Udho to teach us asceticism."

9 Udho was Kṛishṇa's friend.

10 Arjun here stands for Dâdu Râi. Arjun was one of the most powerful up-holders of the Hindu religion.

No. XXXIV.

A Pilgrimage Song.

Sung by Kripâ Râm, Baniya of Kherâ, District Sahâranpur.

Recorded by Abdu'r-Rahîm Khân, teacher in Kherâ Village School.

Text.

Adhî Gangâ meṅ jau boye, âdhî meṅ hare hare bâṅs.
Kâhe kâran jau boye Râm ? Are jî, kâhe kâran hare hare bâṅs ?
Nem dharam ne jau boye Râm ; au dhotî sukhâwan ko bâṅs.
Kahâṅ rahe Kishanjî ? Au kahâṅ rahe Râm ?
Râdhâ Rânî laṛ parîṅ Râm.
Râdhâ ne lîpâ hai pîch pichâ, au Rukmiṇî kâ raptâ hai pâoṅ.
Laṛatî laṛtî we gaîṅ Râm sasur ke darbâr.
Kahâṅ rahe Krishṇa moṅhîṅ ? Kab, milain Râm ?
Are jî, kon bahuoṅ ko nyâwâ chukâwâ ?

Translation.

In half the Ganges, barley is sown and in half is grown green bamboo.
What made Râm sow barley ? And what made him to sow bamboos ?
For performing religious duties Râm sowed the barley, and for drying loin-cloths he sowed the bamboos.
Where is Krishnna ? and where is Râm ?
Queen Râdhâ has fallen out with Râm.
Râdhâ plastered the ground with mud and on it the feet of Rukmiṇî have slipped.
Quarrelling together they went into the court of Râm's father.
Whither are Krishnna and Râm gone ? When shall we meet Râm ?
Who will decide the dispute between the wives ?

No. XXXV.

A Hymn to Nagarsen.

Recorded by Durgâ Prasâd, School Teacher in Sâdhûpur Village, District Mainpurî.

Uncho ; chauro ; chachhaṛâ ingur dhore bun : kalâdhârî manhîṅ râhî.
Arz sune rahî ; god bhare rahî : mad meṅ jhuke rahî.
Kai lâkh umaṛî hai bâṅjhulî ; kai lâkh bâre kî mâî ? Kalâdhârî mahîṅ rahî.
Nau lâkh umaṛî haiṅ bâṅjhuli : das lâkh bâre kî mâî. Kalâdhârî mahî rahî.
Ṭhâu baṛho rahî ; god bhare rahî ; mad meṅ jhuko rahî.
Dewâ, Mahârâjâ re, kâ lai chaṛhâwaingî bâṅjhulî ? Dewâ, Mahârâjâ re, kahâ lai bâre kî mâî ? Kalâdhârî mahî rahî.
Rupayâ charhâwainge bâṅjhulî ; nariar bâre kî mâî.
Dewâ, Mahârâjâ re, arasî parasî thâṛhî bhaîṅ. Deo, Mahârâjâ re, Nagarseṅ Deo, bidâ ghar, jâûn. Kalâdhâri mahî rahî.
"Jâu, jatî, ghar âpne." Are, jate to ghar janmeṅ haiṅ pût ! "Pût khilâwo ghar âpne, barseṅ bheṅt charhâî." Kaladhâri mahî rahî.

Translation.

Thy platform is high. It is square. On it the marks of red lead are made. Thou art of influence in the world.

Hear my prayer. Fill my lap (with a child) and be bent with the weight of intoxication.

How many barren women have swarmed round thy platform, and how many mothers of children? Thou art of influence in the world.

Nine *lâkhs* of barren women have swarmed and ten *lâkhs* of mothers of children. Thou art of influence in the world.

May your platform attain greater popularity and may the laps (of mothers) be filled with children and mayest thou be bent with intoxication.

O spirit, O great king Nagarsen, what shall be offered by the barren women? and what, O spirit, O great king, by the mothers of children? Thou art of influence in the world!

The barren women shall offer rupees and mothers of women shall offer cocoanuts to you.

O spirit, O great king, we have touched thee and have worshipped thee and we stand before thee. O spirit, O great king, O Nagarsen Deo, permit us to go to our homes. In the world thou art of influence.

"Go holy ones, to your homes."—No sooner had they reached their homes than children were born to them! "Amuse yourselves with the children and continue to make offerings." Thou art of influence in the world.

No. XXXVI.

A Popular Hymn.

Recorded by Pandit Ram Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Kîjai, Prabhu, apne birad kî lâj.
Moh patit kabhûñ, nahîñ âyo neku tumâre kâj.
Mâyâ sabal, dhâm, dhan, banitâ, bandhyo haun ih sâj.
Dekhat, sunat sabai jânat haun, taû na âyo bâj.
Kahiat bahut kâhi tum tâuê? Srâwanan sunî awâj.
Diyo na jât pâr utarâî chûhat charhan jahâj.
Lîjai pâr utâri sûr kon, Mahârâj Brajrâj.
Naî na karat kahat, Prabhu, tum sôñ. Sadâ gharîbnewâj.

Translation.

Lord, have mercy on me, thy servant.
Loving worldly allurements, I have never been of service to thee.
I bound myself to all the illusions, wealth, wife.
Knowing all things that are to be seen and heard, yet I do not abstain from them.
What may I say further? Thy servant hath heard thy voice.
Though I wish to sit in the boat, I cannot pay the fare.
O King, O Lord of Braj, take me across the ocean of the world.
I do not request a new thing of thee, Lord. Thou art ever the cherisher of the poor.

No. XXXVII.

A Hymn to Gangâ, sung at the Dasahrâ Festival.

Recorded by Nek Râm, teacher in the Village School of Anandpûr, District Agrâ.

Text.

Gangâjî Harijan jag meṅ târan ko.
Brahm kamaṇḍal meṅ se niksiṅ bipatî birâran ko.
Hari bhaktan ko mâtu pitâ sî, jyoṅ sut pâlan ko.
Jin nindâ kiyâ Gangâjî ko, so jhakh mâran ko.
Lâkh kaho koṅ lagat nâ hai, jñân gawârau ko.
Jô kon prêm nêm son dhâwai, pâp bidâron ko.
Kasht pare pâi dhyân dharai, to kâraj sâran ko.
Lâl Dâs :—bhau sâgar meṅ, teṅ tumhiṅ ubâran ko.
Dâs Kalyân :—Sagar sut târe, sâthî hazâran ko.

Translation.

Gangâjî (exists) to bring salvation to the votaries of Harî.

She came out of the gourd of Brahm to undo the troubles of the pious.

To the votaries of Harî she is as father and mother, and protects them as do parents.

Those who speak ill of Gangâjî shall rue their folly.

Reason with idiots a thousand times, it will be to no purpose, for they will not learn wisdom.

Whosoever worships (the Ganges) with punctuality, regularity and affection shall have his sins washed away.

If in time of trouble thou wilt invoke her aid she will surely come to thy aid.

Lâl Dâs says that she alone can save mankind from the ocean of the world.

Kaliyân Dâs says that she has brought salvation to sixty thousand sons of (Rájá) Sagar.

No. XXXVIII.

A Hymn to Durgâ.

Recorded by Nek Râm, a school teacher of Anandpûr Village, District Agrâ.

Text.

Parbat kî basanî, darshan de, Maharânî.
Parbat phorî, mahî meṅ nikasî. Jotî jagat meṅ jânî.
Arjun tero bhawan banâyo; Bhîm dhoyo pânî.
Sinh charhî, gal gâjai, Mâtâ. Lâl dhwajâ phahrânî.
Jan apne ko pâlan kariho. Binay mor yah mânî.

Translation.

O dweller of the mountains, appear unto me, O Queen.

Breaking the mountains asunder thou comest into the world. Then thy lustre became known in the world.

Arjun made a temple for thee and Bhîm drew water (for the mortar).

O Mother, thou roarest with pleasure, mounted on the lion. (On the lion) a red flag waves.

Protect thy servant. Of thy kindness accept this prayer.

No. XXXIX.

A Hymn to Bhairoṅ.

Recorded by Râm Sewak, a school teacher in Audinyâ Village, District Mainpûrî.

Text.

Mere hirdai mâṅjh basai Kâsî.
Kahâṅ, re, basaiṅ mere bholâ Mahâdeo? Kahâṅ, rê, basaiṅ Bhairo ghâzî?
Kahâṅ, re, jemaiṅ bholâ Mahâdeva? Au kahaṅ, re, jemaiṅ Bhairo ghâzî?
Dudh piyaiṅ je bholâ Mahâdeo au ghrit piyaiṅ je Bhairo ghâzî.
Kahâṅ, re, oṛhaiṅ je bholâ Mahâdeva? Kahâṅ, re, oṛhaiṅ je Bhairao ghâzî?
Jog to len mere bholâ Mahâdeô, au bhog len mere Bhairoṅ ghâzî.
Mere hirdai mâṅjh basai Kâsî.

Translation.

In my heart lives Kâsî (Benares).
O, where lives my simple Mahâdeva? O, where lives the hero Bhairoṅ?
O, what does the simple Mahâdeva eat? And what does Bhairoṅ eat?
The simple Mahâdeva drinks milk and the hero Bhairoṅ drinks *ghî*.
What does the simple Mahâdeva wear? And what does the hero Bhairoṅ wear?
My simple Mahâdeva takes to asceticism and the hero Bhairoṅ takes to worldly enjoyments.
In my heart lives Kâsî.

No. XL.

A Dirge.

Recorded by Râm Sewak, a school teacher in Audinyâ Village, District Mainpurî.

Text.

Tumhâre, Râm Dâsyâ, chautarâ upjî chandan dâr.
Murlî nek bajâiye, sâṅche deotâ.
Tumhârî murliâ bâjan bâjai ani ani bhântî, sâṅche deotâ.
Kin je deotâ newâtiye? Kin jâ kari jeonâr? Sâṅche deotâ.
Dûdh bharî doniyâu sâṅche deotâ.
Kavâ, choṅch na boriyo; Râm Dâs sâṅche deota ko lalkâr.

Translation.

O Râm Dâs (or any name the deceased may have borne) on your platform (tombstone) the sandal trees have grown up.

O true spirit please blow your flute.

Your flute can be blown in various ways, O true spirit!

Which spirit should we serve? With what should we serve? O true spirit.

Serve milk in a leafy cup to the true spirit.

O crow, do not dip your bill (in the milk): Râm Dâs (or whatever the name of the deceased may have been), true spirit, is challenging thee.

No. XLI.

Songs of the Months.

Recorded by Nek Râm, a teacher in Anandpur Village School, District Agrâ.

1

Chaitî, sung in Chait.

(*Really a Rustic Calendar.*)

Text.

Chait meṅ mîthî lâgai kâkaṛî ; Baisâkh meṅ mîthî lâgai bhantâ.
Jet meṅ mîthî nidrâ lâgai ; Asaṛh mîthe haiṅ tapakâ.
Sâwan mîtho lâgai semarî ; Bhâdoṅ mîthî lagai shyâm ghatâ.
Kwâr karailâ mîtho lâgai ; Kâtik mîtho lâgai mathâ.
Aghan mîthe haiṅ sîtâphal ; Pûs mîthe haiṅ âlu gathâ.
Mâgh meṅ mîtho lâgai gudarî ; aur Phagun meṅ mîtho lâgai lathâ.

Translation.

In Chait the fruit of the *kâkaṛî* is palatable : in Baisâkh, *bhatâ* (a vegetable) is pleasant to the taste.

In Jeth, sleep is sweet : in Asaṛh, (ripe) mangoes (that drop from the branches) are sweet.

In Sâwan *semarî* (perhaps the fruit of *kathal*) is sweet, and in Bhâdoṅ the black clouds are pleasant.

In Kwâr *karailâ* (a vegetable) is pleasant, and in Kârtik *mathâ* (liquid curd) is tastefnl.

In Aghan *sîtâphal* (pumpkin) is sweet, and in Pûs potatoes are pleasant.

In Mâgh heavy wrappers of cotton are pleasant, and in Phâgun union with the beloved is pleasant.

2

Malâr, Sung in Sâwan in the Western Districts.

Corresponding to the Kajalî of the Eastern Districts.

Text.

Dekho, rî, mukut jhoṅkâ lai raho :
Brindâban ke ghâṭ par Jamunâjî ke tîr.
Kaun baran Râni Râdhikâ ? Kaun baran Ghan Shyâm ?
Chandra badan Rânî Radhikâ ; ghatâ baran Ghan Shyâm.
Gâwat haiṅ Rânî Râdhikâ ; jhulat haiṅ Ghan Shyâm.

Translation.

See, my girls, the crown is swinging[11] to and fro,
At Brindâban on the bank of the Jamunâ.

What is the colour of queen Râdhikâ. What is the colour of Ghan Shyâm (Srî Kṛishṇa) ?

Queen Râdhikâ's face is like the moon and the colour of Ghan Shyâm is like the black clouds.

Queen Râdhikâ is singing and Ghan Shyâm is swinging in the cradle.

[11] Reference to the custom of swinging in Sâwan.

3

Godhanî, Sung in Kârtik.

The festival of Godhan takes place in Kârtik (sudî dûj), when the women abuse their relatives.

Text.

Godhan âwat maiṅ sunî. Phûle ang na samatî.
Dâre, Arjun, nâw, rî ; Godhan lehu utarî ho.
Ratan jaṛit to nâw, rî, malayâgiri ko bâns.
Aye haiṅ Godhan ras bhore. Kahe le âdar leûṅ ?
Sinhâsan deûṅ baithanâ aur sanjowan dudh.

Translation.

I heard that Godhan was coming. I could not contain myself (with pleasure).
O Arjun, put the boat into the river and bring Godhan across (the river).
The boat is studded with gems and the oar is of *malâyâgiri* (sandalwood).
Godhan has come full of loveliness. What kind of respect should I pay to him ?
I shall set him on a royal seat and worship him with the offering of milk.

4

Hindolâ (Cradle Song), Sung in Bhâdoṅ.

Text.

Hindolanâ meṅ jhulat haiṅ Mahârâj.
Shyâm ghatâ ghan garjan lâgî, barsat ghorâ dhâr.
Ratan jaṛit ko bano hindolâ, malayâgir kô sâj.
Resham dorî ; pawan purwaiâ ; gâwan haiṅ Girirâj.
Barkhat phul suman Vraj ûpar ; gopin sang samâj.

Translation.

The Great King is swinging in the cradle.
The black gathering of clouds begins to thunder, and it begins to rain and pour.
The cradle is studded with gems and the seat is made of *malâyâgiri* (sandalwood).
The ropes are silken, and the Eastern wind is blowing, and the King of the Mountains (Mahâdeva) is singing.
On Vraj the gods are showering flowers ; and also on the gathering of cowherd girls.

5

Holî, Sung in Phâgun.

Text.

Hari lâye nârî birânî, Asur, taine ek na mânî.
Jin kî Jânakî tu hari lâye, we hari antaryâmî,
Tajî ghamand charnan gahî lîjai. Samujhî jan abhimânî.
Asur, taine ek na mânî.
Râjâ karante, Râjâ jayange ; rûp dharantî Râni.
Ved parhante Vrahmâ jâyange ; Nârad muni se jñânî.
Asur, taine ek na mânî : hari lâî nârî birânî.
Nau akshohanî dal, padm athâsî. Hanumân agmâni.
Jhandâ âi garyo retî meṅ ; lâl dhwajâ phahrânî.
Asur taine ek na mânî ; hari lâye nârî birâni.
Kahatî Mandodarî :—" Sunu, Patî Râwan, chhoreṅ deo katu bâni.
Jâ din kapî charhaiṅ Raghunandan, pîsî karaiṅ torî ghânî.

Translation.

O Demon, thou didst not heed any advice and stole away another's wife.

He whose wife, Jânakî, thou hast stolen away knows the heart of every one.

Do away with thy pride and take hold of his feet. Understand it, thou vain one,

O Demon, thou didst not heed any advice.

The Râjâs leaving their rule and the Rânîs leaving their toilet come to the Râjâ's (Ram's) aid.

Vrahmâ from the study of Vedas and Nârad, the wisest ascetic (come to Ram's aid).

O Demon, thou didst not heed any advice, and didst steal another's wife.

(Râm has an army) of nine *akshohanî* and eighty-eight *padm* of men. Hanumân is at the head.

The flag-staff has been set up in the sand and the red flag is waving.

O Demon, thou didst not heed any advice, and didst steal another's wife.

Mandodarî says :—" My lord Râwan listen to me, give up the use of bitter language.

On the day Raghunandan Râm Chandra) attacks you in anger he will grind you down as the oil-maker grinds seeds."

No. XLII.

An Allegory.

The devotee, represented as a maiden, is told that she must go to her father-in-law's house (out of this world) without companions, playmates or relatives, to be married (gain knowledge of God) in order to meet her beloved (God).

Recorded by Dwârkâ Prasâd, a School-Master of the Mainpurî District.

Text.

Sasure tum ko jânâ hai.

Khel khilaunâ lagaiṅ ati pyâre ; guṛiâṅ meṅ chit shânâ hai.

Sasure tum ko jânâ hai.

Sang sakhî kon kam na aihaiṅ ; matu pitâ chhut jânâ hai.

Sasure tum ko jânâ hai.

Abhiṅ kumârî buddhî thoṛî. Byâh bhaêṅ ras prânâ hai.

Sasure tum kô jânâ hai.

Piyâ sang mel bhayo tin ko sab, dubidhâ bharm nasânâ hai.

Sasure tum kô jânâ hai.

Shankar sharan gaheṅ Sat Guru ko, sahajahin meṅ piyâ pânâ hai.

Translation.

You must go to your father-in-law's house.

Your toys seem now very dear to you and your heart is in your dolls.

You must go to your father-in-law's house.

No companion or friend shall be of any use there and even the parents shall be left behind.

You must go to the father-in-law's house.

Now, you are a maid with little wisdom. But when you are married you will find much pleasure.

You must go to your father-in-law's house.

Those who have met their beloved have lost their doubts and apprehensions.

You must go to your father-in-law's house.

Shankar says that a woman who throws herself on the mercy of the True Guide obtains her beloved.

No. XLIII.

A Popular Song at the Holî (Horî).

Recorded by Ram Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

1

Shyâm, mose khelo nâ horî ; palâguṅ kar jori.
Gaiâ charâwan maiṅ niksî hûṅ, sâs nanand kî chorî.
Sagarî chûnar raug meṅ nâ bhijowo. Itanî bât suno ho morî.

2

Shyâm, mose khelo nâ horî, etc.
Chhîn jhapat more hâth se gâgar ; zor se bahiyâṅ marôrî.
Dil dhaṛakat hai ; sâṅs charhat hai ; deh kampatî gorî gorî.

3

Shyâm, mose khelo nâ horî, etc.
Abîr gulâb lipat gayo mukh se ; sâṛî rang meṅ bôrî.
Sâs hazâran gârî degî; bâlam jîtâ nâ chhorî.

4

Shyâm, mose khelo nâ horî, etc.
Phâg khelke taine, re Môhan, kahâ gaṭî kînî morî ?
Sur Dâs lakhî, magan bhayo hai, laj rahî kachha thorî.
Shyâm mose khelo nâ horî, etc.

Translation.

1

O Shyâm, I salute you with clasped hands and beg you not to play *horî* with me.
I have come out to feed the cattle secretly from the mother-in-law and my husband's sister.
Do not make the whole of my garment wet with (red) colour. Listen to these words of mine.

2

O Shyâm, do not play *horî* with me, etc.
You have snatched away my pitcher from my hands and twisted my arms forcibly.
My heart beats and the breath pants and my fair body shudders.

3

O Shyâm, do not play *horî*, etc.
Red powder and red water has stuck to my face and the whole of my dress has been wet with red water.
My mother-in-law will call me a thousand bad names and my husband will not leave me alive.

4

O Shyâm, do not play *horî*, etc.
O Mohan, to what a state have you reduced me by playing *phâg*?
Sur Dâs seeing it, was absorbed in love and forgot all shyness.
O Shyâm, do not play *horî*, etc.

No. XLIV.

A Dirge on the death of an old woman.

Recorded by Aulâ Hannî from the lips of Hindu women in the Sahâranpûr District.

Text.

1

Hây, hây, deshoṅ kî Rânî ; hây, hây,
Hây, hây, jîtî mar jâtî ; hây, hây.
Hây, hây, bachchon kî burhiyâ ; hây, hây.
Hây, hây, ghar khânî burhiyâ ; hây hây.
Hây, hây, yânun kî ghuriyâ ; hây hây.
Hây, hây, jâdu kî puriyâ ; hây, hây.

2

Jai bolo jumaṛî kî ; jai bolo.
Jai bolo kubarî kî ; jai bolo.
Jai bolo mukhiyâ kî ; jai bolo.
Jai bolo dukhiyâ kî ; jai bolo.
Jai bolo sâṅpin kî ; jai bolo.
Jai bolo pâpin kî ; jai bolo.
Jai bolo sohanî kî ; jai bolo.
Jai bolo mohanî kî ; jai bolo.

Translation.

1

Alas, alas ; for the Queen of the countries ; alas, alas.
Alas, alas ; the living should have died ; alas, alas.
Alas, alas ; O matron of children ; alas, alas.
Alas, alas ; old woman, that ate up the house ; alas, alas.
Alas, alas ; old mare with the limbs ; alas, alas.
Alas, alas ; O box of the magic ; alas, alas.

2

Say "Victory to the dead matron ;" say "Victory."
Say "Victory to the old hunchback ;" say "Victory."
Say "Victory to the head (woman) of the family ;" say "Victory."
Say "Victory to the unhappy one ;" say "Victory."
Say "Victory to the old snake ;" say "Victory."
Say "Victory to the old sinner ;" say "Victory."
Say "Victory to the glorious one ;" say "Victory."
Say "Victory to the charmer ;" say "Victory."

No. XLV.

Ghamî kî Gît, a Dirge.

Sung among upper-class women.

Recited by Kabîr Khân.

Recorded by Abdu'r-Rahim Khân, a school-master in the Saharanpûr District.

Text.

Tu apne hâth se phoṛ, sâsu merî, chuṛiyaṅ haryâlî.
Sar meṅ dâluṅ khâk, merî zulfain haiṅ kâlî.
Merâ harâ bâgh gayâ sukh, bhâg gayâ in bâghoṅ kâ mâlî.
Utâr merâ nath, bulâk, aur mere kanoṅ kî bâlî ;

Merâ lelê galê kâ hâr : saîâṅ sang gaî lâlî.
Merâ bhesh kiyâ tu ne râṅdo kâ ; ab detî hau gâlî.
Koî ha maiṅ batâwai ghair, âp ban baithî gharwâlî.
Tu apne hath se phoṛ, sâsu, chuṛiyâṅ haryâlî.

Translation.

O mother-in-law, break my green bangles with your own hand.
Although my locks are black, I shall throw dust on my head.
My green garden has gone dry, because the gardener has run away.
Take off my nose-ring, my ear-rings,
And the garland which is around my neck, because my happy days are gone with my husband.
You have made my vestage that of a widow and now you abuse me.
Some one says that I am a stranger and herself becomes the mistress of the family.
O mother-in-law, break my bangles with your own hand.

No. XLVI.

A Popular Prabhâtî (Morning Song).

Sung by pious Hindu mothers with their children in their laps before daybreak.

Recorded by Ram Gharîb Chaube, from the lips of his mother, who says that the recollection of the song still gives him pleasure.

Text.

1

Thumukî chalat Râm Chandra ; bâjat paijaniyâṅ.
Kilik, kilik uthat dhâî ;
Girat bhumî lat patâî ;
Dhâî, mod-god letî Dashruth kî râniyâṅ.
Anchâl râj ang jhâr ;
Bibidhî bhântî soṅ dulâr ;
Tan, man, dhan, wîrî dârî ; kahat mridu bachaniyân

2

Thumukî chalat Râm Chandra ; bâjat paijaniyâṅ.
Bidrum se adhar târun ;
Bolat mridu buchan madhur ;
Sundar nâsikâṅ bich latkatî latkaniyâṅ.

3

Thumukî chalat Râm Chandra : bâjat paijaniyâṅ.
Tulashî Dâs : ati anand ;
Nirakhî ke mukhâr bind ;
Raghubar chhabî samân : Raghubar chhabî baniyâṅ.

4

Thumukî chalat Râm Chandra ; bâjat paijaniyâṅ.

Translation.

1

Heavily treads Râm Chandra: his anklets jingle.
Laughing, laughing he runs along;
Falls to the earth with legs entangled;
Rushing, the queen of Dashrath gathers him in her lap.
With her cloak she dusts his body;
Fawns upon him in various ways;
Sacrificing body, soul and wealth; she croons to him childish words.

2

Heavily treads Râm Chandra: his anklets jingle.
Lips as red as *bidrum* fruit;
Voice as soft as a child's;
From his pretty nose hangs a nose-ornament.

3

Heavily treads Râm Chandra: his anklets jingle.
(Saith) Tulsî Dâs: very pleased
At beauty like none else;
Raghubar is made like Raghubar (alone).

4

Heavily treads Râm Chandra: his anklets jingle.

No. XLVII.

The Song of the Blessed Housewife.

Sung by a Brâhmanî of Chhawara Mau, District Farrukhâbâd.

Recorded by the Head Master of the Village School, who remarks that this song indicates the truth of the statement that among the ancient Hindus there was no dislike to the birth of daughters, such as now exists.

Text.

Ek dhaunrî dhumarî gây so Hariju ke dwâr kharî.
Wâke bachchhâ lâl gulâl, so sone sing marhe.
Rânî baithîṅ takht bichhây, tau dhî bahu sang liye.
Kar kankan abhran chîr, to motiṅ mâng bhare.
Dhan dhan bahuriyâ kî bhâg to kokhî meṅ lâl dharê.
Dwâre to âye un ke damâd; Rânî sakuch rahîṅ.
Ab kâ, Rânî, sakuch kalî kî rîtî yahî.

Translation.

At the door of Hari (a blessed man) is standing a brown cow.
She has red (charming) calves and their horns are gilt with gold.

The Rânî (the blessed housewife) sits inside the house in company with daughters and daughters-in-law.

They have *kankan* (bracelets) on their hands (wrists) and other ornaments and silken clothes and the partings of their hair are filled with pearls.

Blessed is the mother who has children in her lap.

At the door sons-in-law have arrived, and the chief housewife (Rânî) grows sad (thinking that she would have to part with her daughters).

Be not sad Rânî, this is the way of Kalyug (present age, that the mothers are deprived of their daughters at certain age).

No. XLVIII.

Hymn to Shâh Madâr.

Sung by the Dafâlîs, when women go to the shrine annually to pray for their children.

Recorded by Râj Bahâdur, a school-master in the Jaunpur District, and Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Dudhâ dhârî Shâh Madâr.
Darbâr terâ sewoṅ, Shâh Madâr.
Kâlâ nezâ, kâlâ bânâ, kâlî terî talwâr.
Kâlî chilman Shâh ko, jismêṅ sohai hîrâ lâl.
Sâîṅ merâ jogiyâ : maiṅ jog meṅ bharî.
Pîr merâ bhaṅwarâ ; maiṅ phul kê kalî.
Darbâr terâ sewon, Shâh Madâr,
Andhe ko âṅkhaiṅ ; korhî ko kâyâ ; bânjh kharî darbâr.
Pâûṅ betâ, rozah banâûṅ, khushî khushî ghar jâûṅ.
Ek âwat, ek jât, bidâwhî ; ek kharî darbâr.
Jhuk jhuk Miyâṅ ko sîs nawâwai ; chal ghar apnî jayâ.

Translation.

O Shâh Madâr, giver of milk (riches).

I serve in thy court, O Shâh Madâr.

Black thy flag, black thy badge, and black thy sword.

Black the *chilman*[12] of the Shâh, which is studded with diamonds and rubies.

My Lord is an ascetic and I am full of asceticism.

My Pîr (Shâh Madâr) is a beetle and I am the bud of a flower.

O Shâh Madâr, I serve in thy court.

Thou givest eyes to the blind, (a sound) body to the lepers, and barren women are standing in thy court (for children).

Give me a child that I may keep my fast and go home happily.

One comes, one goes, taking leave of you and one is (still) standing in thy court.

They all bow down their heads to the Lord (*Miyâṅ*) and go to their homes.

No. XLIX.

A Corn-grinding Song.

Sung by low-caste women.

Recorded by Lakshmî Nârâyan Pânde, a master in the District School, Jaunpur, and Pandit Ram Gharîb Chube.

Text.

Dharatî akâs dono, re, pal jatawâ, ho.
Kilwâ Sumer bichwân lagal, re.
Kin de le gohûâṅ, Râmâ ? Kin, re, chameriyâ ho ?
Kekarâ duariyâṅ gohuâṅ pîsat, re.

[12] The cover of the *chilam* or hubble-bubble.

Guru dele gohûâṅ, Râmâ : Satguru chameriyâ ho.

Sânîâṅ ke duâriyâṅ gohuâṅ pîsat, re : jhink lehu lehu mânik jatâwâṅ ho.

Balmâ bhukhâil Satguru pâhuṅ, re.

Jo maiṅ pisatoṅ, Râmâ, urârî darârî ke Saiâṅ ghar hotoṅ dur dur chhiyâ chhiyâ, re.

Jo maiṅ pisatoṅ, Râmâ, mehîṅ kankiyâ, ho, Saiâṅ ghare hotoṅ sohâgin, re.

Translation.

The two parts of the mill (the upper and the lower stones) are the earth and sky.

The hole in the middle is Mount Sumeru.

Who gives wheat, O Râm ? Who gives *chameriyâ* (a coarse corn) ?

I shall grind the corn (learn wisdom) at the door of my Lord.

The religious guide gives the wheat, O Râm, and the True Guide gives the coarse corn.[13]

I shall grind the corn at the door of my Lord, and put little by little the corn into the mill (learn little by little) which is made of a precious stone.

The True Guide who is the object of my love is my guest.

If I grind the corn coarsely, O Râm, I shall be driven from my Lord's house in disgrace.

But if I grind the corn finely, O Râm, I shall be acknowledged as a lucky housewife.

No. L.

A Hymn to Hardeo (Hardaul) Râjâ.

Sung by women when worshipping him.

Recorded by a school teacher of Chhawarâ Mau, District Farrukhâbâd.

Text.

Hardeo Lâlâ kî jagî kalâ.

Bhaye Lâlâ jab jagî kalâ.

Dushman môrî pachhârê sâre : more Bundelâ bare aqilâ.

Hardeo Lâlâjî kî jagî kalâ.

Tumhaiṅ charhâwaiṅ dhwajâ nârial ; khelaiṅ, kûdaiṅ, haṅsaiṅ, Lâlâ.

Bârî umarî, Lâlâ, Pathân mâre : tum mere, Lâlâ, albele Lâlâ.

Translation.

The influence of Prince Hardeo began to be felt.

As soon as he was born, his influence began to be felt.

He killed and defeated all our enemies : my Bundhelâ is very wise.

The influence of Prince Hardeo began to be felt.

I offer you flags and coco-nuts, that my Prince may play and jump and laugh.

You killed in your childhood a Pathân, O my Prince : you are my sweetheart.

---

[13] *I. e.*, teachings of a True Guide are hard to practise.

No. LI.

A Hymn to Jakhai (a godling).

(Invoked at times by women.)

Jakhai, or Jakhai Bâbâ, appears to have been a noted highway-man in his time and after his death to have passed into the list of the malevolent dead.

Recorded by Chaube Vrij Kishor, an assistant master in the Town School, Pinâhat, District Agra.

Text.

1

Jakhai Bâbâ, nek bilam ; ho hârî.
Kachhu hârî, kachhu manzil kî mârî ; kachhu hoṅ pâyan bhârî.

2

Mere Deotâ nek bilam ; ho hârî.
Kârî, re, hathinî zard ambârî ; ânkus de de hârî.

3

Mere Deotâ, nek bilam; hauṅ hârî.
Ghar ke nahu mere sangan lâge. Jatiârê ke sang sidhârî.

4

Mere Deotâ, nek bilam ; hauṅ hârî.
Drabyâ lutî jaise kankar patthar ; khând lutî jaise khârî.

5

Mere Deotâ, nek bilam ; hauṅ hârî.
Merî lutî moṅhiṅ kachhû nahîṅ byâpî ; nanad lutî Banîjârî.

6

Mere Deotâ nek bilam ; maiṅ hârî.

Translation.

1

O Jakhai Bâbâ, let me rest awhile ; I am weary.
I am weary partly with the journey and partly I am heavy with child.

2

O my Spirit, let me rest awhile ; I am weary.
The elephant is black and his coverings are yellow : I have been tired of goading her along.

3

O my Spirit, let me rest awhile ; I am weary.
None of my family is with me. A clansman has accompanied me.

4

O my Spirit, let me rest awhile ; I am weary.
My money has been robbed like stones and pebbles, and my sugar has been plundered like salt.

5

O my Spirit, let me rest awhile : I am weary.
I do not care for being plundered but my husband's sister has been plundered by the Banjârâs.

6

O my Spirit, let me rest awhile : I am weary.

No. LII.

A Hymn to Kṛishṇa.

(Attributed to Mîrâ Bâi.)

Sung by Chiranjan Lâl of Miṛhâ Khurd, District Agrâ.

Recorded by Tulâ Râm, a teacher in the Village School.

Text.

Mere to Girdhar Gopâl dâsarâ na koî.
Maiṅ to âî bhaktî; jânî jagat dekhî moṅhîṅ.
Aṅkhiyâṅ jal sinchî sinchî, prem bolî boî boî, santâṅ dhig baithî baithî lok laj khoî.
Ab to bhaktî phail gaî; jânai sab koî.
Sankh, chatrâ, gadâ, padm, murlî, kar hoî.
Jâkê mâthe mor mukut : mero pati soî.
Mâtu, pitâ, bhâî, bandhû, chhâṛyôṅ sab koî.
Dâsî Mîrâ saran âî honâ : hoyâ so hoî.
Mere to Girdhar Gopâl dusarâ nâ kôî.

Translation.

I have none else than the uplifter of mountains and the protector of the cow (Kṛishṇa).

I came to satisfy my instincts of love (*bhaktî*) and the whole world saw me.

I am lost to worldly shame, by watering the plant of love, with the water of my eyes (tears) and sowing it with speech, and sitting with the saints.

Now the news of my devotion has spread far and wide, and everybody knows it.

(My husband is he, who) has in his hands, the conch-shell, the wheels, the mace and the lotus, and the flute (Kṛishṇa).

On his head a peacock crown: that is my husband (Kṛishṇa).

I have forsaken mother, father, brother and relative, all.

Thy slave, Mîrâ, has come under thy protection: come what may,

I have none else than the uplifter of mountains and the protector of the cow.

No. LIII.

Women's Bathing Songs.

Sung at the morning ceremonial ablution at a tank or river. They are hymns to Râm, sung with confused allusions to parts of the well-known story. Sung by Kripâ Râm, Baniyâ of Kherâ in the Sahâranpûr District.

Recorded by Abdur Rahim, a teacher in the Village School, Kherâ.

Text.

1

Âp gaye the Râjâ rahân, zanjîrî tâlâ thoṅk gaye, more Râm.
Kyâ kholai Bhagwân, kyâ Panchhî âyake, more Râm,
Kharî pakaroṅ kî dâlî, taṛpate meṅ chhoṛ chale, more Râm.

Translation.

O my Râm, the King (husband) is gone to bathe, leaving me shut up under lock and key.

O my Râm, only Bhagwân (God) or a bird can open the door, coming here.

Whatever branch I may catch at; he has deserted me that tremble (I am in extreme agony of mind and body).

Text.

a

Prabhu, Lachhiman donoṅ, re, bhaiâ, mere Râm, ban kô sidhare.
Phat jâ, rî Dhartî. Samâ jâ, rî Sîtâ. Dwâr khare Bhagwân.
Dhak le, rî Sîtâ, kesh jo apne, it nak sare laṛkâ Prabhô.
Gaiâ chungâwai aur hilâwai jangal jhâṛî, re Râm.
Tere to kâre hâth, rê laṛkê, maiṅ jal bhî na pîûṅ. Pitâ apne kâ nâm banâ de.
Pitâ apne kâ nâm na jânûṅ; mâtâ to kahiye Kausalyâ, morê Râm.
Jhâr jhapatiyâ laṛkâ; god uthâyâ; patake se poṅchhai us ke pâoṅ: ho Râm.
Dwâr khare Srî Râm aisê bâlak; merî abhâg maine mukh huṅ na dekhyoṅ. Kisne diyâ ban bâs. Ho Râm.
Phat jâ, rî Dharatî. Samâ jâ, rê Sîtâ. Dwâre khare Srî Râm, more Râm.

Translation.

The Lord (Râm) and Lakshman; both the brothers, O my Râm, have started for the woods.
O Earth, break asunder. O Sîtâ, go into it. Bhagwân (Râm) is standing at the door.
O Sîtâ, cover thy head, though the Lord is but a child after all,
He feeds kine and plays in the forests and bushes, O Râm.
I cannot drink water even from thy hands my boy (Râm) for they are black. Tell me thy father's name.
I do not know my father's name but my mother is called Kausalyâ, O my Râm.
Then she picked the boy up quickly into her lap, wiping the dust off his feet with her garment; it was Râm.
At the door a child like Srî Râm is standing, and I am so unfortunate as not to see him. Who sent them to live in the woods? It was Râm.
O earth burst asunder, O Sîtâ, go into it. At the door Srî Râm is standing, O my Râm.

No. LIV.

A Woman's Hymn to Râm.

Sung by a Brahmaṇî of Chhawârâ Mau, District Farrukhâbâd.

Recorded by a teacher in the Village School.

Ek chakai, duî chakwâ.
Jo maiṅ jânatî Hari moṅ ko tajî haiṅ, mere Râmjî:
Pakarî ghurilawâ kî bâgh gharî ek bilmhâutî.
Chaliyo, na sakhiyo saheliyo, jurî milî chalî haiṅ, mere Râmjî.
Hari ne lagâî phul bagiyâ sîṅch âwaiṅ.
Koî sakhî gaṛuâṅ, kon sakhî anjuriṅ, mere Râmjî. Maiṅ apradhîṅ ansuâṅ sîṅch lagâî.
Jo maiṅ jânatî Hari moṅhîṅ tajî haiṅ, Harî Moṅhîṅ tajî haiṅ:
Hotî maiṅ ban kî koiliyâ banâhîṅ ban rahatî, mere Râmjî.
Jo Hari jâtê shikâr to kuhuk sunâutî.
Jo maiṅ jânatî Hari moṅhîṅ tajî haiṅ, mere Râmjî:
Hotî jal kî machhariyâ jalahîṅ jal rahatî, mere Râmjî.
Jo Hari awatê nahân cha ran gahî letî, mere Râmjî.

Translation.

One chakwî and two chakwâ.[14]
O my Râm, had I known that Hari (husband) would desert me,
I would have caught the reign of his horse and stopped him for (at least) an hour.
O my girl friends and companions let us go together, O my Râm.
Let us water the garden that Hari (my husband) has planted.

14 The *chakwâ* and *chakwî*, the male and female of the Brahmâṇî Duck are the stock emblems of conjugal love.

Some of my girl friends began to water the garden with a jar (furnished with a spout) and some began to water it with handfuls. I, a sinner, began to water the garden with tears.

Had I known that Hari (husband) would leave me, that Hari would leave me,
I would have become a cuckoo and would have dwelt in the forest.
When my Hari went hunting I would have made him hear my sorrowful note (*kuhuk*).
Had I known that my Hari would desert me, O my Râm,
I would have become a fish of the water and made the water my abode, O my Râm;
When Hari came to bathe, I would have caught his feet with reverence, O my Râm.

No. LV.

A Song of the Tîj.

Sung by the women at the Festival in Sâwan.

Sung by Kripâ Râm, Baniyâ, of Kherâ.

Recorded by Abdu'r-Rahim Khân, teacher in the Village School, Kherâ, District Sahâranpûr.

Text.

Kar de, re ammâ, Kothalî : bûbû ko lene jâûn : kî Sâwan âyâ.
Kyon kar, re betâ, jâyagâ ? Âge nadiyon kî dâr.
Nadiyon re, nâw lagâ lûn ; berâ pâr utâr.
Pher, re, kyonkar betâ, jâyagâ ? Âge sânpon kî dâr.
Sânpon, re, dûdh pilâya dûn ; berâ pâr utâr.
Kyonkar, rê betâ, jâyagâ ? Âge ûnton kî dâr.
Ûnton, re, pîpal khilây dûn : berâ pâr utâr.
Kyonkar, re betâ, jâyagâ ? Âge hâthiyon kî dâr.
Hathiyon, rê, âm khilâyâ dûn ; berâ pâr utâr.
Kothe, rî, charhkar, dekhtî ki main dûr ki nere.
Âge, âge, ri, nâî aur pâchhê Brâhmanâ, pîchhê merâ mâi jâyâ bîr.
Nâî ke, re, hâth lathariyâ, mâi jâyâ hâth sundar kamân.
Nâî ke, re, lâûngî " Râm, Râm," mâîjâyâ lâûngî rulâye.
Nâî ke kawaren dungî pîrhâ ; mâîjâye ke takht dûn bichhâya.
Tûn kyon âî, bûbû, dubalî ? Kyon tere mail tare bhesh ?
Sâsu nanad ke tânôn se main dûblî ; aur yonhin mere mail tare bhesh : kî Sâwan âyâ.
Tûn kyôn, re bhâî, dublâ ? Kyon tere mail tare bhesh?
Kasrat karû gard dhûl men yâse mail tare bhesh.
Nâî ko kaware dungî khinchari ; mâîjâyâ harî mungî dhoî dâl.
Kaise, re, nâî ko khicharî ? Kaise mujhhe harî mûng kî dâl ?
Achchhî hai terî khîcharî : ras bharî terî mûng kî dâl,
Bhej de, re mâwasî, bhêj de bûbû ko lene âyâ.
Kyonkar, re bîrâ, bhej dûn ; âge nadîyôn kî dar [15]

* * * * * * * *

Dûbî dûbî, re Brâhmanâ aur nâî ; mere lambe lambe kesh.
Deware nâî aur Brâhmanâ, jin chhoriyo naddî bîch.
Jîyo, re merâ mâîjâyâ, bîran, jin kârhî nadiyon bîch.

Translation.

O mother, get (things) ready for the Tîj (Kothalî, in the Western Districts). I am going to bring my sister (*bûbû*), for Sâwan has come.

O my son, why do you go ? There are rivers in the way.
I shall get boats in the rivers and pass across them.
O why do you go, my son ? There are snakes in the way.

[15] Repetition here of verses 2 to 9 above.

I shall give milk to the snakes, and pass along.

O my son, why do you go? There are camels in the way.

I shall feed camels with (the branches) and leaves of the *pipal* tree and pass along.

O my son why do you go? There are elephants in the way.

I shall feed elephants with mangoes and pass along.

She goes upstairs and sees if it (the daughter's house) is near or far.

The barber first and next the Brâhmaṇ and the brave son of mother (brother) in rear.

The barber has a staff in his hand and my brother has a beautiful bow in his.

I salute (*Râm Râm*) the barber and cry holding the feet of the brother.[16]

I shall give (or I give) to the barber a wooden seat in a corner of the courtyard, and for my brother I set a throne.

O sister why are you thin? Why is your appearance dirty?

I am lean on account of the teasing of my mother-in-law and my husband's sister. I am dirty of my own accord; for Sâwan has come.

Why are you thin, O brother? Why is your appearance dirty?

I am dirty-looking because I have taken my exercise in the dust.

I shall give to the barber (a dish of) mixed rice and pulse (*khichaṛî*) for food; and my mother's brother I shall prepare (a dish of) freshly washed pulse (*mûṅg*) separately from the rice.

How will you give the *khichaṛî*? Will you give me freshly washed *mûṅg*?

Your *khichaṛî* is good and your pulse of *mûṅg* is tasty.

O *mâwasi* (mother-sister) I have come to take my sister to my house. Allow her to go with me.

Why should I let her go? There are rivers in the way.[17]

* * * * * * * *

The Brâhmaṇ and the barber will drown and so will my long locks of hair.

A curse on the barber and the Brâhman, who left me in the river.

O my husband's brother, may you live long that carried me safely across the rivers.

No. LVI.

A Popular Tîj Song.

Sung by women in Sâwan.

Recorded by Allah Bakhsh, a teacher in the village school, Kûjâ, District Sahâranpûr.

Ab kî chau mâse swâmî, ghar rahô, ghar rahô, nandî ke bîr.
Sâṅpoṅ ne chhoṛî kâṅchulî; nadiyôṅ ne anchwe nîr.
Belâ phûlâ., chamelî phûlî; khil rahe Jamunâ ke tîr?
Kâre pile badrâ âye; kaun bandhâwai dhîr?

Translation.

O my lord, stay at home this rainy season (*chau mâsâ*) stay at home my husband.

The snakes have cast their skins, and the rivers are bubbling with water.

The *belâ* has blossomed and the *chamelî* has blossomed and they are making pleasant, the banks of the Jamunâ.

The black and the yellow clouds have come, who else will inspire me with courage?

---

16 The custom of the women in Northern India is that if they should meet a brother or a father when in trouble, to hold his feet and cry; and in the course of this unpleasant way of meeting they bring to his notice all their troubles and misfortunes.

17 Repetition here of verses 2 to 9 above.

MENDICANT'S CRIES IN NORTHERN INDIA.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE (LATE I.C.S.).

1.

The Qalandar Faqirs of Pirân Kaliar.

Recorded by a Teacher in the Sikandarâ School, Agrâ.
Communicated by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Samajhkar banîj kiyâ hai bhârî.
Kisî ne lâdî lawang ilâichî ; kisî ne mithâ khârî.
Jab Sâîn nê mângâ lekhâ, bhûlî sudh sârî.
Ham ne lâdâ hai nâm Dhanî kâ : pûran khep hamârî.
Samajhkar banij kiyâ hai bhârî.

Translation.

I have undertaken a trade in a heavy thing after mature consideration.
Some have purchased cloves and some cardamom, and some sugar and salt.
When God required of them an account, then they forgot all about it.
I have purchased the name of the Rich (God) and my load is full.
I have undertaken this trade after mature consideration.

2.

The followers of Shâh Karailâ.

Recorded by a Teacher in the Sikandarâ School, Agrâ.
Communicated by Pandit Ram Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Shâh Karailâ phalaigâ terâ beṛâ.
Tittî roṭî aur naqad dhelâ.
Ayâ zindah Shâh kâ melâ.
Haq chukâ de shâm,
Aur sawere Maulâ bhalâ karaigâ terâ.

Translation.

Shâh Karailâ shall cause thy boat (in the ocean of the world) to be fruitful.
Give me bitter bread and half a pice in cash.
The fair of the living Shâh has arrived.
Give him his rights in the evening,
And God will do thee good in the morning.

3.

The followers of Nikhattû Shâh, a saint of Sikandarâbâd, Agrâ : in the month of Ramzân.

Recorded by a Teacher in the Sikandarâ School, Agrâ.
Communicated by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Khodâ ke khâsah logo ! Nabî ke pyâre !
Mîthe logo, dhelâ Khodâ ke nâm, dhelâ !
Khodâ ke Rasûl ke nâm !
Îd ke roz Shâh Nikhattû ke thikare meṅ gharawwan.

Translation.

O special people of God ! O beloved people of the Prophet !
.One-half pice in the name of God, sweet people !
And one-half pice in the name of the Prophet of God !
On the Id day fill the broken vessel of Shâh Nikattû.

4.

The Ordinary Mendicant.

Communicated by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Râm kahat koṛhî tarai, ki jâke mâns na châm.
Sundar badan pây ke ; kyoṅ na bhajo Śrî Râm ?

Translation.

The leper attains salvation who has neither bones nor skin.
Why do you with a fair body not repeat the name of Śrî Râm ?

5.

I—Mendicants at Hardwâr.

Communicated by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Mâtî khânâ, mâtî bichhânâ ; mâtî kâ sirhânâ.
Mâtî se mâtî mâtî milî, ram gayâ bhaṅwar na mânâ.

Translation.

Earth to eat ; earth to sleep on ; earth for the pillow.
Earth mixed with earth, and the beetle (the soul) flew away heeding nobody.

6.

II—Mendicants at Hardwâr.

Communicated by Panpit Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Bajâ nagârâ kûch kâ : ukharan lag gaî mekh.
Panchhî so to lad gaî ; kharî tamâshâ dekh.

Translation.

The drum announces the hour of departure : the tent-pegs begin to be uprooted.
The bird (soul) is loaded up (departs); while they (the female relatives) watch the show.

7.

Mendicants in general.

Communicated by Pandit Râm Ghârîb Chaube.

Texts.

a.

Ganthari bândhî dhul kî ; rahî pawan se phul.
Girâh jatan kî khul gaî, ant dhul kî dhul.

b.

Tum dekhat jag jât hai, jagat dekhat ham jât.
Yahî jagat kî rît hai ; ek âwat, ek jât.

c.

Tumhîn hamâre Saîyâñ : tum lag hamarî daur ;
Jaise kâg jahâz pai, sujhât aur na thaur.

d.

Tan kî tanak sarây meñ nek na pâyô chain.
Sâns naqqârâ kunch kâ, bâjat hai din rain.

e.

Chalnâ hai, rahnâ nahîn ; chalnâ biswe bîs,
Aise sahal suhâg ko, kaun guhâwe sîs ?

Translation.

a.

A man's body is a bag of dust and is filled (puffed out) with air.
If by carelessness the air escapes, the end of the dust is dust.

b.

You see that the world is going and the world sees that I am going.
It is the way of world; one comes and one goes.

c.

You alone are my Lord: to you I can complain ;
Like the crow on the ship's mast that sees no end of the ocean.

d.

In the inn of the body I have found no rest ;
The drum for departure is being beaten day and night.

e.

We have to go and may not tarry, for surely we have to go.
Then for such a transitory married life, who would adorn the hair ? (What's the use of personal decorations and worldly pleasures that are not to last ?)

8.

Hindî Mendicants.

Communicated by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Nâhak soch karo dhan ko. Tum gâthî kai udrâ meñ ketik khâyo ?
Jabai janmyo jag jiwan meñ, tab ketik laksh liye sang âyo ?
Tinhaiñ bisrây phiro man mudh, jo dîn ajân ajâchak khyâyo.
Tulsî: "Jiyâ jâni bhajo Bhagwant, to sinchai wahî jin biro lagâyo."

Translation.

You care for wealth uselessly. How much did you spend from your pocket in the womb ?
When you were born in the world, how many *lâkhs* (of rupees) did you bring with you ?
Forgetting him who feeds the poor, the ignorant, the unbegging, you wander about.
Tulsî says :—" Repeat the name of the Blessed, fully believing that He who has planted the plants will water them."

9.

Hindî Mendicants.

Communicated by Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Jhumat dwâr matang anek janjîr jaṛe mad añbud châte ;

Tikhe turang mano gatî chanchal pauñ ke beghu se baḍh jâte.

Bhîtar chandramukhî awâ lokahin, bâhar bhupâ khaḍe na samâte.

Ete chaye jo, kahâ Tulsî, jo pai Jânakî Nâth or rang na râte.

Translation.

At the door elephants are swinging tied with chains, and the water of bloom (rutting) is flowing (from their heads) ;

And horses so swift of foot that they surpass the air in swiftness.

Within are (maidens having) faces like the moon, and without are kings (so numerous) that the room cannot accommodate.

Tulsî says : "What is all this worth when you did not make friends with the Janakî's husband (Râm Chandra)."

10.

Muhammadan Mendicants.

Communicated by Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Tan Kâyâ, man masjid ; âp Khodâ jis meñ baithâ bolai, jî ;

Aise Khodâ ko chhoṛ kar, kahâñ wahmai ? Kahâñ bahankai ? Kahâñ dolai, jî ?

Fanâ ke pahale, fanâ ho jâ. Sidhâ râstâ rahnumâñ kâ pai.

Translation.

The body is the Ka'ba, the mind is the mosque, in which God keeps his seat and speaks out.

Leaving such a God, whither goes thy fancy ? Whither dost thou stray ? Whither dost thou wander ?

Be outwardly destroyed before the day of destruction. The path to paradise is straight.

11.

The Sutharâ Shâhîs.

Recorded by Lakshmî Nârâyan, a Master in District School, Jaunpur, and communicated and translated by Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Jag ko lât karorâñ khâyâ, man meñ ab to lâj behâyâ.

Apnâ apnâ karke pâlâ deh rahâ baurâyâ.

Indrin ko paritokh karan hit agh bhar pet kamâyâ.

Swârath lobhî jag âge dukh royâ, bharam gamâyâ.

Lâj gaî aur dharam dubâyâ, hâth kachhu nahîñ âyâ.

Mazâ kahîñ nahîñ pâyâ, jag mêñ nâhaq rahâ bhulâyâ.

Chhin ke sukh kî lâlach jit, tit swân lâr tapkâyâ.

Ehî jag meṅ jis ko apnâ kar jhûthâ bharam baṛhâyâ:

Tin swârath phansî kûkar sukar sam, dutkâr batâya.

"Apnâ, apnâ, apnâ" karke, bahut barḥâî mâyâ.

Ant samai tajî dîno mal sam, jin ko ati apnâyâ.

Translation.

Man receives millions of kicks from the world, but receives no shame in his mind.

Through madness he nourished the body, giving out that it is his.

In order to satisfy the senses he earned his bellyful of sins (an exceedingly large amount).

He weeps out his grievances before the selfish world and exposes his own faults to censure.

He loses his shame and drowns his virtue and gets nothing by it.

He finds no pleasure anywhere and remains careless in the world (or mixed up with the world).

Where there is the desire of momentary pleasure, think those places to be defiled (by the spittle of dogs).

In this world they whom he thinks to be his own, are false.

They are selfish and when he goes to them, they treat him as dogs and swine.

He has increased his concerns (in the world) saying: "they are my own, my own, my own."

But he will have to leave that like filth which in his heart he thought to be his own.

BOOK-NOTICES.

DENYS DE S. BRAY, I.C.S.—The Brahui Language, Part I. Introduction and Grammar. Calcutta, 1909. Superintendent, Government Printing, India. VIII + 237 pp. Rs. 2-8 or 3s. 9d.

BRÂHÛÎ is, as is well-known, the dialect spoken by the Brâhûîs in Baluchistan. The fullest account of the tribe is, so far as I am aware, that contributed by Mr. R. Hughes-Buller, I.C.S., to Sir H. H. Risley's Ethnographic Appendices, Census of India, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 66, ff. Like the Balôchîs they are classed under what Sir Herbert Risley calls the Turko-Iranian type. Mr. Bray now informs us that their appearance is somewhat different from that of their neighbours. "Somewhat below the medium height, with oval face, round eyes, and high, slender nose, he [the Brâhûî] is framed in a less imposing mould than the Pathan or Baluch proper . . . he usually accepts, as a matter of course, the claims of both Pathan and Baluch to be his superior in race, and certainly displays a distinct alacrity to trace a non-Brâhûî descent whenever he can do so with decency. It is significant that no Baluch with proper pride would stoop to give his daughter in marriage to a Brâhûî; the Brâhûî, needless to say, marries a daughter into a Baluch family, without a scruple . . . Eliminate all foreign elements from his tribe, and we are left with a people whose kinship with the races to which it has opened its ranks, or by which it is geographically surrounded has, to say the least, yet to be proved." It is interesting to read these remarks by a scholar who knows the Brâhûîs so well as our author, and it is to be hoped that we shall soon get a series of anthropometric data referring to so great a number of Brâhûîs as possible. It would be advisable to extend the ethnological examination of the tribe also to its females.

A peculiar interest attaches itself to the language of the Brâhûîs. Since the days of Chr. Lassen, it has been commonly supposed that it contains a Dravidian substratum, which is now, it is true, much overgrown by foreign elements, but which is still visible in certain characteristic features. I do not intend to analyse the details in this place. Mr. Bray's book should go a long way towards removing such doubts as are still entertained in certain quarters. We shall however be able to judge with greater certainty after the appearance of the same author's analysis of the Brâhûî vocabulary, which is to be published as a second volume. The present, first part contains

a very full Brâhûî grammar, one of the very best grammars published by the Indian government. It will in future be necessary for everybody who wants to study the Brâhûî language, to consult this work and to consult it thoroughly. And I do not doubt that most scholars will adopt the author's view about the linguistic affinities of the Brâhûî language, *i.e.*, of its old base.

If we accept the theory that Brâhûî was originally a Dravidian form of speech, as I think we must do, the remarks about the outer appearance of the typical Brâhûî reproduced above, get more important. It would be highly interesting if any of the Brâhûî characteristics could be comparable with such as are found among the Dravidas proper, and here there is a rich field for the Ethnographical Survey. In this connexion I would also remind of the fact, that the Dravidian race has not as yet been thoroughly examined from an ethnological point of view. I have not myself the slightest doubt that it contains individuals whose ancestors have from the beginning belonged to two different races, and it is still an open question whether traces of two different types can still be shown to exist somewhere within the Dravidian area. If that is not the case, one of the two types must have disappeared and its only traces are now to be found in one of the two linguistic groups between which the Dravidian race is, at the present day, divided. Language is not, of course a test of race. But if we find one race speaking two different languages, which have no philological connexion with each other, and one of which is distributed over a very wide area and spoken by tribes presenting different racial characteristics, we have a strong indication that the race in question is not unmixed. Now we find many variations in the typical features within most Dravidian tribes, as will be apparent from a glance at the table in Sir H. H. Risley's Ethnographic Appendices, pp. 22, f. Such variations are very interesting, and some day they will be studied with the same interest as that now brought to bear on the study of dialects and mixed languages. A thorough investigation of the Brâhûî tribe in this respect will no doubt yield interesting results If, after all, the Brâhûîs should turn out to be identical in race with the Balôchîs but to speak a language which in its base is Dravidian though the races are quite distinct, we shall have to infer that the original Brâhûî stock has become so mixed that no anthropological traces are left of its origin.

Geographically, the connexion of Brâhûîs and Dravidians does not, perhaps, present so great difficulties as would appear at the first glance. The Brâhûî territory is adjacent to the area of what Sir Herbert Risley calls the Scytho-Dravidian type, in which a Dravidian element must be contained. This Dravidian substratum has perhaps once also been found over large areas now peopled by tribes speaking Râjasthânî and Bhîl dialects. It might even be suggested that the use of a cerebral *l* in Gujarâtî, Râjasthânî, Pañjâbî and Marâṭhî might be due to the influence of such a substratum and have something to do with the curious cerebral *l* in Dravidian and Brâhûî. On the whole, I think that the general history of Indo-Aryan vernaculars cannot be understood if we do not assume a strong influence of one or more non-Aryan substrata, which have exercised their influence on their phonology and grammatical system. A thorough analysis of a mixed dialect like Brâhûî will probably throw much light on many obscure points, and we may congratulate ourselves that this analysis has been undertaken by so able and so enthusiastic a scholar as Mr. Bray.

STEN KONOW.

TANTRÂKHYÂYIKA Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra. Nach den Handschriften beider Rezensionen zum ersten Male herausgegeben von JOHANNES HERTEL. Berlin 1910. 4° XXVII+1C6 pp., 2 plates. Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Neue Folge Band XII. Nro. 2, Mark 24.

DR. HERTEL's edition of the Tantrākhyāyika is the last of a long series of papers and books in which he has given the results of his thorough study of the history of the Pañchatantra and other collections of Indian folklore. Thanks to his indefatigable zeal, we are now in a position to judge about the various questions connected with this important branch of Indian literature with comparative certainty. Dr. Hertel has taken infinite pains in comparing all available manuscripts of the different recensions of the Pañchatantra, and the result is that the current opinion about the history of the work has had to be modified in important points. In his introduction the author gratefully acknowledges the assistance rendered him by various scholars and institutions. Thanks are especially due to Dr. M. Aurel Stein, who has again added to the record he holds for kindness and unselfishness in assisting fellow-scholars in providing manuscripts and other materials for their work, and to Mr. F. W. Thomas, the Librarian of the India Office, who has made it possible to obtain the loan of numerous manuscripts from India and London. The author has thus been able to make use of almost the whole available material

during a prolonged period. Most libraries and institutions possessing Pañchatantra manuscripts have placed them, or copies of them, at the author's disposal. The Kashmir government forms a notable exception. Dr. Hertel, whose request for a loan from the Raghunath Temple Library was forwarded by the India Office on November 29th, 1907, was, after a delay of almost two years, on August 12th, 1909, informed that, according to the views of the Kashmir authorities, the manuscripts "are rare and of great value to the State and that if copies are given out their value and importance will diminish greatly. His Highness has, however, no objection to allowing a copy of the manuscripts to be supplied to Dr. Hertel at his expense on the understanding that the copies so supplied or any portion thereof will not be made use of or published without the express and distinct sanction of the State previously obtained." Nobody who knows the generous liberality which His Highness Sir Pertab Singh displays towards students of Indian history and philology will feel the slightest doubt that this Abderitic answer to Dr. Hertel's request has not been dictated by him. The matter is however typical for the present state of affairs in Kashmir. The care of the manuscripts of the State has been entrusted to the Director of Archæology, Babu Chatterji, who is, I believe, an adept in theosophy, but who does not seem to take a sufficient interest in archæological and historical research to understand that the work which he is unable to do himself should be left to other more competent scholars. It is much to be regretted that the archæological and historical treasures of the Kashmir State shall be allowed to remain inaccessible and to decay owing to the policy of inactivity and jealousy followed by the Archæological Department of the State, which has not, of course, anything to do with the Archæological Survey of India.

It is not, in this place, possible to give more than a short summary of the important results attained by Dr. Hertel. He has shown that the sixteen different Sanskrit recensions of the Pañchatantra all show traces of having been derived from old manuscripts in Śâradâ character. Internal evidence also points to Kashmir as the place where the original work was composed. The oldest recension of the work now in existence is the *Tantrâkhyâyika*, of which Dr. Hertel has brought to light two slightly different versions. This recension, which Dr. Hertel calls *S*, goes directly back to the original work. The same is the case with a similar recension *K*, which is represented, in the first place, by the old work drawn upon by Sômadêva and Kshêmêndra, and in the second place by an old unknown manuscript, *NW*. The common source of Sômadêva and Kshêmêndra was not, so far as we now know, the old Bṛihatkathâ of Guṇâḍhya, but a later Kashmirian work based on it. Dr. Hertel's studies show how this conclusion, arrived at from other considerations by M. Lacôte, is easily explained from the history of the old Pañchatantra. If this latter work was originally written in Kashmir, it is quite natural that its contents should have been incorporated in a Kashmirian revision of Guṇâḍhyâs Bṛihatkathâ. From *NW*. are derived the Pahlavî versions, the abbreviated text current in South India, the Hitôpadêśa, and finally the popular versions and the Jaina recensions current in North-Western and Central India.

Dr. Hertel considers *Tantrâkhyâna* to be the most original form of the name of the book, and he explains this name as meaning a tale which may serve as a model, an instructive tale. He further makes it probable that the original composition cannot have taken place too long time after Châṇakya, who is distinguished as *mahat* in a stanza where he occurs together with authorities such as Manu, Vâchaspati, Parâśara, and who must therefore have been remembered at the author's time. It is even possible that Châṇakya was still alive when the original Pañchatantra was written. The fact that this work mentions wood as the material used in building temples, also points to a high age, and it is scarcely possible to date it later than 200 B.C.

It is self-evident how important a careful edition of the oldest available version of this famous work must be. Dr. Hertel has not spared any effort in order to make his edition as good as possible, and the work he has turned out is excellent. Nobody can, I think, help admiring this enthusiastic scholar, who is a professor in a German college, and whose day is spent in the daily routine of ordinary school work, but who can still find time to undertake such a difficult and complicated work as the elucidation of the history of the Pañchatantra. All students of Indian history and civilisation will feel heavily indebted to him, and those Indian scholars who are unable to read his German papers in the Journal of the German Oriental Society will be glad to have an opportunity to study the Sanskrit text which he now lays before the public, and in which only the footnotes tell us about the infinite time and trouble it has taken to produce this standard edition.

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